THE

HISTORY

Of the AFFAIRS of

CHURCH *and* STATE

IN

SCOTLAND,

FROM

The Beginning of the Reformation in the Reign of King JAMES V.

TO THE

Retreat of Queen *MARY* into *England*, *Anno* 1568.

Taken from the publick Records, and other authentick Vouchers.

VOLUME I.

INSTABILITY
R.C.Sc.

EDINBURGH,
Printed by THOMAS and WALTER RUDDIMANS, for
George Stewart and *Alexander Symmer* Undertakers, and ſold by
them and *Gavin Hamilton* Bookſellers. MDCCXXXIV.

MVSEVM
BRITAN
NICVM

TO

The RIGHT HONOURABLE

The Lady

JANE DOUGLAS,

Only DAUGHTER of the late

JAMES *Marquis of* Douglas,

And SISTER to

ARCHIBALD, *the preſent Moſt Noble Head of that Renowned Houſe*;

This following HISTORY of the Affairs *Civil* and *Eccleſiaſtical* in *SCOTLAND*, is, upon Account of her Ladyſhip's Illuſtrious Deſcent and Perſonal Merit, with great Regard inſcribed,

By her Ladyſhip's moſt
reſpectful and moſt
humble Servant,

ROBERT KEITH.

ADVERTISEMENT
TO THE
READER.

AS *the firſt Deſign of the* Compiler *of theſe* Hiſtorical Tranſactions *was to proceed upon a firm and ſolid* Foundation *in collecting them together, he has carefully made it his Buſineſs to ſupport them all along by the Faith of the publick Records of the Nation, the Letters and Negotiations of Princes and State-Miniſters, and of other the like unqueſtionable Vouchers.*

In the Management however of this Collection, the Author is ſenſible there are ſome Things for which he has Need to beſpeak the Favour of the Readers. And the firſt is, the plain Freedom he has taken to cenſure the Defects *and* Miſrepreſentations *of former Hiſtorians. Some Perſons may poſſibly think, it had been ſufficient for him to have ſet the particular Facts in their true Light by the forementioned Authorities, without taking further Notice at all of what other Writers had narrated concerning the ſame Facts, but leaving the Readers to form their own Obſervations of the Sincerity or Inſincerity, the Accuracy or Inaccuracy of Thoſe that have written before him, This Method, 'tis readily acknowledged, might do well, if all, or the greateſt Part of thoſe that read Hiſtory, were of a Capacity to form Obſervations by themſelves, to diſcern the Intention of the Writers, the Tendency of their Narrations, or their accidental Errors only, and undeſigning Miſtakes: But ſince this is known not to be the Caſe with every Reader, it was thought not improper to caſt in ſome curſory* Obſervations, *for the Benefit of the Generality, tho' ſtill without any Affectation to impoſe them on Perſons of a better Diſcernment; whoſe candid Reception and Interpretation of theſe ſort of Obſervations, is humbly and earneſtly entreated. And as to the other* Remarks *and* Notes *that are of a critical Nature, and ſerve only for the clearing ſuch Things as were dark, or not ſo univerſally known, the reconciling of ſeeming Contradictions, the adjuſting of Times, or the illuſtrating any intervening Occurrences; for theſe 'tis hoped the Author ſhall incur neither Cenſure nor Diſpleaſure.*

Another Thing in the Management of this Work the Compiler thinks himſelf obliged to mention, relates to the many original Acts, Letters, *&c. inſerted in this Collection at the juſt Length. If the firſt Intention of affording a well-ſupported Hiſtory of this Nation be kept in View, it will appear evident that ſeveral original Papers* muſt *have been tranſcribed into it; and yet if* all *of that kind ſhould be inſerted, the Book muſt have come out to an unſizeable Bulk, and the Readers been nauſeated by running over ſuch a vaſt Number of them. It being neceſſary therefore to inſert* ſome *Papers, and of* others *to give the Abſtracts only: What Choice was to be made herein, (and likewiſe which of the Papers were to enter the Body of the* Book, *and which of them to go into the* Appendix) *was matter of no ſmall Conſideration to determine; ſince it was eaſy to foreſee, that whatever might appear proper to* *the Compiler, might appear not ſo to another Perſon. In this great Vncertainty, all he can ſay for himſelf is, that he has done what ſeemed moſt eligible to him at the Time, but declares withal that he is by no means obſtinate in vindicating the Choice he has made.*

With reſpect to theſe original Papers, it will be obſerved that ſeveral of them are not tranſcribed after the old Orthography and Phraſe: But whatever Complaint may be made of this, certain it is that this Omiſſion could not have been remedied without ſuch an Addition of Expences as the Vndertaking was not able to have born, the tranſcribing in the old Manner of Writing being as chargeable very near as the copying from an unknown Language. And this Expence muſt likewiſe have riſen to a greater Degree, in ſo far as moſt of all the Papers that regard this Nation about this Period of Time, are not now to be found within *the ſame, but in the Kingdom of* England. *'Tis indeed true, that the Faculty of Advocates have in their fine Library at* Edinburgh, *a tolerably good Collection of Papers relating to this ſame Period, tranſcribed from the* Cotton *Library in* England; *yet ſtill 'tis greatly to be wiſhed that this very learned and communicative Body would provide themſelves with a more large and* exact *Tranſumpt of all the* Scottiſh *Papers to be found* there, *ſince this would not only become a ſhining Ornament to their Library, but be of great Vſe alſo for furniſhing out a true and certain Account of the Tranſactions of our Nation.*

The laſt and truly the principal Thing of all for which the Author is ſenſible he has very great Need to pray the Favour of his Readers, is the not ranging all the particular Facts, and every Voucher of the Facts, in their due and proper Places. Had this Work been kept up for a longer Space, he would ſurely have taken care to diſpoſe the Materials in their true Situation: But as the Time projected at firſt for the Publication of it was already much elapſed (through the Loſs or falling by of ſome Records of the Privy-Council,) and ſundry Materials having come to hand after there was Ground given to look for no more; the Author found himſelf under a Neceſſity either to ſuppreſs theſe Memorials altogether, and ſo leave ſome Facts untouched at all, and others but too imperfectly cleared up; or elſe to inſert theſe ſtill welcome Memorials, in ſuch Places as could then be moſt conveniently got done. But beſides all this, the Author makes ingenuous Acknowledgment alſo, that upon re-conſidering the Work, after ſome Part of it had been printed off, he obſerved that ſeveral Things might be added to it; and theſe he thought far better to throw in after the beſt Manner he could, rather than allow the Book to go abroad under any known Imperfections, or to have publiſhed afterwards theſe Additions and Memorials apart by themſelves, or with ſuch others as might hereafter caſt up, as indeed it may be expected that ſeveral new Memorials may ſtill be diſcovered: And therefore on both theſe Accounts, with great Deference, the Author ſupplicates a favourable Acceptation of this Diſorder; and 'tis under the Protection of this Safe-guard alone that he ventures to offer even here *to his Readers, ſome Papers which he ſuppoſes they would not wiſh to be deprived of, notwithſtanding they did not arrive timeouſly enough, to be diſpoſed in any other Place.*

Theſe are the Things of which it was judged proper to advertiſe the Readers. As to the common Apologies for the want of Language and Stile, nothing of that kind is here intended to be made; for tho' the Author perceives already ſome Words and Expreſſions that might have been put in another Dreſs, yet if Truth, Reaſon and Perſpecuity be found here, 'tis believed the Readers will be well pleaſed; and that other Diſadvantages will be eaſily overlook'd. And as the Diſcovery of Truth will always be of Vſe to Mankind, ſo the animadverting and correcting any Miſtakes that may lurk in this Work, ſhall be agreeable to no Body more than to the Compiler and Publiſher hereof.

(a) Ex-

(a) *Extract of a Letter from Monſ.* le Croc *the* French *Ambaſſador in* Scotland, *to the Archbiſhop of* Glaſgow, *dated at* Edinburgh 2*d* December 1566.

——The Queen is for the preſent at *Craigmillar*, about a League diſtant from this City. She is in the Hands of the Phyſicians, and I do aſſure you is not at all well; and do believe the principal Part of her Diſeaſe to conſiſt in a deep Grief and Sorrow: Nor does it ſeem poſſible to make her forget the ſame. Still ſhe repeats theſe Words, *I could wiſh to be dead.* You know very well that the Injury ſhe has received is exceeding great, and her Majeſty will never forget it. The King her Husband came to viſit her at *Jedburgh* the very Day after Captain *Hay* went away. He remained there but one ſingle Night; and yet in that ſhort time I had a great deal of Converſation with him. He returned to ſee the Queen about five or ſix Days ago: And the Day before yeſterday he ſent word to deſire me to ſpeak with him half a League from this; which I complied with, and found that things go ſtill worſe and worſe. I think he intends to go away to Morrow; but in any Event I'm much aſſured, as I always have been, that he won't be preſent at the Baptiſm. To ſpeak my Mind freely to you (but I beg you not to diſcloſe what I ſay in any Place that may turn to my Prejudice) I do not expect, upon ſeveral Accounts, any good Underſtanding between them, unleſs God effectually put to his Hand: I ſhall only name two; the firſt is, the King will never humble himſelf as he ought; the other is, the Queen can't perceive any one Nobleman ſpeaking with the King, but preſently ſhe ſuſpects ſome Contrivance among them.—— [*The reſt of this Letter is concerning his Appointments and perſonal Concerns: And he only adds,*] The Queen reckons to be going to *Stirling* five or ſix Days hence; and the Baptiſm is appointed to be on the 12th of this Month. *Mem. Scot. Tom. 2. F. 320. Coll. Scot. Par.*

Extract of a Letter from Monſ. le Croc *the* French *Ambaſſador in* Scotland, *to the Archbiſhop of* Glaſgow.

——The Baptiſm of the Prince was performed *Tueſday* (*b*) laſt, when he got the Name of *Charles-James.* It was the Queen's Pleaſure that he ſhould bear the Name *James*, together with that of *Charles* (the King of *France*'s Name,) becauſe, ſaid ſhe, all the good Kings of *Scotland* his Predeceſſors, who have been moſt devoted to the Crown of *France*, were called by the Name of *James*. Every thing at this Solemnity was done according to the Form of the holy *Roman* Catholick Church.—— The King [Lord *Darnly*] had ſtill given out, that he would depart two Days before the Baptiſm; but when the time came on he made no Sign of removing at all, only he ſtill kept cloſe within his own Apartment. The very Day of the Baptiſm he ſent three ſeveral times deſiring me either to come and ſee him, or to appoint him an Hour that he might come to me in my Lodgings: So that I found my ſelf obliged at laſt to ſignify to him, that ſeeing he was in no good Correſpondence with the Queen, I had it in Charge from the moſt Chriſtian King to have no Conference with him. And I cauſed tell him likewiſe, that as it would not be very proper for him to come to my Lodgings, becauſe there was ſuch a Crowd of Company there, ſo he might know that there were two Paſſages to it, and if he ſhould enter by the one, I would be conſtrained to go out by the other. His bad Deportment is incurable, nor can there be ever any Good expected from him, for ſeveral Reaſons, which I might tell you, was I preſent with you. I can't pretend to foretell how all may turn; but I will ſay, that Matters can't ſubſiſt long as they are, without being accompanied with ſundry bad Conſequences. [*This is all he ſays concerning the King. He next gives an Account of his being obliged to ſupply the Place of the Ambaſſador of* Savoy, *who was not yet arrived, and ſpeaks of his own perſonal Concerns only; and then adds,*] The Queen behaved herſelf admirably well all the time of the Baptiſm; and ſhewed ſo much Earneſtneſs to entertain all the goodly Company in the beſt manner, that this made her forget in a good meaſure her former Ailments. But I am of the Mind however, that ſhe will give us ſome Trouble as yet; nor can I be brought to think otherwiſe, ſo long as ſhe continues to be ſo penſive and melancholy (*c*). She ſent for me yeſterday, and I found her laid on the Bed weeping ſore; and ſhe complained of a grievous Pain in her Side. And for a Surcharge of Evils, it chanced that the Day her Majeſty ſet out from *Edinburgh* for this Place, ſhe hurt one of her Breaſts on the Horſe, which ſhe told me is now ſwelled. I am much grieved for the many Troubles and Vexation ſhe meets with——From *Stirling* this 23d of *December* 1566. *Ibid. Tom. 2. F. 336.*

Letter of the Earl of Lenox *to his Son King* Henry. Indorſed, *To the Kingis Majeſtie.*

SIR, I have received by my Servant *Nisbet* zour natural and kynd Letter, for the which I humblie thank zour Majeſtie; and as to the Contentis therof, I will not trouble zow therin, but referris the ſame till I wait upon zour Majeſtie at *Peblis* (*d*), which ſalbe ſo ſoon as I may heir the Certaintie of zour going thither. And for that the Extremitie of this ſtormy Weather cauſes me to dout of zour ſetting forward ſo ſoon on zour Journey, therefore I ſtay till I heir farther from zour Majeſtie, which I ſall humbly beſeech zow I may, and I ſall not fayle to wayt upon zow accordinglie. This committing zour Majeſtie to the Bleſſing and Governance of Almichtie God, who preſerve zow in Helth, long Life and moſt happy Regne. From *Glaſquo* this 26. Day of *December* [1566.] *Ibid. Tom. 2. F. 343. an Original.*

Zour Majeſties humble Subject and Father,
MATHEW LEVENAX.

I ſall deſire zour Majeſtie to pardon me, in that this Letter is not writtin of my nowne Hand, for trewlie at the writting heirof, a Paine which I have in my Shoulder and Arme is the Cauſe therof.

Letter of Queen Mary *to the Archbiſhop of* Glaſgow *her Ambaſſador in* France.

MAiſt Reverend Fadir in God, and traiſt Counſalor, We greit zow weill: Ze remember we wrait to zow at the returning of *Monſieur le Comte de Briene* the Kingis Ambaſſador, at the Baptiſme of our deareſt Sone, amang utheris Materis, that in our Name ze ſuld ſutt the *Scottis* Companie of Men of Armes to be relyfted and taken up agane in favoris of our Sone, and he to be appoyntit and namit Captane thairof. For we beleve that the like *Ibid. Tom. 3. F. 4. in the Queen's Hand.*

(*a*) This and the next Letter are tranſlated from the *French*; which, together with all the other Letters, *&c.* of that Language contained in this Hiſtory, ſhall be depoſited in the Lawyers Library, *Edinburgh*.

(*b*) This was the 17th Day of the Month; ſo that I was led into the Miſtake of fixing this Solemnity to the 15th Day, by the Proclamation emitted on the 14th, which I reckoned to have been preciſely the Day before the Baptiſm, eſpecially ſince Abp. *Spotiſwood* gives the 15th for the Day. But this ſure Inſtruction contained in this Letter, by naming the Day of the Week, is an undoubted Teſtimony for Mr. *Knox*, who relates that the Prince was baptized on the 17th of *December*.

(*c*) *Tant qu'elle ſera en ces ennuyes & regrets.*

(*d*) It ſeems the King has ſtill inclined to go into *Tweeddale* about this Seaſon. Mr. *Buchanan* has forgot to tell that his Majeſty was now to be thruſt away thither.

is already grantit, or ſchortlie to be given to the Duke of *Savoyis* Sone; in reſpect quhairof we think with our ſelf it ſall not preſently be denyit to us, throw zour earneſt Travell and Solicitatioun, quhilk we pray zow ſpair not effectualy to uſe unto this End and Purpois, and thairupon report us ſum formal and reſolut Anſwer, quhilk we will luke for. This far ze may tak on hand and promys, that we ſall appoynt ane Nobleman to be Lieutenant, quha ſall weill eneuch content the King and all utheris quhilkis in that Poynt requiris Satisfactioun: Quhairof preſentlie we thocht convenient to wrait to zow, that ze micht be the better rememberit and certifiet of our earneſt Deſyre to have this Mater brocht to pas. With this alſua thair is ane uther Mater that we man ſignify unto zow: Lately a Servand of zouris, namit *William Walcar*, came to our Preſens, being for the tyme at *Sterveling*, and in his Communicatioun amangis utheris Thingis declarit to us, how it was not only oppinly bruted, bot alſua he had hard be Report of Perſonis quhome he eſteimit Luffaris of us, that the King, be the Aſſiſtence of ſum of our Nobilitie, ſuld tak the Prince our Sone and crown him; and, being crownit, as his Fader ſuld tak upon him the Government; with ſundrie utheris Attemptatis and Purpoſis tending to this Fyne. At the heiring quhairof, ze may think weill we mervellit not a litle; and ſeing the Mater of ſic Importance, culd not bot inſiſt to have farther Knawlege of the Speikaris and Authoris, to the Effect that we micht better underſtand the Grund and Fontane quhairof it procedit. With the quhilk he being preſſit, nominat *William Hiegait* in *Glaſquo*, alſua zour Servand, for his cheif Author, quha, he ſaid, had communicat the Mater to him, as apperyt, of mynd to gratefie us; ſayand to *Walcar*, Gif I had the Moyen and Crydet with the Quenis Majeſtie that ze have, I wald not omitt to mak hir previe of ſic Purpoſſis and Bruitis that paſſis in the Cuntrie. *Heigait* ſaid further (as *Walcar* reportit to us) that the King culd not content nor beir with ſum of the Noblemen that war attending in our Court, bot othir he or thay behuvit to leif the ſamyn. Quhairupon we tuke occaſion with Diligence to ſend for *Heigait*, quha being inquirit in our Counſell of his Communicatioun had with *Walcar* in this Behalf, he denyit alſweill apairt, as being confrontit togidder, that evir he talkit with the ſaid *Walcar* upon ony ſic Purpoſſis. Onlie this far he confeſſit, that he hard of a Bruit how the King ſuld be putt in Ward; and for his Author in that Poynt, namit a Servand of the Erle of *Eglintonis* callit *Cauldwell*: Quha being alſua ſent for and examinat, expreſſitlie denyit that evir he ſpak or entrit in ſic Termis with *William Hiegait*. This Purpois of the Bruit of the Kingis Warding, wes ſchewen be *Hiegait* to the Laird of *Mynto*, quha agane declarit it to the Erle of *Lenox*, and be him the King was maid participant thairof: By quhais Deſyre and Commandement *Hiegait* againe (as he allegeit) ſpak *Cauldwell*. Bot in fyne, amangis thame all, we fynd na maner of Concordance, every ane diſagreing on the haill Purpoſſis ſpoken: Quhilk movit us to ſay to the twa that we tak for zour Servandis, That we war aſſurit thay had in thair proceding and ſpeiking, beſides our Offence, heichlie offendit zow thair Maiſter, quhome we war aſſurit to be ſa far ouris, and affectionatly inclynit to our Service and Advancement, that ze wald be very evill content of thair raſch Behavior, and repres and diſallow ſic groundles Purpoſſis, tending to our Inquietatioun and Diſadvantage, and troubling of the Tranquillitie of the Cuntre, quhilk our Study is to maintaine and retene in ſic Integrity as poſſiblie may be. And for the King our Husband, God knawis alwayis our Part towartis him; and his Behaviour and Thankfulnes to us is ſemblablement well knawin to God and the Warld, ſpecialie our awin indifferent Subjectis ſeis it, and in thair Hartis, we doubt not, condemnis the ſamyne (*a*). *Alwayis we perſave him occupeit and biſſy aneuch to haif Inquiſitioun of our Doyngis, quhilkis, God willing, ſall ay be ſic as nane ſall haif Occaſioun to be offendit with thame. or to report of us any wayis bot honorably; howſoever he, his Father and thair Fautoris ſpeik, quhilkis we knaw want na gud. Will to mak us haif ado, gif thair Power wer equivalent to thair Myndis.* Bot God moderatis thair Forces well aneuch, and takis the Moyen of Executioun of thair Pretenſis fra thame: For, as we believe, thay ſall find nane, or verray few Approveris of thair Counſalis and Devyſis imaginit to our Diſpleſor or miſlyking. And thus committis zow to the Protectioun of God. At *Edinburgh* the 20. Day of *January* 1566-7.

Zour richt guid Meſtres and Freind,
MARIE R.

Nota, *The Archbiſhop, in Anſwer to this, abandons his Servants to be tryed by Juſtice.*

Letter of Queen Mary *to the Archbiſhop of* Glaſgow *her Ambaſſador.*

Ibid. Tom. 3. F. 4. an Original.

MAiſt Reverend Fader in God, and traiſt Counſelor, we greit ze weill: We have recevit this Morning zour Letteris of the 27. *Januar* by zour Servand *Robert Dury*, containing in ane part ſic Advertiſement as we find by effect over true, albeit the Succes has not altogether been ſic as the Authoris of that miſchievous Fact had preconcevit in thair Mind, and had put it in Executioun, gif God in his Mercy had not preſervit us, and reſervit us, as we traiſt, to the End that we may tak a rigorous Vengeance of that miſchievous Deid, quhilk or it ſould remain unpuniſchit, we had rather loſs Life and all. The Mater is horrible and ſa ſtrange, as we beleive the like was never hard of in ony Country. This Night paſt being the 9th *February*, a litle after twa Houris after Midnight, the Houſe quhairin the King was logit was in ane inſtant blawin in the Air, he lyand ſleipand in his Bed, with ſic a Vehemencie, that of the haill Loging, Wallis and other, thare is nathing remanit, na, not a Stane above another, bot all other [*either*] carreit far away, or dung in Droſs to the very Grund-ſtane. It mon be done be Force of Powder, and apperis to have been a Myne. Be quhom it has been done, or in quhat maner, it apperis not as zit. We doubt not bot according to the Diligence oure Counſal hes begun alreddie to uſe, the Certainty of all ſalbe uſit ſchortly; and the ſame being diſcoverit, quhilk we watt God will never ſuffer to ly hid, we hope to puniſch the ſame with ſic Rigor as ſall ſerve for Exemple of this Crueltie to all Ages tocum. Allwayes quha ever have taken this wicked Interprys in hand, we aſſure our ſelf it wes dreſſit alſweill for us as for the King; for we lay the maiſt part of all the laſt Oulk in that ſame Loging, and wes thair accompanyit with the maiſt part of the Lordis that are in this Town that ſame Night at Midnight, and of very Chance taryit not all Night, be reaſon of ſum Mask in the *Abbaye*; bot we beleive it wes not Chance, bot God that put it in our Hede. We depeſchit this Berair upon the ſudden, and thairfor wraitis to zow the mair ſchortlie. The reſt of zour Letter we ſall anſwer at mair Laſor within four or five Dayis by zour aine [*own*] Servand. And ſua for the preſent committis zow to Allmightie God. At *Edinburgh* the 11. Day of *Februar* 1556-7.

MARIE R.

Note, *The Letter which is here mentioned to be ſent by* Robert Dury, *is taken Notice of in the* Martyre de la Reine d'Ecoſſe, p. 215 *of the new Edition by* Jebb, *and the original Minute in the Archbiſhop's Hand is ſtill extant,* Tom. 3. Mem. Scot. F. 9 & 10. *And for the better Satisfaction of the Readers, I have here added a juſt Extract of the Advertiſement ſent at this Time to the Queen. The Archbiſhop after writing to her Majeſty upon ſeveral other Heads, ſays thus;*

For nane of the Heids precedent thocht I to have depeſchit expreſſie towards zour Majeſtie, gif be the Ambaſſador of *Spane* I had not been requirit thairto, and ſpecialie to advertiſe zow to tak heid to zour ſelf. I have hard ſum murmuring in lykewiſe be others, that there be ſum Surpriſe to be traffickit in zour contrare, but he wald never

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(*a*) Compare this with the Accounts that *Buchanan* gives of the open ſcandalous Carriage of Queen *Mary* about this Time, ver lat me knaw of na Particular, onlie aſſurit me he had writtin to his Maſter to knaw gif be that way he can try ony farther, and that he was advertiſit and counſelit to cauſe me haſte towards zow herewith. Forder in this Inſtance, and at his Deſire partly, I ſpake earneſtlie to knaw at the Quene-Moder, gif ſche had hard ony Diſcourſe or Advertiſement latlie, tending to zour Hurt or Diſadvantage, but I cam na ſpeid, nor wald ſche confes that ſche had gotten nor hard ony ſic Apperance, and that baithe the Comte of *Bryen*, and ſenſyne the Ambaſſador *la Forreſt*, had aſſurit that zour Affairis were at a verie guid Point. In lyke maner that *Robert Stuart* had ſchawen hir, that ze hadforgifin my Lordis of *Morton*, *Rivan* and *Lindſay*: Swa ſche thocht thair was nathing to be fearit, and appreivit greatumlie the Reucht and Pity ze had of zour awin; and appeirit to be verie content that ze had ſa graciouſlie treatit thame, quhilk ſche eſteimit the right way to hald zow at Eaſe, and ſaw nathing that might ſtop it, but gif it war the Varience betwixt zow and the King, quhilk ſche deſirit God to appaiſe amang the reſt of zour Traverſis and Cummeris; for it wald be an great Mean to compas mair eaſilie all zour Deſignis and Interpryſis, and in ſpeciall it wald occaſion that Madame of *Lennox*, quham ſche knew weill favorit be an gryt part of the Nobilitie of *Ingland*, wald concur with zow, &c. [*And ſo goes on with Advices of Queen-Mother to Queen* Mary; *and at the End of this Letter he adds*,] Finaly, I wald beſeik zour Majeſtie right humblie to cauſe the Captanis of zour Gaird be diligent in thair Office; for notwithſtanding that I have na particular Occaſioun quhairon I deſir it, zit can I not be out of Feir while I heir of zour Novellis. I deſyre with all my Heart, gif it ſall be zour Pleaſar, it mot be with the ſame Bearer [*Robert Dury.*] And ſwa I pray the eternall Lord God to preſerve zour Majeſtie from all Dangeris, with lang Life and guid Health. At *Paris* the xxvii. Day of *Januar* 1567.

Extract of a Letter of James Beaton *Archbiſhop of* Glaſgow, *minute in his own Hand, to Queen* Mary. *From* Paris *the 9th* March 1567.

(*a*) ——The *Second* Head of my laſt Depeſche was the Diſcourſe ſchortlie of the horrible miſchievous and ſtrange Interprize and Executioun done contrar the Kingis Majeſtie, quha be Craft of Men has ſa violently been ſchortet of his Dayis: Of this Deed give I wald writ all that is ſpoken heir, namely of the miſerable State of that Realm (and alſo in *Ingland*) by the Diſhonor of the Nobilitie, Miſtreſt and Treaſon of zour haill Subjectis, zea that zour ſelf is gretumlie and wrangouſlie calumnit to be the Motif principal of the haill, and all done be zour Command; I can conclude nathing, by quhat zour Majeſtie writis to me zour ſelf, that ſen it has pleaſit God to conſerve zow to take a rigorous Vengance therof, that rather than it be not actualy taine, it appears to me better in this Warld that ze had loſt Life and all. I ask zour Majeſtie Pardon that I writ ſo far, for I can heir nathing to zour Prejudice but I man * conſtraindly writ the ſamin, that all may come to zour Knawlege, for the better Remede may be put therto. Heir it is needfull that ze forth ſchaw now rather than ever of before, the greite Vertue, Magnanimitie and Conſtance that God has grantit zow, be quhais Grace I hope ze ſall overcome this moſt heavie Envie and Diſpleaſir of the committing therof, and conſerve that Reputatioun in all Godlynes ze have conquiſt of lang, quhich can appear nawayis mair clearlie, than that zow doe ſick Juſtice as the haill Warld may declare zour Innocence, and give Teſtimony for ever of thair Treaſon that has committed (but Fear of God or Man) ſo cruell and ungodlie a Murther, quhairof thair is ſa meikle ill ſpoken, that I am conſtrainit to ask zow Mercie, that neither can I or will I make the Rehearſal therof, quhilk is owr † odious. But alas, Madam! over all *Europe* this Day there is na Purpoſe in head ſa frequent as of zour Majeſtie, and of the preſent State of zour Realm, quhilk is in the moſt part interpretit ſiniſterly. Zit is not the Hand of God and His mighty Power ſchort, but be His Comfort and Help, imploring truly the ſamin, and ſerving Him with all zour Heart, ze may have ſick Conſolatioun be Him, that ze ſall be able to remove that is to zour Majeſties Harm or Diſadvantage, and eſtabliſch that Reputatioun that hithertills the haill Warld has conceivit of zour Vertue: And I beſeek zour Majeſtie right humblie caſt heir the Fundament of zour Relief, and all the reſt of zour Deſires ſall come to paſs to zour Contentment and Honour; otherwiſe I fear this to be the beginning and firſt Act of the Tragedy, quhilk I pray God of his infinit Goodnes to avoid. *Thirdly*, Be *Dolu* it has pleaſit zour Majeſtie to write to me, &c.

Ibid. Tom. *F.* 26.

* *muſt.*

† *too.*

Order of the Lords for bringing in ſome of the Queen's Plate to be cuinzied.

THe Lordis underſtanding that thair is ſum Silver-werk of the Quenis Majeſtie in the Handis of hir *French* Officeris, quhich neceſſarlie man be cunzied, als weill for outridding of ſum Sumis of Money awand to the ſaid *Frenchmen*, als for furthſetting of other hir Hienes Service, and in ſpeciall in the Handis of *Servais de Conde Valet de Chambre*, an Nef of Silver over-guilt, twa Coupis with thair Coveris over-gilt, twa Flasketis over-guilt, twa gryt Coupis over-guilt, an Bell over-guilt, an Chalice and Platine over-guilt, twa (*b*) Peces over-guilt, an Croſs over-guilt in the Bordis, twa Chopinettis over-guilt in the Bordis, twa gryt Baſinis over-guilt in the Bordis, ſex Goblettis, an Covering, and twa Feit of Coppis, extending to threeſcore fourteen Markis. Therefor ordainis, commandis and chargeis the ſaid *Servais* to deliver the Peiceis of Silver-werk above ſpecifieit, being in his Handis, to *Johne Acheſoun* hir Majeſties Cunzior, to be cunzieit be him to the Effect above mentionit. Subſcryvit at *Edinburgh* the x. Day of *Julij* 1567. *Athole*, *Mortoun*, Sir *James Balfour*, *Rob. Theſaurar*, *Craigmillar*.

Ibid. Tom. 3. *F.* 136. an Original.

Order of the Lords to Servais de Condy *to deliver up the* Regalia.

S*Ervais de Condy*, Forſwameikle as it hes pleiſit the Quenis Majeſtie to give Commiſſioun and Commandement to crown hir deareſt Sone the Prince, to the quhilk Ceremonie it is convenient to have the Crown, Sceptar and Sword Royall of this Realme; Thairfor zow ſall incontinent, after the Sight heirof, put the ſaidis Crown, Sceptar and Sword before us, to the Effect above written: Keipand thir Preſentis for zour Warrand. Subſcryvit with our Handis at *Edinburgh* the xxv. Day of *Julij* 1567. *Athole*, *Mortoun*, *Mar*, *J. Grahame*, *W. Ruthven*, *Alex. Home*, *Sanquhar*, *Sympyl*.

Ibid. Tom. *F.* 143.

N. B. *There are in the ſame Repoſitory Minutes of Letters from the Abp. of* Glaſgow *to the Queen, from the* 23d June 1567 *till the* 10*th* October 1568, *all written by the Archbiſhop himſelf, but ſcarcely legible now in many Places. By theſe I have to advertiſe here (as an Addition to* p. 443,) *that the Earl of* Murray *was diſmiſſed in the Month of* June *out of* France *to* Scotland, *upon ſolemn Aſſurances that he would employ all his Intereſt and Friends for the Relief of the Queen. That at parting, the King of* France *told him, that he would venture his Crown to revenge any Hurt done to her Perſon. That the Earl's Aſſeverations were truſted by the* French *Court; but the Archbiſhop having received Information of his Dealing underhand with the Queen's Enemies, Order was ſent to ſtop the Earl at* Diepe; *but he was got off for* England *before the Order arrived.*

(*a*) The Beginning and End of this Letter are about other Matters and Affairs of *France*. If the other Biſhops and great Men (who wiſh'd well to the Queen, and were then about her in *Scotland*) had ſpoken this Language to her Majeſty, Things had probably taken another Turn.

(*b*) Inſtruments for giving the *Pax* at Maſs.

To *p.* 21. (*a*) *REX.* We be the Tenour of thir Preſentis giffs and committis Power to our Secretar and *David Lindeſay* of *Adzell*, to put Ordour to our Liegis and Tennentis of the Erldome of *Crawfurd*, *Dun*, *Brechin*, *Adzell* and *Montroſs*, anent thair furthcuming to our Army and Oiſt, and to caus the unable Perſonis to mak the Coiſt and Furniſſing upoun mair able Perſonis that may nocht furnys thameſelf, to pas for thame in our Service to our ſaid Army, nochtwithſtanding ony our Letteris, Proclamationis, or Chargeis paſt, that all maner of Man cum fordwart to the ſaid Oiſt; and likewiſs, nochtwithſtanding our Commiſſioun of Juſticiary, and Letteris paſt thairupoun, grantit to our Sheref of *Forfar* and his Deputis, anent the quhilkis we diſpens, be thir Preſentis ſubſcrivit with our Hand and under our Signete at *Edinburgh* the xix Day of *October*, and of our Regime the xxxth Zer. JAMES R.

Item, *p.* 81, concerning Eccleſiaſtical Affairs. In the King's Library at *Paris* is to be ſeen the only Copy extant this Day of the three laſt Provincial Councils of *Scotland*, holden in the Years 1549, 1552, and 1559. It belonged formerly to the late learned and famous Monſ. *Baluzius*; and is incorrectly enough tranſcribed from the old *Scottiſh* Language, as having been done by ſome ordinary *French* Scribe. The Title of the Council *Ann.* 1559 is this, *Concilium Provinciale Cleri totius Regni Scotiæ indictum & convocatum per reverendiſſimum in Chriſto Patrem & Dominum Johannem Sti Andreæ Archiepiſcopum, ejuſdem Regni Primatem, Legatum natum, &c. aſſiſtente & conſentiente reverendiſſimo in Chriſto Patre Jacobo Glaſguen. Archiepiſcopo, convocatis etiam ac præſentibus utriuſque Archiepiſcopi reverendis Dominis ſuffraganeis Epiſcopis, Vicariis generalibus, Abbatibus, Prioribus, Commendatariis, Decanis, Præpoſitis, ſacrarum literarum Profeſſoribus, Rectoribus, & aliis literatis viris Eccleſiaſticis, Eccleſiam Scoticanam repræſentantibus, cœptum eſt Edinburgi in religioſa Domo Dominicanorum* [Black-Friars] *primo die menſis Martii anno juxta computationem Eccleſiæ Scoticanæ* MDLVIII. [1559] *& finitum ibidem* 10 *die menſis Aprilis* MDLIX. *Et hoc ad dictæ Eccleſiæ Scoticanæ diſciplinam recte reformandam, & Dominici Gregis ſalutem promovendam, &c.*

I am informed that this Copy might be got corrected in a great meaſure by any Perſon of our Nation that has Letters, and that it might be put in a Condition to make as good a Figure to the Honour of our Country as any of theſe Times the South of *Britain* could produce; and to ſhew likewiſe that *all* our Clergy of theſe Days were not ſuch Dunces as Mr. *Knox* has thought fit to repreſent them, and that it was not the Knowledge of Eccleſiaſtical Canons that was wanting to them, but the Practice of the Diſcipline preſcribed by the Canons. It is to be hoped that either the Reverend Dr. *David Wilkins* of *England* will take care to inſert theſe *Scottiſh* Councils into the Body of *Britiſh* Councils he is about to publiſh; or that the *French* Gentlemen will inſert the ſame into the Supplement of Father *Labbe*'s Councils, which is ſhortly to be publiſhed by them. And if either the *Engliſh* or *French* Gentlemen ſhall think it worth their Pains, they'll find likewiſe in the *Scots* College in *Paris* the original Letter of Convocation from the Primate *Hamilton* to the Archbiſhop of *Glaſgow*, this Archbiſhop's Letter to his Suffragans, and the Vicar General of *Galloway*'s Letter, *ſede vacante*, to the Abbots, Priors, Archdeacons, &c. convocating them to this Council. As alſo a Remonſtrance (perhaps from the Lords of Privy-Council, tho' this is uncertain) to the Prelates aſſembled in Council towards reforming Abuſes, &c. in order to preſerve the ancient Religion.

From the Original at *Hamilton*.

Item, To *p.* 125. *A Liſt of the Subſcribers to the Bond 27th* April 1560.

James. James Hamilton. Huntlie. Ard. Argyle. Mariſchall. Rotheſe. Morton. Gordon. Henry Stewart. Salton. *Lord* Couper. Sommervill Wm. Baillie *of* Lamingtoun. Jo. Lindſey *of* Covingtoun. Jo. Erskine. J. Dunbar. Jo. Strachan *of* Thornton. Wm. Douglas *of* Bonjeddort. And. Hamilton *of* Goſlington. Jo. Boſwell *of* Auchinleck. Jo. Midleton. Geo. Seaton. Hew Ralſton *of that Ilk.* Jo. Robertſon. Walter Wood *of* Bonyton. James Stewart. Jo. Monteith. Ruthven. R. *Lord* Boyd. Ogilvie. Ochiltree. Jo. Maxwell. Pat. Lindſey. Jo. *Maſter of* Forbes. Pat. Whytlaw *of that Ilk.* Ceſsfoord. Gav. *Commendator of* Killwinning. Wm. *Abbot of* Kinloſſe. Mark Ker. And. Ker *of* Fadonſyde. Jo. Gordon *of* Finlator. Geo. Ker *of* Linton. Alex. Seaton *younger of* Meldrum. Hary Graham *younger of* Morphy. Alex. Gordon *of* Abergeldie. Ro. Arbuthnet *of that Ilk.* Fairnieherſt. Jo. Rutherford *of* Hunthill. Houſtoun *of that Ilk.* Ja. Cockburn *of* Ormieſton. Wedderburn. *Sir* Alex. Hume. Pat. Hume *of* Polwart. Jo. Row. J. Jardin *of* Aplegirth. Geo. Nisbet *of that Ilk.* Ja. Hamilton *of* Garen. Jo. Somervill *of* Cambuſnethen. Falahill. W. Henderſon *of* Fordell. Jo. Stewart. Cunninghamehead. J. Leſlie *of* Balquhain. Geo. Ogilvie. Jo. Innes *of that Ilk.* Arthur Forbes. Wm. Leſlie *younger of* Wairdis. Jo. Wiſhart *of* Pitarro. Alex. Dunbar *of* Crumnock. Ja. Halyburton *of* Pitcur. *Tutor of* Pitcur. Crachlie. Wm. Douglas *of* Whytinghame. Frendraught. Balhouſſie. Geo. Hume *of* Spot. Ja. Johnſton *of* Elphingſton. Pat. Douglas. Rob. Campbell. And. Johnſton. Dav. Hamilton *of* Fingleton. Ker. Ad. Kirton. And. Moſcrop *Proveſt of* Jedbrugh. Ad. Fleſher. Ro. Carnagie *of* Kinnaird. Jo. Clark. Wm. *Lord* Hay *of* Yeſter. Jo. *Maſter of* Erroll. Hen. *Maſter of* Sinclair. Wm. Sinclair *of* Roſlin. Arch. Mackenzie. J. Forreſter *of* Carſtorphin. Pat. Hepburn *of* Waghton. G. Touris *of* Innerleith. Logan *of* Reſtalrigg. Jo. Somervil *of* Drum. Innerwharitie. Alex. Ogilvie. Ja. Tweedie *of* Drummelzier. Traquair. Rich. Rutherford. Cloſeburn. D. Balfour *of that Ilk.* Hamilton *of* Briggs. Alex. Hume. Ja. Hamilton. Jo. Blackadder. Lochinvar. Alex. Meinzies *of that Ilk.* Tho. Meinzies. Seaton *of* Muirhead. Wm. Hay. Wm. Wiſhart. Ro. Scot *of* Bonytoun. Geo. Weir *of* Blackwood. Cunninghame *of* Capringtoun. R. *Miniſter of* Failford. Scot *of* Horcleuch. Ja. Lockhart *of* Bar. Geo. Dundas *of that Ilk.* Al. Stewart *of* Garleis. Jo. Melvine *of* Carnbie. Jo. Macleod *of* Aſſint. Ja. Lockhart *of* Cleghorn. Dav. Ramſay *of* Broxſmouth. Hew Wallace *of* Cairnhill. H. Kennedy *of* Girvanmains. Ro. Fairley *of* Braid. Hary Creichton. Geo. Ogilvie *of* Bamft. Alex. Rutherford *of that Ilk.* Ja. Swinton *of that Ilk.*

Item, *p.* 59. The *Regiſter* of the Parliaments during the Queen Regent's Government being loſt, I have been at Pains to ſearch the *Seals* for the Lord *Erskine*'s Commiſſion of Keeper of the Caſtle of *Edinburgh*, but could not find any thing thereof at all. There are two Signatures, both of them dated the 8th *November* 1561, relating to the Caſtle of *Stirling*; the *Firſt* of which narrates the late *Thomas* Lord *Erskine* his keeping the ſaid Caſtle for the Queen Dowager; the *Second* confers the Keeping of the ſame Caſtle to *John* Lord *Erskine* for all the Days of his Life, *the ſaid Lord keipand the ſaid Place trewlie and ſtraitlie, to be reddie and obedient to our Soverane Ladie quhat Time or quhow often hir Grace requiris the ſamyn, ſicklike as he hes done in Time bigane.*

Item, *p.* 69. Tho' it be ſaid, upon the Faith of our Hiſtorians, that three *Frenchmen* got conſiderable Poſts in this Kingdom; yet I can perceive no Veſtige of a Commiſſion granted them, either in the Regiſter of the Great or Privy Seals: The only Appearance of any ſuch thing is the Office of Comptrollery to *Barthilmo Wilemoir* of that Ilk, dated at *Orleans*, by the Queen, 8th *January* 1560-1, after the Death of her Husband the *French* King.

Item,

(*a*) This is an Original ſubſcribed with the King's own Hand, and the Signet in ſome meaſure remaining. It belongs to the Right Honourable Mr. *David Erskine* of *Dun*, one of the Lords of Seſſion and Juſticiary. I ſuppoſe it is one of thoſe circular Letters which our Hiſtorians ſay were ſent about at this Time; tho' it ſeems likewiſe to diſcover, that the King had beſides, emitted ſome Proclamations for convening the Lieges to his Army. I thought it might not be altogether uſeleſs to ſet down here ſome of the King's Dyets in this laſt Period of his Life, which I have taken from the Writs of the *Privy Seal.* The King is at *Edinburgh* ſeveral different Days in *October* and *November*; at *Falkland* 12th and 20th *October*, and 12th *November*; at *Linlithgow* 9th *November*; at *Edinburgh* again 5th and 6th Days of *December*. And on the 8th Day of *December* there is a *Latin* Letter by the King at *Edinburgh* to the Duke of *Cleve*, but it has neither the King's Name nor Signet; ſo it would ſeem the King had left that Place, or was fallen ill by that Time. On the 26th Day of *November* there is this remarkable Letter of Eſcheat, ------*for being abſent and remaining fra our Soverane Lordis Oiſt and Army, deviſit and ordainit to pas to the Eſt and South Bordouris of the Realme, for Expulſioun of our ald Inymeis furth of the ſamyn, incontrar of his Hienes Letteris and Proclamationis maid thairupoun.*

Item, p. 160. The Queen was at St. *Germain* in *Laye*, 4th *October* 1560; at *Orleans*, 6th *December*, 16th *ditto*, and 8th *January* 1560-1; at *Fontainbleau*, 8th *March* 1560-1; at *Janville*, 17th *April* 1561; at *Meon*, near *Beauvais*, 28th *July* 1561; at *Beauvais*, 2d *Auguſt* 1561. *Privy Seal Regiſter.*

Item, p. 180. 'Tis certain the Queen arrived from *France* on the 19th Day of *Auguſt*, by the following moſt diſtinct Inſtruction recorded in the Regiſter of the Privy Seal, which is ſet down as a Title to the next following Records, in theſe Words, *viz. Poſt adventum S. D. N. Reginæ à partibus Galliæ, quæ pervenit ad villam de Leith, decimo nono die menſis Auguſti, Anno Domini milleſimo quingenteſimo ſexageſimo primo, hora nona ante meridiem.* Book 30. Fol. 42. *That is,* "After the Arrival of our Sovereign Lady the Queen from *France*, "who came into *Leith* on the 19th Day of *Auguſt* 1561, at Nine o'clock before Noon."

Item, p. 304. Lord *Darnly*, then Earl of *Roſs*, was created Duke of *Albany* 20th *July* 1565; and failing Male Heirs of his own Body, the Title is to return to the Crown. *Regiſter Privy Seal.*

Item, p. 320. In the Records of the Privy Seal there is a moſt ample Remiſſion as can be deviſed, dated the 2d of *January* 1565-6, to the Duke, his two Sons *David* and *Claud*, *Gavin* Commendator of *Kilwinning* (*a*), *Ac remanentibus perſonis cognominis, hoſpicii, ſervitorum, ſtipendiariorum, ac aliorum ex antiquo de domo dicti Ducis dependentibus, tenentibuſque, & inhabitantibus ſuper ipſius & eorum terris.* After which each of their Names are inſerted at length to a very great Number: So that Bp. *Spotiſwood* is certainly in the right, who ſays that the Remiſſion was eaſily obtained. And in the ſame *Regiſter* is likewiſe the King's and Queen's Licence to the Duke to go into *France* for the Space of five Years.

Item, p. 327. Beſides the original Letter there mentioned, and which ſtands on *p.* 313, there are ſome others of the ſame ſort to be met with in the Regiſter of Privy Seal. But it may be a Queſtion whether even in theſe the King's Name ſtands not in the preferable Rank, as being on the right Hand of the Queen's, and probably the firſt in the Order of ſubſcribing. See the preciſe and uniform Order of their Majeſties ſubſcribing on *p.* 313.

Item, p. 333. Remiſſions to Earls of *Rothes*, *Argile*, *Murray*, Lairds of *Pitarrow*, *Grange*, &c. are to be ſeen in the Privy Seal Records, of the Date the 19th, 20th and 21ſt Days of *March* 1565-6.

Item, p. 334. Earl of *Morton*, Lord (then Maſter of) *Ruthven*, and ſundry others, obtain their Remiſſions 24th *January* 1566-7, for the Murder of *Riccio*, and detaining the Queen Priſoner in *Holy-rood-houſe* the 9th, 10th and 11th Days of *March* laſt bypaſt. And *Lethington* gets Licence to paſs into the *Lower Germany* 25th *April* that ſame Year. *Regiſter Privy Seal.*

Item, p. 385. That the Earl of *Bothwell* was ſtiled Duke of *Orkney*, is certain; and yet there is nothing of that Creation to be ſeen in any Regiſter. He gets the Earldom of *Orkney* on the 12th of *May* this Year. *Reg. P. S.*

(*b*) *Letter Sir* Nicholas Throckmorton, *to the Queen of* England, 21ſt July 1567.

To the Quenes mooſte Excellent Majeſtie,

Paper-Office, an Original.

IT may pleaſe your Majeſtie, ſynce the Diſpatche of my laſte of the 19 of *Julye*, I have preſſed theys Lordes to geve me Aunſwer to ſuche Thinges as I propoſed unto them the 15 of thys Monethe; and namelye to permyt me to have Acceſſe to the Quene theire Soveraygne, without anye longer Delaye; and lykewyſe to ſatisfye your Majeſtie in th'Enlargement of her. The Earle *Moreton* aunſwered me, That ſhortelye I ſhoulde heare Aunſwer from them: But the Daye being deſtyned (as I dyd ſee) to the Comunyon, contynuall Preachynge and comon Prayer, they coulde not be abſent, nor attende Matters of the Worlde; for firſte they muſt ſeeke the Matters of GOD, and take Counſell of Hym who could beſt dyrecte them. Notwithſtandinge he promyſed there ſhoulde be no Delaye uſed.

And the ſame Nighte, about 11 of the Clocke, the Lard of *Lyddyngton* came to me to my Lodgynge, and delyvered me, on the Lordes Behalfe, thys Wrytinge which I ſende your Majeſtie (*c*); ſayinge, becauſe the Matter was longe, and conteyned manye Partes, theye thought good, for the Helpe of my Memorye to put the ſame in Wrytinge: For the which I thanked him. Marye, I coulde have ben better contented if they woulde have ſubſcrybed theyre Names to the ſame. He ſayde, that was needles; for yt was but onelye to eaſe me of Payne to cowche yt in Wrytinge: otherwyſe your Majeſtie woulde have beleaved what I had wrytten unto yow of them, of myne owne Reporte, without they're Wryting or Subſcryptyon. And yet [quoth he] the Quene and her Counſell wyll know, that this comethe from us; and the rather, becauſe I delyver yt yow on the Behalfe of the Lordes. I preſſed to have Acceſſe to the Quene theyre Soveraygne: He aunſwered me, That, for that and other Thynges propoſed by me on your Majeſties Behalfe, I muſte needes tarye untill theyre Aſſocyates weere joyned with them. This parentarye Aunſwer beinge geven me, wherewith I ſhewed my ſelfe nothynge contented; he ſayde unto me, Sr, I wyll talke more frankelye with yow than with anye Man of your Natyon, weere yt not with my Lord of *Leyceſter* and Mr. Secretorye. Yow ſee our Humors heere, and how wee be bent: Let the Quene your Soveraygne and her Counſell be well advyſed; for ſurelye yow run a Cowrſe which wyll breede us greate Peryll and Trowble, and yourſelves moſt of all. Doe yow not ſee, that yt dothe not lye in my Power to doe that I fayneſt woulde doe? which is to have the Quene my Miſtris in Eſtate in Perſon and in Honor. I know well enoughe yt is not hydden from yow th'Extremytie that the chyfeſt of our Aſſemblye be in concerninge th'endynge of thys Matter. Yow harde yeſterdaye, and ſomewhat thys Daye, how bothe yow and I weere publykelye taxed in the Preachynges, thoughe we weere not named. Wee muſt be fayne to make a Vertue of Neceſſytie, and forbeare neyther to doe ourſelves good, the Quene, nor our Countreye: And the Quene your Miſtris had Neede to take heede, that ſhe make not *Scotlande*, by her Dealynge, better *Frenche* than eyther they woulde be or ſhoulde be. Yow ſee in whooſe Handes reſtethe the Power. Yow know the *Frenchemen* have a Sayinge, *Il pert le jeu qui laiſſe la partie*; [i. e. *He loſes the Game that quits the Side.*] To my great Gryeffe I ſpeake that, the Quene my Soveraygne maye not be abyden amongeſt us: And thys ys not Tyme to doe hir good, if ſhe be ordeyned to have anye. Therefore

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(*a*) *Note*, This Gentleman who is ſo often mentioned in this Work, was of *Raploch*'s Family, or the firſt of that Family himſelf. Vid. *Crawford*'s *Peerage*, *p.* 68.

(*b*) This Letter I have by the Favour of the ingenious Dr. *Patrick Forbes*, who with great Induſtry, as well as Expence, has collected and deciphered, and is juſt about to publiſh a continued Series of all the publick Tranſactions through the whole Courſe of the long and memorable Reign of *Elizabeth* Queen of *England*, in the original Accounts, which thoſe that had the Management of Affairs in their Hands committed to Writing, and which upon that Account I preſume will ſerve to ſet Matters in a far better Light than hitherto they have been. I have ſeen a Part of this Collection, and can affirm that nothing comparable to it has hitherto appeared, and that it juſtly deſerves all manner of generous Encouragement.

(*c*) It is the ſame which begins *p.* 417 of this Hiſtory, but the Date is evidently falſe, and inſtead of 11th ſhould certainly be 21ſt of *July*, or rather 20th, as having been delivered to Sir *Nicholas* the Night before he wrote this Letter of the 21ſt. In that Paper, *p.* 419. *l.* 34, Dr. *Forbes* has ſhewed that it ſhould be read thus, *every Day to fecht a cruill Battell. What*, &c. And that on *p.* 427. *l.* 33, the Reading ought to be, *hir Advantage, it mycht impede hir Reſolutoun to allow of our Advyſs; quhilk*, &c. Follows here the Schedule mentioned *p.* 426. *l.* 28, which I have obtained from the ſame Gentleman, *viz.* Barons of the Parliament, *The Earle of* Athell. *The Earle of* Morton. *The Earle of* Glyncarne. *The Earle of* Marre. *The Maſter of* Montroſſe, *caulyd Lord* Grahame, *Heire to the Earle of* Montroſſe. *The Lorde* Hume. *The Lorde* Ruthen. *The Lorde* Creghton *of* Saker. *The Lorde* Simple. *The Lorde* Innermeithe. *The Lorde* Ogletre. *The Lorde of* Craigmiller, *Proveſt of* Edinburgh. *The Comendator of* Drybirge. *The Comendator of* Cambuſckenith. *Mr.* James Magyll.

take heede that the Quene your Soveraigne doe not looſe altogether the good Wyll of thys Companye irrecuperablye: For thoughe there be ſome amongeſt us which woulde reteyne our Prynce, People and Amytye to *Englaundes* Devocyon; yet I can aſſure yow, if the Quenes Majeſtie deale not otherwyſe than ſhe dothe, yow wyll lowſe all: And yt ſhall not lye in the Power of your Well-wyllers to helpe yt, no more than yt dothe in our Powers now to helpe the Quene our Soveraygne.

Agreable hereunto, yt may pleaſe your Majeſtie, yow mycht perceyve by my Lettres of the 19 of *Julye*, upon ſuche Groundes as I made my Collectyons, that th'Yſſue of thys great Matter heere was lyke to be determyned by one of the four Degrees and Endes in my ſayde Lettres mencyoned; albeyt I dyd pryncypallye relye by Conjecture upon the twoe laſte and extremeſt. But nowe I have by aſſured Intellygence (notwithſtanding this ſmowthe Speache uttred by theys Lordes in thys Wrytinge which I ſende your Majeſtie) they bee reſolved to put in Executyon forthewith the Coronatyen of the yonge Prynce, with the Quenes Conſent, yf they can obteyne the ſame; promyſynge her, that her Conformytye in thys Matter ſhall aſſure unto her, that they meane not neyther to towche her in Honor nor in Lyffe, neyther otherwyſe to procede agaynſt her judycyallye by waye of Proces: Otherwyſe they are determyned to procede agaynſt her publykelye, by Manyfeſtacion of ſuche Evydence as they are hable to charge her with. And for the perfectynge of thys theyre entent, they have ſent for all the Lordes and Gentlemen which they thynke wyll conjoygne with them; and, as I underſtande, they make theyre Accompte to ende thys Matter before the latter Ende of thys Monethe.

They meane alſo, in the Prynces Name ſo crowned, to governe thys Realme by Nyne ſuche Noblemen and others as I have named unto your Majeſtie in my former Lettres; and, as far as I can underſtande, theye doe not meane to ſuffer the Quene to departe forthe of theyre own Garde, neyther to paſſe forthe of thys Realme, albeyt the *Frenche* Kynge or your Majeſtie woulde be pleaſed to have her, and albeit the *Frenche* Kynge woulde deteyne the Profettes of her Dowrye.

Thys is alſo to be feared, that when theys Lordes have ſo far proceeded as to towche theyre Soveraygne in Honor and Credyt, theye wyll never thynke to ſynde anye Salfteye as longe as ſhe lyvethe; and ſo not onelye depryve her of her Eſtate, but alſo of her Lyffe.

When I had peruſed thys Wrytinge delyvered me by the Lard of *Lyddyngton*, I asked hym, howe far theys Wordes, *Neceſſytie of theyre Cauſe*, in th'Ende of the ſame, dyd extend; and howe far they might be led? He made me non other Aunſwer, but, ſhakynge hys Heade, ſayd, *Vous eſtes ung Renard*; [i. e. *You are a very Fox*] (*a*).

The Earle *Bodwell*, as I underſtande, hathe aſſembled four or fyve ſmalle Shyppes together: He hathe equipped and manned the ſame, and myndethe (as yt is ſayde) to uſe the Sea for his uttermooſte Refuge: He begynnethe, as I heare, to ſpoyle at the Sea alreadye: He meanethe to allure the Pyrattes of all Countreys unto hym. It were good that your Majeſties Fleete from *Iſlelande* towke good Hede that they falle not into hys Lappe.

Mr. *Knox* dothe in hys Sermons daylye praye for the Contynuacyon of Amytie betwixte *Englaunde* and *Scotlande*; and dothe lykewyſe admonyſhe hys Audytorye to eſchewe theyre oulde Allyaunce with *Fraunce*, as they woulde flye from the Pottes of *Egypte*, which brought them nothynge but ſugred Poyſon: Nothwithſtandinge he dothe contynew hys ſeveare Exhortacyons as well agaynſte the Quene as agaynſte *Bodwell*; thretnynge the greate Plage of God to thys wholle Countrey and Natyon, yf ſhe be ſpared from her condigne Ponyſhement (*b*).

The Earles of *Mar*, *Glenkerne* and *Caſſills*, with the reſt of theys Lordes Aſſocyatts, wyll be heare, as I am informed, the 24 or 25 of thys Monethe, and not before.

The Convencyon of all the Churches (whereof I made Mencyon in my laſt to your Majeſtie) notwithſtandinge all my Perſwacyons to the contrarye, dothe houlde; and thys Daye (being the 21 of this Monethe) theye are aſſembled in the Tollebowthe, where they doe propounde ſuch Matters as they intende to treate of at thys Tyme. The Lard of *Lyddyngeton* hathe trayvaylled with ſoundrye of the wyſeſt to make them deſyſte from dealynge in anye Matter which dothe concerne the Quene, or thys Cryme: But, as far as I can learne, yt wyll be verye harde to wyn thys at theyre Handes: For they be verye audacyous, and yt appearethe theyre Hartes be mervelowſlye hardened agaynſt theyre Soveraygne; which GOD mollefye.

Foraſmuckle as I heare an Inkelynge, that theys Lordes doe meane to deſyre me to aſſyſte with them at the Coronatyon of the Prynce at *Sterlynge*; It maye pleaſe your Majeſtie that I maye knowe your Pleaſure howe to dyrecte my ſelfe in that Matter, in caſe I be by them ſo requyred.

Thus I praye Almyghtye GOD to preſerve your Majeſtie in perfecte Helthe, longe Lyffe, and proſperous Felycytie. At *Edenboroughe* this 21 of *Julye* 1567.

Your Majeſties mooſt humble, faythefull, obedyent Servaunte and Subjecte,
N. THROKMORTON.

Cartels of Lords Herris *and* Lindſay *of 21ſt and 22d* December 1568.

Nota, *Tho' the following Paper does not properly pertain to the Period treated of in this Book, yet ſince it bears ſuch Affinity to one great Event therein, perhaps the Reader may not be diſpleaſed to ſee it here.*

Lord Herreis,

Mem. Scot. Tom. 3. F. 376. Coll. Scot. Par.

I Am informit that ye haif ſpoken and affirmit, that my Lord Regents Grace and his Companie here preſent war guiltie of the abominable Murther of the King our Soveraign Lordis Fader, Gif ye haif ſwa ſpoken, ye haif ſyd untruely, and thairin lyed in your Throt, quhilk I will mentayn, God willing, againiſt yow, as becomes me of Honour and Duetie. Hereupon I deſyre your Anſwer. Subſcryvit with my Hand at *Kingſton* the 22d of *December* 1568.

PAT. LINDSEY.

Anſwer thereto carried by John Hamilton *of* Broomhill.

Lord Lindſey,

I Have ſeen a Wrytand of zours the 22d of *December*, and thairby underſtandith zeir informit, that I haif ſyd and afirmit that the Earle of *Murray* wham zee call zeir Regent, and his Company, are guiltie of the Queens Husbands Slaughter, Fader to our Prince; and gif I ſyd it, that I lyd in my Throt, whilk zee will mantain againiſt me as becomis zow of zour Honour and Deutie. In reſpect thay haif accuſit the Queenis Majeſtie, mayn and zour native Soveraign, of that ſowl Crime; far by the Deutie that guid Subjectis aucht, or evir has bein ſein to haif done to thayr native Soveraign: I haif ſyd thair is in that Company preſent with the Earle of *Murray* guiltie of that abominable Trayzoun, in the Foirknawledge thairto that zee war privie to it, Lord *Lindſey*, I knaw not; and gif zee will ſay that I haif ſpecially ſpoken of zow, zee lyd in zour Throt, and that I will defend as my Honour and Deutie becomis me. But I wad anie of the Principals that was their ſubſcryve the lyke Wrytand zee haif ſent to me, and I ſall poynt him furth, and fight with any of the Traytoris theirin; for meitiſt it is that Traytoris ſall pay for their awn Trayſoun. Of *London* 23d *December* 1568.

HERREIS.

Note,

(*a*) This is a plain Confirmation of the Remark I took the Freedom to make on the ſame Expreſſion *p.* 420, long before I had ſeen this Paper.

(*b*) And this likewiſe is a ſtrong Confirmation that much of the Queen's Miſeries proceeded from Mr. *Knox*. Conſider alſo the Manner of Preaching narrated above in this very Letter.

Note, Becauſe the Publiſher of the *Collections* relating to the Hiſtory of *Mary* Queen of *Scotland*, has not thought fit to inſert this following Paper at *p.* 93. *Vol.* 4. *Part* 2. I have therefore given it here to the Readers; and I am hopeful it will diſcover ſomewhat to them which perhaps that Gentleman has wanted to conceal.

The Queen, to the Duke of Norfolk, *the Earl of* Suſſex, *and Sir* Ralph Sadler, *her Commiſſioners at* York, *16th* October 1568.

Paper-Office, an Original; from Dr. *Forbes*'s Collections.

WE grete yow well. We have of late receaved your ſeverall Letters of the 9th and 11th of this Moneth, with all ſuch other Matters conteyned in ſundry Writings, as by your ſaid Letters hath ben mentioned. Upon Conſideration wherof, with ſuch of our Counſell as now attend upon us, we have, after good Deliberation, found ſuch Difficulties how to make a certen reſolute Anſwer unto yow, as we are rather moved to have furder Adviſe of others of our Counſell now abſent, and likewiſe of yow ther, then preſently to make any ſoddayn and incertayn Determination upon the wholl Body of the Matter. Wherefore like as we meane to ſend for certen of the Lords of our Counſell as be now abſent, to have and uſe their Adviſe, ſo we are deſirous to have ſome Underſtanding of your Opinions, and therwith alſo to feele the Minds of both the Parties with whom you have there to doo. For which purpoſe we wold have yow Sr *Raff Sadleir* make your Repaire hither to us, as yow may with Spede, by whom having your Adviſees therto, we may be aſſerteyned in certen Queſtions and Matters conteyned in a Writing here included: And likewiſe we deſire to have here the L. of *Lyddyngton* and *James Makgill*; and on th'other Parte, the Lord *Hereys* and the Abbot of *Killwynning*. And yet for the procuring of them to come hither, we think good theſe Meanes be uſed: We wold have yow to declare unto the Commiſſioners on both Partes, ether ſeverally or joyntly together, that upon the Complaints made on the Queens Behalf, and the Anſwers made therto on th'other Parte (wherof yow have ſent us the true Copies, and have required to know our furder Pleaſure for your furder proceding) we have found it very neceſſary, for our owne Information, and for the more ſpedy and good ending of the wholl Matters, to have ſome one of ether Party, ether of the Commiſſioners themſelves, or of ſuch as they ſhall allowe, to come hither unto us; with whom, as with Perſons of Underſtanding, and having Creditt, we may ſo conferr, as therby we may finally tak ſome Reſolution how to direct the doing of yow our Commiſſioners for the ſpedy ending of the wholl Cauſe; wherin you may ſaye, We do find certen ſuch Difficulties, as without ſuch a Conference by way of Speche with ſome of ether Party, we cannot give yow ſuch a Direction as might without furder Delay of Time, by ſending to and fro, make an End of the wholl Cauſe, for the Commodity and Satiſfaction of both Parties. And having propounded this Motion unto them, yow may, as of your ſelves, procure the Queenes Parte to allowe of the ſending of the Lord *Hereys*, and of the Princes Parte to ſend the Lard of *Lyddyngton*, if yow ſhall think that th'Erle of *Murrey* will committ as much Truſt unto him as we think he is here able to conceave and diſcharge in Conference with us. And therwith yow the Duke and the Erle may adde, That yow wil be bold to ſend Sr *Raff Sadleir* likewiſe unto us, to be preſent with them at our Conference; who may be therby the meter at his Returne with them to bryng to yow our perfect Reſolution for the wholl Matter. And this being don and accorded, we think it good that ſome privat Motion be made apart to the Abbot of *Killwynning*, by way of a frendly manner, to adviſe him, in reſpect of the Duke of *Chatilraults* Cauſe, to come upp and be here at this Conference alſo. And if it be found that *Lyddyngton* ſhall not be thought by the Erle of *Murrey* mete ynough for his Parte, than though he ſend any other of his Colleges in Commiſſion with hym, yet we cold be content that *Lyddyngton* might alſo come, in reſpect of the Acquayntance he hath here. For the Time of their comming, you may move them to uſe as much Dilegence as themſelves ſhall allowe of, and as ſoone as yow can, to wryte therof unto us. And the more willyngly to induce them of the Queens Parte therunto, who we think will moſt ſuſpect the ſame, we wold have yow to uſe all good Meanes, wherby the Queen may underſtand that this our Conference is entended to take away the Delay of Time, which of Force we ſee like to enſue, by ſending to and fro by way of Letters and Writing betwixt us and yow our Commiſſioners, in ſuch uncertayn ſort as we cannot ſee any Lyklood, but by this Meanes, how to end this Cauſe in honorable ſort, and mete for all Partes.

In the dealyng herin, yow ſhall doo well to have good Regard that none of the Queen of *Scotts* Commiſſioners may gather any Dout of any evill Succes of her Cauſe, but that they may imagyn this Conference of ours principally to be ment how hir Reſtitution may be deviſed with Suerty of the Prynce hir Sonne, and the Nobilite that have adhered to hym; and therin yow ſhall doo well to underſtand ther Intentions in as manny reſonable Degrees as may be deviſed, ſo as at the comming of yow Sr *Raff Sadleir* we may have the more Facilite to treate therof.

Furdermore, conſideryng, uppon the Repayre of theſe Partyes hither, and upon lack of Anſwer to yow, how yow ſhuld furder procede, ther will be an Abſtynence of Treaty betwixt yow the Commiſſioners: And that we underſtand how yow our Cooſyn of *Norfolk* might doo us very good Service to view our Frontyers, before your Retorn out of the North; We have thought good to remitt it to your Conſideration, whyther in this Time of Abſtynence yow might, uſyng therin ſome Spede, repayre to our Frontyers: Which if yow maye conveniently doo without Danger to your Helth, than we will and require yow, and by theſe Preſents we doo authoriſe yow to repayre to our three Frontyers, that is to ſaye, the Eſt, Middle and Weſt; and calling the Wardens to yow, and ſuch others as yow ſhall thynk mete, inquire uppon what Occaſions our ſayd Frontyars ar become weake in Nombres of *Engliſh* People, and ſpeciall of Horſmen, and in any other thyng requiſit to be redreſſed: And theruppon we will yow in our Name to gyve expreſs Ordre to cauſe all Meanes be uſed that you ſhall fynd mete to reform the ſame. And generally for the Truſt we repoſe in yow, we authoriſe yow to putt in Execution, as far furth as the Time may ſerve, and for the Time to come, to command the Execution of all ſuch good Ordres as hath bene deviſed of late Tyme for ſtrengtheing of the Countrey by Incloſures, by repayryng of decayed Houſes, by cauſyng Officers and Freeholders to dwell upon ther Chargees and Houſees, and by ſecludyng from the Frontyars the frequent Inhabitation of *Scottiſh* People: Of all which, with many ſuch lyke of late, we have perceaved our Cooſyn of *Hunſdon*, Warden of our Eſt Marchees, hath found no meane Fault to the Diminution of our Strength. And though this Tyme may ſeme very ſhort for ſo great a Service, yet knowing how both the Defalts and Remedyes ar redely knowen, we thynk your Preſence by our Authorite will doo more good to the puttyng the Reformation in Execution, than a long Abode of new Commiſſionars. And ſo whileſt yow the Duke is abſent, yow our Cooſyn of *Suſſex* may have more Leſure to enter into the Acquayntance of your Chardg of the Preſidency, from which we thynk this other Treaty hath ſomewhat detayned yow.

To *p.* 20. *Haldenrig* is not in the Shire of *Merſe*, but in *Teviotdale*, now a Part of the Shire of *Roxburgh*, a large Mile South-Eaſt from *Kelſo*.

To *p.* 34, near the Cloſe of the Note (*a*), ——*in all ten*; Mr. *Sadler* ſays, *in Preſence of the greateſt Part of the Nobility.* Were the Matter of any Moment, the Readers would form the beſt Judgment by themſelves; ſince this Gentleman acknowledges the Cardinal (whoſe Sway was then very great) and his Complices were abſent.

To *p.* 89. See the Bond, *&c.* as contained in *Knox*'s Hiſtory, *Anno* 1732.

To *p.* 259, Note (*b*), add, *Welſh* is mentioned by *Camden* as a *Profugus*, and is claſs'd by him with *Yaxley* and *Standon.*

To *p.* 594. The following original Paper, belonging to the Lord *Dun*, will ſhew that the vicious Practice of the Prelates was not ſuffered to eſcape, without a laudable Obſervation from the inferior Clergy.

At Aberdeine *5th* Januarij 1558-9. *The Counſall gevin be the Deyne and Cheptour of* Aberdeine *to my Lord Biſchope of* Aberdeine *the Ordinar, at his Lordſchipis Deſyre, for Reformatioun to be maid, and ſtancheing of Hereſeis pullelant within the Diocie of* Aberdeine, *and the Ordour preſcrivit to be obſervit to the ſamyn Effect.*

I*Nprimis*, That my Lord of *Aberdeine* caus the Kirkmen within his Lordſchipis Diocie to reforme thameſelfis in all thair ſlanderus Maner of lyving, and to remove thair oppin Concubinis, alſweill grete as ſmall, under ſic Panis as is contenit in the Law and Actis Provinciall: And the Cheptour of *Aberdeine* ſall do ſiclyk amangis thame in all ſcharpeſt Maner conforme to the Law, alſweill on thameſelfis as thair Servandis, or ony uther Perſonis dwelland under thair Juriſdictioun.

Item, For Preching to be maid within the haill Diocie, that thair be ſend Letteris Monitoris upon the haill Parſonis, Abbottis and Prioris, to caus Preching to be maid within thair Kirkis betwix this and *Faſternis-evin* nixt, at leiſt anis in ilk Paroche Kirk, and anuther Tyme betwix that and *Paſche*, with Continewatioun, conforme to the Actis Provinciall, under Panis contenit thairintill; and failzieing tharof, that my Lord caus ſend ane Prechour to everilk Kirk that is not prechit in *Lentroun* thaireftir, and to tak up the Panis thairof, to be applyit to certane Precheouris to be ſend throw the Diocie, and Letteris to be direct thairupoun, upon the Fermoraris thairof, conforme to the Statut Provinciall, ſwa that the Peple be nocht in Danger becaus of the Inlack of precheing of the trew Catholik Fayth And ſiclyk, Sequeſtratioun of all Frutis to be maid, *uſque ad reformationem Eccleſiarum, pro parte Rectorum*; and Writtingis to be maid thairupoun be my Lord to thame all that ar abſent, to cum and mak Reſidence within the Diocie and Chanonrie of *Aberdeine*, and to reforme the Kirkis, and caus Prechingis to be maid thairintill, according to the Actis.

Item, To this Effect the Statute of Reſedence to be putt to Executioun, conforme to the Fundatioun *ſuper ſeptima.*

Item, Anent the Ordour and Procedeing twicheing Reformatioun of ſic Enormeteis as is within the Dyoceſie.

Inprimis, To ſend ane Summondis *contra infamatas perſonas de hæreſe, quod compareant coram Epiſcopo, Decano & Capitulo ſuis in hac parte Conſiliariis & Aſſeſſoribus, ad videndum & audiendum ſe plecti & puniri, ſecundum juris exigentiam, & qualitatem delicti, vel purgandum ſe purgatione canonica: Nec non & propter abſentiam ab Eccleſiis ſuis parochialibus, diebus ſaltem Dominicis; & ſignanter, quia non* * *dedignantur intereſſe ſacrificio Miſſæ.* And quhen thai cum, to examine thame, *quid ſentiunt de ſacramento Altaris, & de poteſtate Eccleſiæ, & ſacrificio Miſſæ, & reliquis Eccleſiæ ſacramentis*; and to gif Reſoun of thair Fayth and Beleif, *ſecundum diſcretionem examinantis*, conforme to the Scriptour: Quhilk Summondis ſalbe ſend to thair Dwelling-placis that ar within the Diocie, and execut be ane Preiſt-Notar, with thre honeſt Wyttneſſis at the leiſt, becaus thai cum nocht to thair Paroche Kirkis, or at thair Paroche Kirkis, on ane *Sounday*, or ony ſolemnit haly Day.

* Sic in autogr. pro *dignantur.*

Item, To this Effect to conſtitute Maiſter *Nicoll Hay* Scribe in this Beſynes, and Maiſter *Thomas Freſer*, and *Alexander Paip*, Procuratoris-fiſcallis in this and all uther Cauſis, and every ane of the thre to haif ten Merkis, to be payit at the Senzie be the Deyne of *Mar*, and to be allowit in his Comptis. And in lyk maner, Maiſter *Robert Lumiſdale* principall Procuratour Penſionar bayth to my Lord and Cheptour, to be requirit to procure in the ſamyn; and the forſaid Scribe to direct all Letteris, and to be ſubſcrivit be him, *de mandato reverendi Patris*, and to haif ane ſpeciall Seil to be maid to that Effect; and quhat beis done thairintill, my Lord to ratify, ſtand at, and appreve in all Poyntis.

Item, To require my Lord *Huntlie* Balzie of the Biſchoprik of *Aberdeine*, and all utheris Fewaris of the ſamyn, for Outſetting, Defence, and Mantenyng of the Catholik Fayth, to be preſent with my Lord of *Aberdeine*, and at his Lordſchipis Seitt at the Dayis appoyntit, conforme to thair Bandis *reſpective*: And in cais of my Lord *Huntlies* Abſence, to caus ſum principall landit Man of his Lordſchipis Kyn to be in reddynes in his Lordſchipis Place, as he beis requirit, for Aſſiſtere.

Item, To ſend certane Granatouris to *New Aberdeine*, *Banchorie-Ternan*, *Echt*, *Kynerne*, *Midmar*, *Auchindoire*, and *Kierne*, to moneis all thai that ar Art, Parte, Reid or Counſall of the byrnyng of the Kirk of *Echt*, or caſting down of Ymages in ony Kirkis within the Diocie of *Aberdeine*, to revele the ſamyn to my Lord *Aberdeine*, or his Commiſſaris in that Part; and Curſyngis to be execut ſolemnitlie thairupoun at the Mercat-Croces of *New Aberdeine* and *Auld Aberdeine*. And that the Premiſſis be the Help of God, may tak the bettir Effect, the Deyne and Cheptour forſaidis humlie and hartlie prayis and exhortis my Lord thair Ordinar, for the Honour of God, Releif of his awin Conſcience and Weill of his Lordſchipis Dyoſie, eveting of gretar Sclander: And becaus all thai that ar contrarius to the Religioun Criſtiane, promittis faythfull Obedience to the Prelatis, ſwa that thai will mend thair awin Lyvis and thair Inferiouris, conforme to the Law of God and haly Kirk: In reſpect herof, that his Lordſchip wald be ſa gude as to ſchew gude and edificative Example in ſpeciall, in removing and diſchargeing himſelf of Cumpany of the Gentillwoman be quhom he is gretlie ſclanderit (*a*); without the quhilk be done, dyvers that ar pertinax ſayis, thay can nocht accept Counſall and Correctioun of him quhilk will nocht correct himſelf: And in lyk maner nocht to be owr familiar with thame that ar ſuſpect contrarius to the Kirk, and of the new Law; and that his Lordſchip evaid the ſamyn, that quhen his Lordſchip pleſis to veſey the Feyldis to repois himſelf, cheis ſic Cumpany as efferis till his Lordſchipis awin Eſtate; and caus his Lordſchipis Servandis to reforme thair ſelfis, becaus nixt himſelf, it ſeims him to begyn at his awin Houſhald. Quhilkis Premiſſis being done, the ſaidis Deyne and Cheptour belevis in God, that all ſall cum weil to the Honour of God, and generall Reformatioun of the haill Dyocie of *Aberdeine*; and thai promes to his Lordſchip thair hartlie Concurrence and Aſſiſtence, with Honour, Service and Obedience at thair uter Power.

Rob. Erskine Decanus Aberdonen.
Patricius Myrton Theſaurarius Abd.
Ja. Strachauchan a Balhelvy.
Joannes Leſlie de Murthlak * *SSR.*
Joannes Watſon de Clat SSR.
Arthurus Taillefere de Crechmond.
Jacobus Gordoun de Lonmay.
Willelmus Cambell de Tulyneſſill.
Alexr. Bryd Subcentor.
Alexr. Anderſon Subprincipalis Cacus Abd.

* Afterwards Biſhop of *Roſs.*

Appendix,

(*a*) This Biſhop was *William Gordon*, a Son of the Family of *Huntly*; and this Reprehenſion ſerves to confirm the bad Character Abp. *Spotiſwood* gives of him.

Appendix, *p.* 88. The preſent Diſorder of the *Cotton* Library has deprived me of obtaining Mr. *Balnaves*'s Letter; but there is a Copy of it in the Collection which pertains to the Society for propagating Chriſtian Knowledge.

¶ There being in the Tax-Roll of the Year 1633 (a fair Original whereof is in the Laigh Parliament-houſe) contained a Liſt of the *Parſonages* in the Nation, it may not be unfit to ſet down here ſuch of them as are neither in the Liſt *p.* 192, nor in *p.* 257 *Appendix*; ſince from all theſe Liſts compared together, the Deſign of inſerting theſe Liſts will be more fully anſwered. They ſtand thus in the Roll, beginning from the North Parts: *Duffus*, *Banchory*, [but as there are two *Banchories*, there is no Mark of Diſtinction added,] *Conveth*, *i. e.* I ſuppoſe *Laurence-Kirk* in the *Mearns*; *Inchbriock*, *Dunbarny*, *Cults*, *St. Madois*, the right Appellation I reckon for *Samadoſs*, in the Liſt *p.* 292; *Kemback*, *Dinnino*, *Quilts*, *Inchmachan*, perhaps the ſame with *Ecclesmachan* in the other Liſt; *Tiningham*, *Fala*, *Leſwade*, *Petcocks*, *Ellem*, this Place is always much noticed in the Collectors Books, *&c.* and is called the *Kirk of Ellem*; *Lempitlaw*, *Kirkbricho*, *Glaſgow-ſecundo*, *Barlangrig*, *Stanehouſe*, *Strathaven*, *Southwick*, this is plainly for *Zudeik* in the other Liſt, and near to it ſtands in the Roll *Monyabrock*, which in *p.* 257 is placed in *Stirling-ſhire*; *Kirkgunyean*, *Aplegirth*, *Ruthwell*, perhaps for *Rowel* in the other Liſt; *Kirkenner*, *Balmaclannochan*, perhaps for *Balmaclellan*, *Glaſſiſter*. And there are two *Lintons*.

In this ſame Roll, among the *Priories*, is ſet down *Fivy*, in the Shire of *Aberdeen*, the Tax whereof is the ſame with that of *Monimusk*. And among the *Provoſtries* is *Douglas*, which I had obſerved likewiſe in the Books of Privy-Seal; but was ſuſpicious it might be wrong marked for *Dunglas*.

N. B. Becauſe ſome of the Shires of *Scotland* have double Appellations, and contain ſome Subdiviſions which could not be ſo eaſily accompliſhed in the Map; 'tis not unfit to advertiſe, that the Shire of *Aberdeen* contains *Mar*, *Garioch*, *Formartin*, *Buchan*. The Shire of *Perth* contains *Athole*, *Menteith*, *Broadalbin*, *Strathern*, *Stormont*. The Shire of *Dumſries* contains *Nithſdale* and *Annandale*. The Shire of *Roxburgh* contains *Teviotdale* and the other *Dales*. The Shire of *Aire* contains *Kyle*, *Carrict* and *Cuningham*. The Shire of *Kincardine*, alias *Mearns*; *Forfar*, alias *Angus*; *Lanerk*, alias *Clidſdale*; *Merſe*, alias *Berwick*; *Tweeddale*, alias *Peebles*; *Lothian* contains three Shires, *viz.* *Edinburgh*, *Linlithgow* and *Haddington*.

ERRATA.

Page 4. *Line* 15. *for* Cathedral, *read* Church. *p.* 5. *l.* 6. *for* the new Univerſity, *r.* this Univerſity. *Ibid.* *l.* 20. *for* Cathedral, *r.* Church. *p.* 17. *l.* 17 and 20. *for* Ambaſſadors, *r.* Commiſſioners. *p.* 30. *l.* 18. *for* returned, *r.* withdrew. *p.* 38. (*a*) *l.* 7. *r.* 270 Pages. *p.* 41. *l.* 46. after *Elphinſton*, add, in *Eaſt-Lothian.* *p.* 45. *l.* 50. *for* 10th, *r.* 1ſt. *p.* 46. *l.* 24. *dele* from the Half-moon fronting the High ſtreet. *Ibid.* *l.* 31. *for* *Caſſils*, *r.* *Glencairn.* *p.* 47. *l.* 21. *r.* 1545. *p.* 48. (*a*) Parliament, *add*, and Council. *p.* 81 and 82. *dele* the inverted Comma's. *p.* 90. *l.* 1. *r.* 30th. and about the middle of the Page *dele* and the Inhabitants a warlike ſort of People. *p.* 129. *l.* 16. *dele* glorious, and *r.* brave and bold. *p.* 131. *l.* 16. *r.* 17th. *p.* 132. after (*a*) add, See *Appendix*, Numb. 22. *p.* 161. *l.* 30. *for* Ambaſſadors, *r.* Envoy. *p.* 163. *l.* 4. *r.* to *Rheims.* *p.* 184. *l.* 38. *for* convene, *r.* contain. *p.* 186. *l.* 42. *r.* unſeaſonable. *p.* 205. on the Margin, *after* clever, *add*, or glib. *p.* 226 *l.* 4. of (*a*) *for Mar*, *r. Murray.* *p.* 237. on the Margin, *r.* 1562-3. *p.* 254. after the Abſtract of the 27th *September* ſhould follow immediately in the Text all that is in the Note (*b*). *p.* 288. (*a*) after *July*, add, in the *Appendix.* *p.* 313. *l.* 30. *r.* retirate, *i. e.* retired. *p.* 316. at the Cloſe of (*f*) *r.* expect to recover it. *p.* 320. *l.* 1. *for* Deceit, *r.* Diſſimulation. *p.* 322. *l.* 10. *r.* to which. and *l.* 11. *dele* it. *p.* 328. *l.* 20. *r.* delivered over as a Priſoner. *p.* 339. in the Title of *Chap.* 10. *r.* 1566-7. *p.* 422. *l.* 28. *for* it, *r.* in. *p.* 432. *l.* 54. *dele* be. *p.* 550. *l.* 27. *for* hes, *r.* his. *p.* 521. at (*b*), join the two Parentheſes into one. *p.* 484. the Catch-word ſhould be BOOK, *for* Chap. *p.* 488. (*a*), *for* 50, *r.* 150.

APPENDIX, *p.* 6. *l.* 10. *for Kelſo*, *r. Kinlos.* *p.* 141. in the Title of the Abſtract, *r.* 1576. *p.* 192 and 193, the two Numbers are miſplaced.

Liſt of the Subſcribers.

A.

THE Right Honourable the Earl of *Aberdeen*.
R. H. the Viſcount of *Arbuthnot*.
R. H. the Lord *Aberdour*.
The Hon. Faculty of Advocates.
Michael Anderſon of *Tuſſilaw*.
Sir John Areskine of *Alva*.
David Anderſon Writer in *Edinburgh*.
James Allardice of that Ilk.
Thomas Ainſley at *Jedburgh*.
Alexander Auchanachie at *Fyvie*.

B.

THe R. H. the Earl of *Balcarras*.
R. H. the Lord *Belhaven*.
R. H. the Lord *Balmerino*.
The Hon. the Lord *Bruce*.
Sir Alexander Bannerman of *Elſick*.
Lady *Bruce*.
Captain Benjamin Barton.
James Ballantine of *Kelly*.
James Blair of *Ardblair*.
Alexander Blair Writer in *Edinburgh*.
The Rev. Mr. Robert Blair.
Henry Bethune of *Balfour*, Eſq;
Walter Boſwell Merchant in *Edinburgh*.
George Boſwell Writer there.
John Brown of *Bonnington*.
Hary Bruce of *Clackmanan*.
Brigadier Bruce of *Kenneth*.
David Bruce of *Kinnaird*.
Andrew Broomfield Factor for the Viſcount of *Primeroſe*.
Robert Buntine of *Mildovan*.
Francis Buchanan of *Arnpryor*.
James Biſſet of *Laſſindrum*.
William Baird of *Auchmedden*.
George Bowes, Eſq; Member of Parliament.
Mr. Thomas Burnet of *Kirkhill*, Advocate in *Aberdeen*.
William Brown Writer in *Edinburgh*.
Mr. George Buchan Clerk to the Commiſſion of Teinds.
Alexander Binny Provoſt of *Forfar*.
George Barclay of *Cavil*, Eſq;

C.

THe R. H. the Earl of *Carnwath*.
R. H. Lady Grizel Cochran.
R. H. the Lord *Crichton*.
Sir James Campbell of *Auchinbreck*.
Colin Campbell of *Blythſwood*.
Lady *Cambuskenneth*.
Sir William Cockburn of *Cockburn*.
Sir William Cuningham of *Caprington*.
George Cuningham Chirurgeon in *Edinburgh*.
Dr. John Clerk Phyſician in *Edinburgh*.
Dr. William Cochran Phyſician there.
Charles Cochran of *Ochiltree*.
Donald Cameron of *Lochiell*.
Evan Cameron Tutor to *Glendiſſary*.
William Cameron of *Lochdochart*.
Archibald Cockburn of *Langton*, Eſq;
David Carnegie of *Craigoe*.
William Chalmers Tutor to the Duke of *Gordon*.
James Cheyne Writer in *Edinburgh*.
Alexander Colvill Collector at St. *Andrew's*.
David Couper Writer in *Edinburgh*.
Hugh Crawford Clerk to the Signet.
Robert Conqueror Merchant in *Perth*.
John Corſs Writer in *Edinburgh*.

D.

HIs Grace the Duke of *Douglas*.
The M. H. the Marchioneſs of *Douglas*.
R. H. the Earl of *Dundonald*.
The Hon. Hew Dalrymple of *Drummore*, one of the Senators of the College of Juſtice.
Sir James Dalrymple of *Hales*.
Mr. Hugh Dalrymple Advocate.
Robert Dundas of *Arniſton*, Eſq; Dean of Faculty of Advocates.
Dr. James Dundas Phyſician.
James Dundas of *Caſtlekery*.
John Dundas of *Mannor*.
Sir James Dalziel of *Binns*.
Mr. David Drummond Treaſurer to the Bank of *Scotland*.
Dr. John Drummond *ſenior*, Phyſician.
William Drummond of *Grange*, Eſq;
Thomas Drummond of *Logiealmond*.
William Duff of *Bracco*, Eſq;
Alexander Duff of *Hatton*, Eſq;
Patrick Duff of *Premnay*, Eſq;
Alexander Dunbar of *Machrimore*.
Sir William Douglas of *Kilhead*.
William Douglas of *Glenbervie*, Eſq;
Robert Douglas of *Cheſter*.
The Rev. Mr. Alexander Duncan at *Glaſgow*.
David Doig of *Cockſton*.
John Don Sheriff-depute of *Stirling*.
David Dickſon Merchant in *Montroſe*.
James Davidſon Bookſeller in *Edinburgh*.
Arthur Dingwall of *Brownhill*.
Alexander Deans, Eſq;
Thomas Dunlop Wright in *Edinburgh*.

E.

THe R. H. the Earl of *Eglinton*.
R. H. the Lord *Elphingſton*.
The Hon. James Erskine of *Grange*, Advocate.
The Hon. David Erskine of *Dun*,] Senators of the College of Juſtice.
The Hon. Sir Gilbert Elliot of *Minto*,
Sir Alexander Erskine of *Cambo*.
Thomas Erskine of *Pittodry*.
David Erskine Clerk to the Lord Lyon's Court.
Dr. James Eccles Phyſician.
James Edmonſton of *Ednam*.
William Elliot of *Borthwickbrae*.
William Elliot of *Stonehedge*.
William Elliot Writer in *Edinburgh*.
John Ewing Writer to the Signet.

F.

DUncan Forbes, Eſq; his Majeſty's Advocate.
Sir James Ferguſſon of *Kilkerran*, Advocate.
Mr. James Ferguſon of *Pitfour*, Advocate.
Robert Fletcher of *Ballingſhoe*.
Thomas Forbes of *Waterton*.
Mr. Hugh Forbes Advocate.
William Forbes Writer in *Edinburgh*.
Donald Forbes Writer there.
Thomas Fotheringham of *Powrie*.
James Forreſter, Eſq;
Robert Fotheringham of *Bandean*.
William Fowlis of *Woodhall*.
R. R. Mr. David Freebairn.
Robert Freebairn Bookſeller.
James Freebairn Teacher of French.
Alexander Farquhar in *Montroſe*.

G.

HIs Grace the Duke of *Gordon*.
Her Grace the Dutcheſs of *Gordon*.
R. H. Lord *Gairlies*.
Sir Robert Gordon of *Gordonſton*.
Sir William Gordon of *Park*.
Sir Thomas Gordon Admiral of *Ruſſia*.
James Gordon of *Ellon*.
George Gordon of *Buckie*.
John Gordon of *Glenbucket*.
Arthur Gordon of *Carnouſie*.
Alexander Gordon of *Lenturk*.
The Rev. Mr. Patrick Gordon.
James Gordon of *Gordonbank*.
Mr. George Gordon Writer to the Signet.
The Rev. Dr. George Garden.
The Rev. Dr. James Gadderar.
The Rev. Mr. John Gillan.
Sir William Grierſon of *Lagg*.
Mr. James Graham of *Airth*, Judge-Admiral;
Thomas Graham of *Balgowan*.
Robert Graham of *Gartmore*.
John Graham of *Meiklewood*.
William Gerard of *Stonehouſe*.
John Grant of *Rothimurchus*.
Samuel Graham Bookbinder.
William Gray Bookbinder.

H.

HIs Grace the Duke of *Hamilton* and *Brandon*.
The Hon. Mr. Hay of *Dalgatie*.
Sir James Hamilton of *Roſehaugh*.
Baſil Hamilton of *Balduin*, Eſq;
Charles Hay of *Rannas*.
Mr. Alexander Hay of *Huntington*, Advocate.
Thomas Hay of *Mordington*.
John Hay of *Balbithan*, Eſq;
Robert Hamilton Merchant in *Edinburgh*.
Gavin Hamilton Bookſeller there.
William Hamilton Bookſeller there.
John Hamilton of *Bardowie*.
The Rev. Mr. Alexander Hunter.
The Rev. Mr. William Harper.
William Hog *junior*, Merchant in *Edinburgh*.
John Hodge Writer there.
Mr. Thomas Heriot Treaſurer in *Heriot*'s Hoſpital.

I.

SIr Hary Innes of that Ilk.
James Juſtice, Eſq; one of the principal Clerks of Seſſion.
Alexander Inglis of *Murdiſton*.
William Jameſon Merchant in *Edinburgh*.

John

John Jameſon Merchant in *Edinburgh*.
James Johnſton *ſenior*, Merchant there.
Richard Johnſton Merchant there.
George Jameſon Candlemaker.

K.

THe R. H. the Earl of *Kintore*.
R. H. the Earl of *Kinnoul*.
R. H. Viſcount of *Kenmure*.
The Hon. Mr. James Keith.
The Hon. Thomas Kennedy one of the Barons of Exchequer.
Alexander Keith of *Revelſton*.
Mr. George Keith Advocate in *Aberdeen*.
William Keith of *Bruxy*.
Alexander Keith late Sheriff-depute of *Kincardine*.
George Keith of *Caldam*.
Robert Keith of *Knox*.
------- Keith of *Northfield*.
Charles Ker, Eſq;
Alexander Kincaid Bookſeller.

L.

THe R. H. the Earl of *Loudoun*.
R. H. the Lord *Linton*.
R. H. Henrietta Livingſton.
Sir Robert Laurie of *Maxwelton*.
Sir John Lauder of *Fountainhall*.
Patrick Lindſay, Eſq; L. Provoſt of *Edinburgh*.
James Leſlie of *Balquhain*, Eſq;
George Lockhart of *Carnwath*, Eſq;
Dr. Robert Lowis Phyſician.
Mr. John Lumiſden Writer to the Signet.
Mr. John Leſlie Schoolmaſter at *Dalkeith*.
Major John Lamy of *Dinkinnie*.
George Lauder of *Pitſcandlie*, Eſq;
The Rev. Mr. Richard Lothian.
Thomas Longman Bookſeller in *London*.
Alexander Lyon Bookſeller there.

M.

THe R. H. the Earl of *Middleton*.
R. H. the Earl of *M-------l*.
The Hon. Lord Edward Murray.
The Hon. Mr. Robert Mercer of *Aldie*.
Sir Alexander Macdonald of *Slate*.
Sir William Maxwell of *Monreith*.
Sir William Maxwell of *Springkell*.
Sir William Maxwell of *Calderwood*.
Sir David Murray of *Stanhope*.
Sir Alexander Murray of *Stanhope*.
James Murray of *Abercairny*.
John Murray of *Philiphaugh*.
James Murray of *Touchadam*.
Dr. Adam Murray Phyſician.
Patrick Murray of *Deuchar*.
Alexander Murray of *Cringlety*.
Roderick Macleod of *Cadboll*.
Lauchlan Maclauchlan of that Ilk.
Archibald Maclauchlan Merchant in *Edinburgh*.
William Montgomery Son to the deceas'd William Montgomery Merchant in *Edinburgh*.
Robert Marjoribanks Merchant in *Edinburgh*.
James Marjoribanks Merchant there.
Alexander Maitland Merchant there.
David Maitland of *Soultra*.
Daniel Midwinter Bookſeller in *London*.
Andrew Millar Bookſeller there.
William Monro Bookſeller in *Edinburgh*.
John Macdonel of *Glengary*.
Donald Macdonald of *Caſtleton*.
Alexander Mackay of *Palgown*, Eſq;
James More of *Leckie*.
George Main Jeweller in *Edinburgh*.
William Millar Bookſeller there.
Lauchlan Macintoſh of that Ilk.
Alexander Macintoſh Writer in *Edinburgh*.
Mr. Kenneth Mackenzie Advocate.
James Mackenzie of *Dalmore*.
Kenneth Mackenzie, Eſq;
The Rev. Mr. John Mackenzie.
James Martine of *Clermont*.
Adam Mercer Writer in *Edinburgh*.
William Moir of *Whitehill*.
James Moir of *Stoniewood*.
William Moir of *Innernetty*.
Dr. James Miln Phyſician.
Robert Miln Writer in *Edinburgh*.
Theodore Moriſon of *Bogny*.
George Macdougall of *Mackerſton*, Eſq;
James Muſchet of *Craighead*.
Mr. John Mitchelſon of *Middleton*, Advocate.
------- Macgregor of *Glengyle*.
Robert Macgregor, *alias* Rob Roy.
James Macgilchriſt of *Northbar*.
James Mitchel Shoemaker.

N.

THe R. H. the Lord *Napier*.
The Hon. Maſter of *Nairn*.
Sir William Nairn of *Dunſinnan*.
Mr. Alexander Nairn Advocate.
The Rev. Mr. Ninian Niving.

O.

THe R. H. the Earl of *Oxford*.
R. H. the Viſcount of *Oxenford*.
The Hon. Sir Alexander Ogilvie of *Forglen*, one of the Senators of the College of Juſtice.
Mr. John Ogilvie of *Balbegno*, Advocate.
Mr. Archibald Ogilvie of *Rothemay*, Advocate.
Patrick Ogilvie of *Balfour*.
Laurence Oliphant of *Gask*.
John Ouchterlony Merchant.
Alexander Orme Writer in *Edinburgh*.

P.

THe R. H. the Earl of *Panmure*.
R. H. the Viſcount of *Primeroſe*.
The Hon. Mrs. Primeroſe.
Alexander Pringle of *Whitebank*, Eſq;
James Pierſon of *Balmadies*.
------- Paterſon of *Drygrange*.
John Pilmore Clerk to the Commiſſariot of St. *Andrew's*.
John Paton Bookſeller in *Edinburgh*.

Q.

His Grace the Duke of *Queensberry* and *Dover*.

R.

COlonel Alexander Reid.
James Rattray of *Craighall*, junior.
Robert Rollo of *Powhouſe*.
Dr. George Rait Phyſician in *Dundee*.
Mr. George Robertſon Writer in *Edinburgh*.
George Robertſon of *Craigarnhall*.
Dr. James Robertſon Phyſician.
Dr. ------- Robertſon Phyſician.
Mr. James Robertſon Bookſeller in *Edinburgh*.
George Richardſon Writer there.
Dr. John Rutherford of *Knowſouth*, Phyſician.

S.

THe R. H. the Marquis of *Seaforth*.
R. H. the Earl of *Strathmore*.
R. H. the Earl of *Stair*.
R. H. the Counteſs of *Stair*.
R. H. the Viſcount of *Stormont*.
R. H. the Viſcounteſs Dowager of *Stormont*.
R. H. the Lord *Salton*.
John Scot of *Ancrum*, Eſq;
Mr. William Scot Advocate.
David Scot of *Hundleſhop*, Eſq;
Dr. Alexander Scot Phyſician in *Kelſo*.
Alexander Scot of *Swinton*.
Colonel Robert Scot of *Langton*.
Hugh Scot of *Gala*.
William Scot, Brother to *Whitſlaid*.
Walter Scot, Brother to *Raeburn*.
Mr. Adam Scot.
David Smith of *Methven*, Eſq;
James Smith Chirurgeon in *Perth*.
John Stewart of *Phiſgill*.
William Stewart of *Caſtleſtewart*.
The Rev. Mr. ------- Stewart at *Dunkeld*.
Gilbert Stewart Merchant in *Edinburgh*.
Robert Stewart Muſician there.
Alexander Stewart Muſician there.
Archibald Seton of *Touch*, Eſq;
Captain Robert Seton.
Alexander Symmer, Eſq;
Robert Symmer Governor to his Grace the Duke of *Gordon*.
George Symmer Merchant in *Aberdeen*.
Captain Hary Straton.
John Stark Provoſt of *Glaſgow*.
John Stirling of *Keir*, Eſq;
Luke Stokoe Bookſeller in *London*.
George Strachan Bookſeller there.
------- Somervile of *Kennox*.
Thomas Sharp of *Blance*.
James Sharp of *Stratyrum*.
Scots College at *Paris*.
William Sands Bookſeller.

T.

THe M. H. the Marquis of *Tweeddale*.
Robert Turner of *Turnerhall*.
Alexander Thomſon of *Portlethen*.
Alexander Thomſon Advocate in *Aberdeen*.
John Thain Advocate there.
Alexander Tait Merchant in *Edinburgh*.
Alexander Tytler Writer there.
John Trail Bookſeller there.

W.

THe R. H. the Earl of *Wigton*.
R. H. the Earl of *Wemyſs*.
Alexander Uduy of that Ilk.
George Waddel, Gent.
Andrew Wardrop Glazier in *Edinburgh*.
Richard Watkin Stationer there.
Mr. George Wingate Mathematician.
James Walker in *Pardivan*.
Alexander Weir Merchant in *Edinburgh*.
Society of Writers in *Edinburgh*.
Society of Writers in *Stirling*.

Y.

John Young Sheriff-clerk of *Kincardine*.

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THE INTRODUCTION.

CONTAINING

An Account of the Form of this Work; A View of the Scottiſh *Nation for ſome Time before the Reformation; And the firſt Riſe of the Separation from the Church of* Rome.

The Reaſon that inclined the Author to undertake this Work, and the Manner after which he intends to proſecute the ſame.

I. NOTHING being more wanted than a Hiſtory of our *Scottiſh* Affairs, from the Beginning of the Reformation of our Religion downwards to the preſent Times; I have entertained a Deſign of endeavouring, according to my Ability, to ſupply that Want to the *Publick in general*, and to ſatisfy *in particular* the juſt Deſire of ſo many *Perſons of Learning, Curioſity and Diſtinction*, who have long wiſhed to ſee ſuch a Hiſtory. I apprehended that I could not ſo well acquit myſelf to the Satisfaction of *All*, in the forming thereof, as by following cloſely the *Records* of the Kingdom, and ſuch private *Documents* as are of an authentick Character, and which may well be received in any Hiſtory, as the Vouchers of theſe Facts, which they are brought to juſtify: Yet as by the Injury of Time, and of ſome malevolent Spirits (*a*), there are but few Documents of that kind to be met with for ſeveral Years immediately ſucceeding the firſt Commencement of the Reformation in this Kingdom; I hope I ſhall be readily pardoned, if, inſtead of groping in the dark, by the few Helps I could find out myſelf, I chuſe rather, when publick Documents do fail me, to narrate with all Brevity what former *Hiſtorians* have recorded of the Tranſactions of theſe Times.

(*a*) Our Publick Records were all carried off by *Oliver Cromwell*; and tho after the Reſtauration of the Royal Family, they were ordered to be returned by King *Charles* II. in the End of the Year 1660, yet the Ship in which they were put having been loſt at Sea, a Part of them only was ſaved, as will beſt appear by this Act of our Parliament:

Edinburgh 11. *January*, 1661. The King's Majeſty, and Eſtates of Parliament, conſidering that the Publict Records of this Kingdom, which have been in *England* thoſe Yeers bygone, being be Publict Order put into Major *Fletcher*'s Truſt, to be caried hither in his Majeſty's Friggot, called the *Eagle*, whairof he is Captane, and that they were neceſſitate, throw the Violence of a Storm, (which was ſo great, as Ship and all therin hade almoſt periſhed,) to put Fourſcore fyve of theſe Hogſheads into another Ship, [*By a preceeding Act in Favours of Major* Fletcher, *it appears that this Ship belonged to the Town of* Weymiſs, *whereof* John Weymiſs *was Maſter*,] which ſince is ſunk and dround with theſe Hogſheads, and Records in her: And that it is fund be the Tryell and Depoſitions of the Witneſſes taken in the Buſſines, That Mr. *Johne Young*, who was attending theſe Regiſters, did not at all conſent to the taking them out of the Friggot, or putting them into another Ship; Doe therefor exoner the ſaid Mr. *Johne Young*, and declares him free of any Acceſſion to the Loſſe of theſe Regiſters, and that he caried himſelf faithfully according to his Truſt.

But before I enter even upon the Narration of thoſe Events, which are commonly reckoned to be the firſt Beginnings of the Reformation, or at leaſt the firſt Dawnings towards one; it will not be amiſs, in the firſt Place, to take a general View of the State of our Nation about that Time, to the end the Reader may be the better prepared for receiving what follows, when he has previouſly ſeen, by the Temper and Diſpoſition of the Nation, how likely any attempted Change in Religion was to ſucceed, and by what Means it would probably be carried on.

A View of the State and Condition of the Kingdom for ſome Time preceeding the Reformation, both as to ſecular,

II. With Reſpect to the *Civil* State of the Kingdom; There had been a continued Chain of long and tedious *Minorities* in the Royal Family, ſucceſſively following each other, for no leſs than ſix Generations. This could not fail to produce much Weakneſs in the Government, by the many Factions among the *Nobility*, with which Minorities are almoſt ever attended, and by the high Contempt of the Laws, which proves the conſtant Concomitant both of the one and the other. Nor did it a little contribute to the Weakneſs of our Government, and conſequently to the Inſolence of the Subjects, that the five *James*'s were not only a long Time under Age, but that they all died in the Flower of it, before they had Leiſure to reform the Abuſes which had crept in, during their Minority, and to ſettle their Government on a ſteady Foundation. In ſuch a weak and perplexed Situation of the *State* as this was, it is evident that any intended Alteration could moſt eaſily make its Way; and that the Managers of it would have little elſe to do, but to enter into Bonds and Aſſociations, and briskly threaten the Government, if it ſhould refuſe to comply with their Demands, tho ever ſo extravagant. As this will hold true in every diſtracted Kingdom or State; ſo the laſt of the fore-mentioned Minorities in this Kingdom (being that of Queen *Mary*, who was left an Orphan of a Week old,) was the moſt dangerous of all to the Peace and Tranquillity of the ſame; but the moſt favourable Juncture that could have fallen out to an intended Change in Religion; the Prince being a very Infant, and a Female, and ſhe abſent in a forein Country, where ſhe was to be married to a moſt *Antichriſtian* Husband, in the Senſe of the *Innovators*, who from thence would certainly take a ſtrong Handle to fill the Minds of the People with Fears and Jealouſies, to ſpirit them up into Fury and Rage againſt *Idolatry*, and to create in them a hearty Diſlike againſt the Defenders and Protectors of it.

and Eccleſiaſtical Matters.

Next, with reſpect to the *Eccleſiaſtick* State; The Clergy in *Scotland* were in Poſſeſſion of a great many Lands and Revenues, which by Donation pertained in Property to the Church; and beſides, the Clergy being almoſt the only Men of *Letters* at that Time, came of Courſe to be advanced to the higheſt Places of *Honour* and *Profit* in the Kingdom. By Means of both which Fountains of Wealth, they not only turned idle and voluptuary themſelves, but became likewiſe the Objects of Hatred to the *Great*, and of Contempt to the *Small*, ſo that to pull them down both *Nobles* and *Commons* could heartily agree. The Clergy had likewiſe fallen into an Error (not peculiar to that Period alone) in omitting to recommend to the People the weightier Duties of the Law, and inſtead thereof in making Religion to conſiſt much in the Practice of ſome humane Conſtitutions that did not greatly touch the internal Nature of it. Of this Sort were *Pilgrimages*, *Indulgences*, *Donatives* to the Church, *Invocations* of the *Saints*, *Confeſſions*, *Penances*, (*a*) &c. Some of which Things, tho they might be indifferent, and perhaps good in themſelves, yet being preſſed and urged by the Clergy, in Preference to the more eſſential Things of Religion, might afford Ground to penetrating People, to ſuſpect that they had their own Grandeur and Eſtabliſhment more at Heart than any Thing elſe. And when theſe *Non-eſſentials* (which are the *Things* that ought properly to have been called *Popery*,) ſhall

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(*a*) I ſuppoſe I ſcarcely need to advertiſe, that I intend not by this to diſparage the laudable Diſcipline of the Church, nor to attack any Practice founded on the Word of God.

ſhall once come to be called in Queſtion, and canvaſſed to the Bottom, 'tis very plain they will not be able to keep their Ground long.

But this was not all: For the Clergy not being hitherto accuſtomed to hear of any Oppoſition made to the then received Doctrines of the Church, had of Conſequence taken no Care to inſtruct the People how to maintain or defend their *Religious Principles*, if ever they ſhould happen to be attacked on that Head. Nay, the Truth is, the moſt part of themſelves were very ignorant, and unable to give the People much Inſtruction that way; in ſo much that even Biſhop *Leſly* complains, That the Alteration in Religion had gained no ſmall Ground by the Want of *Catechetical Inſtruction*; to which he, and others of the *Roman* Church, likewiſe add the too open Licentiouſneſs of many Clergy-men. But that Reverend Author might have named other Defects alſo in the Management of Religion at that Time; ſuch as the want of regular Preaching (*a*), and the ſealing up the Scriptures from the People. By Means of all which it could hardly miſs, but moſt part of the People would quickly fall off, to Men that not only put theſe divine Oracles into their Hands, but publickly taught and inſtructed them in the Principles of Chriſtianity, and who by a greater Art of Diſputation, than they had been accuſtomed to hear, ſuggeſted unto them the Weakneſs and Inſufficiency of ſuch Doctrines and Practices as they had formerly been moſt converſant about.

Under theſe Diſadvantages lay the Government of *Scotland* both in Church and State at the Time preceeding the Reformation of Religion. And tho perhaps ſeveral other Circumſtances might concur, yet I ſuppoſe even theſe already mentioned, may give the Reader a pretty tolerable Gueſs what Succeſs an Attempt of a Change in religious Matters might, humanley ſpeaking, be attended with.

What Sort of Reformation might rationally be expected from that View.

Finally, As to the *Manner* whereby an Alteration in Religion ſhould be carried on; the Situation of our publick Affairs, and the Averſion of our *Sovereigns* to any ſuch Alteration, will probably afford us no great Proſpect of Regularity to be obſerved therein. The only Thing in that Juncture, that could have contributed to a juſt and moderate Change, would have been the Diſcretion of the new *Preachers*, and the Diſintereſtedneſs of the *Nobility*. But ſince *that* likewiſe was wanting, alas! what Confuſion and Diſorder muſt of Neceſſity enſue. 'Tis true indeed, the Wealth of the Church, which was, no doubt, one great Bait to allure the *Nobility* and *Gentry* to favour an Alteration in Religion, had formerly ſerved exceedingly well to provide the younger *Sons* and *Daughters* of *Families* with Livings ſutable to their Rank and Dignity: And therefore it might be expected, that a great part of the Church-rents would be left undilapidated for that very Purpoſe; eſpecially conſidering, that theſe Rents were in ſome ſort unalienable, and ſo remained a ſure and certain Fund for this Proviſion; Whereas, were they once raviſhed from the Church, and enhanced by particular *Families*, they might ſooner or later come to follow the common Fate of temporal Eſtates, and ſo be of no long uſe to the *Deſcendants* of thoſe who ſhould obtain them. But our *great Men* could not endure to look ſo far forward; and the Love of preſent Gain ſo much prevailed with them againſt all prudent Conſiderations, that the *Mob* it ſelf, influenced by the Preachers, was not more keen to throw down the *Buildings*, than the *Nobility* and *Gentry* were to plunder the *Revenues* of the Church.

I thought here to have put an End to this Introduction; but when I conſidered that the following Hiſtory is to treat of the Reformation of Religion

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(*a*) That Preaching was but very rarely performed by the Pariſh-prieſts, appears from the Preface to the Catechiſm ſet out by *John Hamilton*, the laſt Popiſh Archbiſhop of *St. Andrews*, (concerning which Book I ſhall have Occaſion to ſpeak afterwards,) wherein he enjoins all the Curates, or Prieſts of the ſeveral Pariſhes to read a certain Portion of that Book to the People on *Sundays*, untill he ſhall provide Preachers, which Thing he there promiſes very quickly to do. It ſeems that Prelate ſaw the great Advantage the new Reformers gained by Preaching. Any Thing of that kind was formerly practiſed moſtly by itinerant Monks; ſo that it was not regular and ſtated, but merely accidental. Perhaps ſince that Time we have fallen into a contrary Extreme.

1517. within our Kingdom, I thought it not unfit here likewiſe to preſent the Reader with ſome Account, how it firſt fell out, that any Change in *that* Religion, which had been eſtabliſhed for ſo long a Space, came to take effect in other Parts of the Chriſtian World, and thereby to pave the Way for its Reception in this Country.

III. In the Year of our Lord 1517, (*James* V. of that Name being King of *Scotland*, and *Henry* VIII. King of *England*,) the Papal Authority received ſo formidable a Blow, and a Riſe was given to ſuch a ſurpriſing Eccleſiaſtick Revolution in *Germany*, (where at that Time *Maximilian* I. and ſoon after *Charles* V. his Grandſon, was Emperor) that the like thereof had not fallen out from the firſt Inſtitution of that Polity. The Occaſion of it was thus.

Pope *Leo* X. grants Indulgences for the Payment of Money.

John de Medicis, a young and expenſive Man, having been raiſed to the Dignity of the ſupreme Pontificate in the Year 1513, by the Name of *Leo* X. did by his private extravagant Manner of living, and the great Sums he laid out on the Building of *St. Peter*'s Cathedral at *Rome*, (begun by his Predeceſſor *Julius* II.) reduce himſelf to ſuch Straits for want of Money, that he judged it expedient, and was adviſed to have Recourſe to the Method of *Indulgences*, for obtaining a Supply. By Indulgences is meant, a Freedom from ſuffering the Puniſhment due by the divine Juſtice for Sin: And of this diſpenſing Power, or granting Indulgences, the Pope, as Vicar of Jeſus Chriſt upon Earth, pretends to be the ſole Arbiter and Manager. Nor was this the firſt Time that theſe *Heads* of the Church had thought fit to grant this Favour for the Payment of a Piece of Money; and particulary the very laſt Pope had put his Hand, if I am not miſtaken, to this part of the Church's Treaſure. Whether therefore the frequency of this extraordinary ſpiritual Favour, made it be leſs valued and regarded, or that the People of *Germany* were generally diſguſted, when they underſtood that the Monies that ſhould ariſe in the Northern Parts thereof, from the Indulgences granted at this Juncture, were all aſſigned to the Princeſs of *Cibo*, the Pope's Siſter, in Satisfaction, and for extinguiſhing of Sums of Money, formerly afforded by that Lady to her Brother, before he came to be Pope, I ſhall not take it on me, nor is it my Buſineſs, here to determine. Only this is certain, that the Scheme did not *now* meet with that hearty Approbation and Complyance, which no doubt was lookt for by the Court of *Rome*. There were likewiſe ſome Circumſtances in the Management of the Indulgences at this Time, that did not a little contribute to the Diſreputation of them, ſuch as the (*a*) farming them out to publick Officers; the Farmers expoſing them by publick Cryers to the beſt Bidder; the ſcandalous Behaviour of the Farmers by ſquandering away much of the Money they received, in Taverns and infamous Houſes; the Out-crys of many poor Perſons, who juſtly complained that the ordinary Alms given by the Rich, was much diminiſhed by their Traffick for Indulgences; and finally, the too extenſive Form of Pardon that was granted to the Purchaſers.

But his Bull meets not with a general good Reception for ſeveral Reaſons.

The Form of the Indulgence granted by the Managers.

And becauſe 'tis not improbable that this laſt Circumſtance gave as great Ground as any other, to the ſubſequent Oppoſition that was made to the free Courſe of the Indulgences; I ſhall here ſet down in *Engliſh* the Subſtance of the (*b*) Form of *Abſolution*, as it was then given by *John Tetzel* a *Dominican* Friar, and Sub-commiſſary of this Affair, under *Albert* Archbiſhop of *Mentz*, to whom the Pope had committed in chief the Promulgation of the Indulgences in *Germany*. *I abſolve thee from all Eccleſiaſtical Cenſures, and from all thy Sins, how enormous ſoever: And by this plenary Indulgence, I remit thee all Manner of Puniſhment, which thou oughteſt to ſuffer in Purgatory; And I reſtore thee to the Sacraments of the Church, and to that Innocence and Purity which thou hadſt at thy Baptiſm, ſo as at Death the Gates of Hell ſhall be ſhut againſt thee, and the Gates of Paradice ſhall be*

laid

(*a*) *Seckendorf* and *Maimbourg* Hiſt. *Lutheraniſm.*

(*b*) See the complete original Form in the Appendix Numb. 1.

laid open to receive thee. In the Name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghoſt. Amen.

Dr. *Martin Luther* oppoſes the Sale of the Indulgences.

During this ſpiritual Merchandize, there flouriſhed in the Univerſity of *Wittemberg*, a certain Profeſſor, named *Martin* (*a*) *Luther*, a *Canon Regular*, lookt upon by many to be the moſt learned of all his *Order*, and a principal Ornament of the new Univerſity, lately ſet up in that City by *Frederick* Duke of *Saxony*. This Man, who had, ſome Time before, made appear in his publick Diſputations, that he was not altogether ſatisfied with the dry ſcholaſtick Theology then in Vogue, and that he laid but little Streſs on the Sentiments of the later Doctors, began now in his Sermons to depretiate the Value which ſome People were ready to put upon *Indulgences* : He repreſented them as ineffectual to Salvation without a religious Life ; that they could not be much eſteemed by any, but ſoft, cowardly or ſuperficial, Chriſtians, who had not *Will*, nor *Courage* to tread the Paths of true Religion ; that nothing but the Merits of *Jeſus Chriſt* could redeem from Damnation ; and that with reſpect to the furniſhing of Money for building St. *Peter*'s Church at *Rome*, he thought Alms was in the firſt Place due to the Poor and Indigent ; in the next Place, to the Building of Churches in the Parts where Men have their Reſidence ; and afterwards, if People had a mind, they might, out of their Superfluities, beſtow a Share on St. *Peter*'s Cathedral. Theſe Things he propoſed at firſt with a good deal of Modeſty, and apparently (or rather certainly) without any formed Deſign to make a Breach from the Church ; to which he profeſſed, that he ſubmitted himſelf, and all his Doctrines ; and wrote a Letter to the Pope, owning and acknowledging that his Submiſſion. And indeed it is not eaſy to conceive, how it could ever enter into the Mind of any one ſingle Perſon, at leaſt one ſo inconſiderable, (even ſuppoſing him to be pretty well ſupported) to be able to bring about ſo great an Alteration in Church Matters, as did in a very ſhort Space afterwards enſue. And 'tis more than probable, that if gentle, and more prudent Methods had been taken with him ; *that is*, if the Pope and thoſe intruſted by him, had thought fit to condemn the certain and real Abuſes that *Luther* complained of, all the Noiſe and Buſtle raiſed by him, might have quickly been huſh'd. But their Misfortune was, that the quite contrary of this was practiſed ; and the principal Perſons of the *Dominican Order*, (*b*) who thought themſelves moſtly concerned at this Time, as having the whole Management of the Sale of the Indulgences committed to them, did by their Writings, and Intereſt at *Rome*, ſo widen the Breach, that an Accommodation became daily more difficult. The Pope, who, bating worldly Intereſt, was not thought to be a great Enemy to *Luther*, was brought over to publiſh a new

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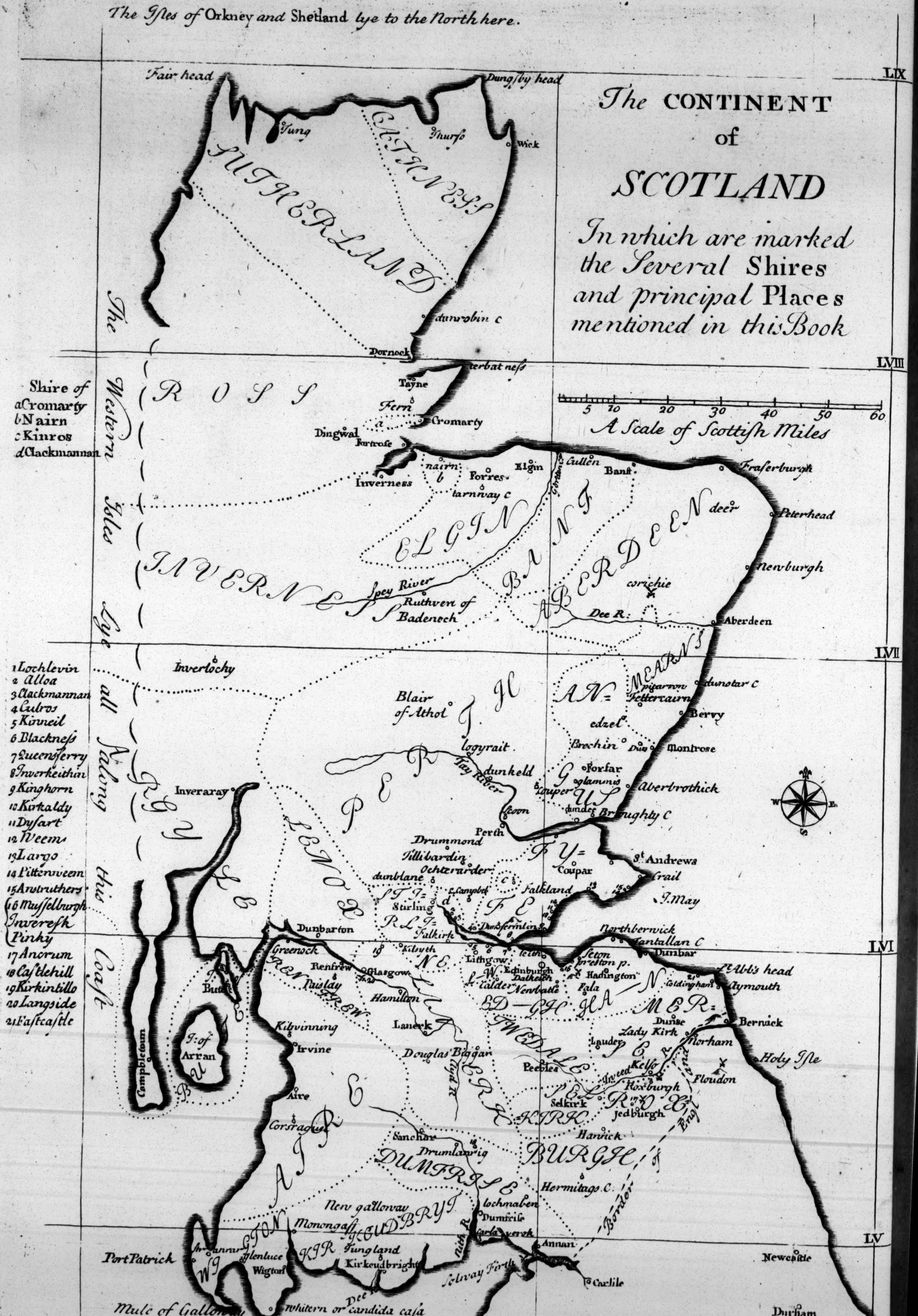
(*a*) It is a Pity to ſee what boundleſs and unmannerly Freedoms the ſeveral Parties of Chriſtians allow themſelves in Reproaching each other. Since *Luther*'s Separation from the Church of *Rome*, thoſe of that Church have handed about, and publiſhed moſt bitter Invectives againſt him, ſome whereof are as ridiculous as they are falſe ; ſuch as, his having been begot by a Devil upon his Mother, in the Form of her Husband. He was, by the Conceſſion of his very Enemies, a Man endued with a great Genius, and excellent Abilities. He left the Study of Law, and applied himſelf to that of Divinity, upon Occaſion of one of his Fellow-Students having been ſtruck dead by Thunder in his Preſence, after which Time he turned more *Internal* and *Spiritual* than are the generality of Men. His Reputation was ſo great, that his *Order* made Choice of him to go to *Rome*, to manage ſome of their Affairs ; which he did to ſo good Purpoſe, that after his Return, the *Vicar-General* appointed him to be honoured with a Doctor's Cap, and the Ceremony was performed at the Expence of the *Elector* his Sovereign. He was then only Thirty Years of Age ; and Six Years before this, *viz.* in the Year 1507, he was received into the Holy Order of Prieſts. He was doubtleſs a Man of a very extraordinary Fortitude, who had Courage to oppoſe himſelf to the whole Power of the Church. But if there was a divine Hand in the Affair, as it is very likely, certainly a Man of his Boldneſs was the proper Inſtrument. Some People have obſerved, that according as his Party prevailed, in Proportion doth appear in his Writings greater Self-ſufficiency, and leſs Dependance upon God. If it is ſo, it was certainly a Weakneſs in him ; but let the Perſon that is without this Sin firſt caſt a Stone at him. He was born at *Iſlebe* in the County of *Mansfeld* in *Saxony*, on the 10. *November* 1483, and died there likewiſe on the 18. *February* 1546. 'Tis not true that he firſt debauched a *Nun*, and then ſet himſelf to oppoſe the Church ; for he did not marry *Katharine Boren* before the Year 1524, nor was there any former unlawful Dealing betwixt them.

(*b*) This Order had increaſed in Credit and Reputation at *Rome* from its firſt Foundation. The Author of it was one *Dominic*, born at *Calaroge*, a Village of old *Caſtile* in *Spain* in the Year 1170. Pope *Honorius* III. granted him a Bull for his new projected Society, under the Title of preaching Friars [*i. e.* Fellows, or Brethren,] on the 22. *December* 1216. *Dominic* himſelf, and one of his Order ever ſince, have been Maſters of the Pope's Palace. By this Dignity they were entitled to the Power of nominating ſuch Perſons as ſhould preach in the Pope's own Chapel, and even publickly to rebuke the Preacher in the very Preſence of the Pope, if any Thing was found to be reprehenſible in the Sermon. And the preſent Pope *Leo* X. had prohibited the printing of any Book whatſoever at *Rome*, or in the Diſtrict thereof, without the Approbation of the *Cardinal Vicar*, and the *Dominican*-Maſter of the Palace. The Habit of the Order is a black Garment above a white. With us they were called *Black Friars*.

new Bull in Confirmation of Indulgences; and in 1520 to excommunicate *Luther*. He on the other Hand, being an undaunted Man, and finding his Doctrine ſecretly applauded, was not idle; he writes, proteſts, appeals, and at other Times ſubmits, upon certain Conditions. However, all ended in this, that he who at firſt had bogled to call in Queſtion the Pope's Authority, did afterwards diſclaim it altogether: And not only ſo, but having been highly nettled with the Publick burning of his *Confeſſion* and *Doctrines*, which he had now enlarged to a good Bulk; he, in Retaliation, burnt the *Canon Law*, and the *Pope's Bull*, whereby all future Hopes of a Reconciliation were utterly loſt. In fine, the Fame of the Man, and the Solidity of his Doctrines in the general, did gain ſo upon the World, that he ſoon ſaw himſelf Maſter of a great many Diſciples and Followers; and the Church of *Rome* began to ſee her Error too late, in not gaining that deſpicable Monk (as at firſt he was called) at any Rate. Whole Provinces and Kingdoms did forſake her Communion; and another ſuch Blow had done much to raze her from the very Foundation. It was the Senſe of this great Defection from the Church, that made the Biſhops in the ſeveral Kingdoms keep a very ſtrict Eye, and call in the Aid of the ſecular Powers, to puniſh ſuch Perſons as ſhewed any liking to the *Lutheran* Hereſy. Other Kingdoms may perhaps afford more numerous Examples of Severity on this Score; but this ſmall and more remote Country in which we live, can likewiſe boaſt that it hath not been ſparing of Blood, to give Teſtimony to what was believed to be *Truth*. The Inſtances will be ſeen in the following Narration.

and gains a conſiderable Party.

Whereupon ſeveral Perſons that adhered to his Sentiments, were put to death in different Places, and in the Kingdom of *Scotland*.



The CONTINENT of SCOTLAND In which are marked the Several Shires and principal Places mentioned in this Book

The Iſles of Orkney and Shetland lye to the North here.
The Western Iſles lye all along this Coaſt
Shire of
a Cromarty
b Nairn
c Kinros
d Clackmannan
1 Lochlevin
2 Alloa
3 Clackmannan
4 Culros
5 Kinneil
6 Blackneſs
7 Queensferry
8 Inverkeithin
9 Kinghorn
10 Kirkaldy
11 Dyſart
12 Weems
13 Largo
14 Pittenweem
15 Anstruthers
16 Muſſelburgh
Inveresk
Pinky
17 Ancrum
18 Caſtlehill
19 Kirkintillo
20 Langside
21 Faſtcaſtle
LIX
LVIII
LVII
LVI
LV
5 10 20 30 40 50 60
A Scale of Scottiſh Miles
Fair head
Dungſby head
Tung
Thurſo
Wick
CATHNESS
SUTHERLAND
dunrobin c
Dornock
Terbat neſs
Tayne
Fern
Cromarty
Dingwal
Fortroſe
ROSS
Inverness
nairn
Forres
Elgin
tarnway c
Cullen
Banf
Fraſerburgh
Peterhead
deer
Newburgh
ELGIN
BANF
ABERDEEN
INVERNESS
Spey River
Ruthven of Badenoch
corichie
Dee R.
Aberdeen
Inverlochy
Blair of Athol
PERTH
MEARNS
pitarrow
Fettercairn
dunotar c
Berry
edzel
Brechin
Dun
Montroſe
ANGUS
Forfar
glammis
Couper
Aberbrothick
lagyrait
dunkeld
Tay River
Scoon
Perth
dundee
Broughty C
Inveraray
ARGYLE
LENOX
Drummond
Tillibardin
Ochterarder
dunblane
FYFE
Coupar
St Andrews
Crail
Falkland
I. May
Campbel
STIRLING
Stirling
Dumfermlin
Falkirk
Northberwick
Tantallan C
Dunbarton
Greenock
Renfrew
Glasgow
Paisley
RENFREW
Kilsyth
Lithgow
leith
Edinburgh
Dalkeith
Seton
Preston p.
Hadington
Dunbar
St Abb's head
Coldingham
Aymouth
Bute
Hamilton
Calder
Newbattle
Fala
LOTHIAN
MERS
Dunse
Bernick
Kilwinning
Lanerk
CLYDSDALE
TWEDALE
Lauder
Lady Kirk
Norham
Holy Iſle
Irvine
Douglas
Biggar
Clyde R.
Peebles
Tweed
Kelſo
Roxburgh
Floudon
I. of Arran
Campbletown
Aire
Selkirk
SELKIRK
ROXBURGH
Jedburgh
Tweed R.
Corſraguel
AIRE
Sanchar
Hawick
Drumlanrig
DUMFRISE
BURGH
Hermitage C.
Border of Engl.
New gallowav
Mononga
lochmaben
Dumfriſe
Carlaverock
Nith R.
Annan
Port Patrick
Stranrawr
Glenluce
WIGTON
KIRKUDBRYT
Tungland
Kirkeudbright
Wigton
Solway Firth
Carlile
Newcaſtle
Durham
Mule of Galloway
Whitern or candida caſa
Dee
Cockermouth
Wirkinton
R. Cooper Sculp.

THE HISTORY Of the AFFAIRS of CHURCH and STATE IN SCOTLAND.

BOOK I.

From the firſt Commencement of the Reformation, to the Eſtabliſhment thereof, Anno 1560.

CHAP. I.

Containing an Account of CHURCH-AFFAIRS, from the firſt Dawning towards a Reformation in Religion, *Anno* 1527, to the Death of King *JAMES* V. *Anno* 1542.

MR. PATRICK HAMILTON, (*a*) Son to *Patrick Hamilton* of *Kinkavil*, ſometime Captain of the Caſtle of *Blackneſs*, being in his younger Years provided to the Abbacy of *Fern* in *Roſs*-Shire, had received at Home ſome Hint of the Doctrines propagated by *Luther*; and in his Travels in *Germany*, became acquainted with the principal Perſons that ſupported the ſame. At his Return into his own Country, full of Conviction of the Truth of theſe Sentiments, he adventured in his Diſcourſes to lay open the Corruptions of the Church, and to diſcover the Errors that were crept into the Chriſtian Doctrine and Wor- 1527-8.

(*a*) Mr. *Buchanan* tells us very gravely, that he was Nephew to the Earl of *Arran*, and to the Duke of *Albany*; and Mr. *Knox* refers us to Mr. *Fox*, for an Account of his Birth; by whom we are told, That he was of a high and noble Stock, and of the King's Blood. But 'tis worthy to be obſerved, That his Father was only a Baſtard of the Lord *Hamilton*. *Vide* Charters Books 1. and 13. *James* IV. And if he was Nephew to the Duke of *Albany*, his Mother muſt likewiſe have been only a Baſtard of that Prince of the Blood, ſeeing we hear of no Daughter at all lawfully procreated by Duke *Alexander*: Or if there had, 'tis not to be ſuppoſed, that ſhe would have been given in Marriage to a Baſtard Son of the Family of *Hamilton*. Every Perſon will perceive, that Mr. *Hamilton*'s Birth has been magnified, merely to draw the greater Odium of Cruelty upon the Clergy. But ſuch indirect Methods are very unbecoming, and much to be avoided. Archbiſhop *Spottiſwood* has been drawn into the ſame Miſtake by the fore-mentioned Hiſtorians.

1527-8.

Mr. *Patrick Hamilton* burnt for aſſerting the *Lutheran* Doctrine.

Mr. *Hamilton*'s Management in this was ſo diſpleaſing to the Clergy, that he was ſoon after apprehended at St. *Andrews*, whither he had been inticed to come, under Colour of a friendly Conference; and the very next Day was preſented before the Archbiſhop of that *See*, aſſiſted by the Archbiſhop of *Glaſgow*, and ſeveral other Biſhops and Dignitaries: And the Matter was ſo hotly purſued, that after a Hearing or two, he received a Sentence, declaring him (*a*) *Heretick*, and giving him over to the ſecular Power to be puniſhed. And the ſame Afternoon, being the (*b*) laſt Day of *February 1527-8*, he was carried out and burnt before the Gate of St. *Salvator*'s College in that City. His Patience and Conſtancy in the midſt of the Flames, were ſo remarkable, that many Perſons ſcrupled not to ſay, That he died a true Martyr of Chriſt. *Drummond* attributes this Execution to a Revenge of a private Quarrel againſt the Earl of *Arran*.

Mr. *Seton*, the King's Confeſſor, maintains the ſame Doctrine,

for which he is forced to fly into *England*; but writes a Letter to the King from *Berwick*.

After this Execution, ſeveral Perſons in all Quarters of the Kingdom, began of Courſe, as it ſeldom fails in ſuch Caſes, to enquire into the Articles for which Mr. *Hamilton* had been ſo ſeverely treated; and many did entertain favourable Sentiments concerning them: And divers of the *Religious* themſelves did, from that Time forward, declaim openly againſt the lewd Behaviour of their Brethren the Clergy; and particularly in that Lent, one *Seton*, Brother to *Ninian Seton* of *Touch*, of the *Dominican Order*, who was Confeſſor to the King, aſſumed the Courage to recommend ſome of the new Doctrines from the Pulpit. And when, in his Abſence at *Dundee*, another of his own *Order* had taken upon him to refute theſe Doctrines, Mr. *Seton*, at his Return to St. *Andrews*, did boldly confirm what he had formerly taught; and beſides, did declare to the People, the Virtues which St. *Paul* requireth to be found in a good and faithful Biſhop. This Piece of Freedom was not a little grating to the Generality of the Clergy; and they found the leſs Difficulty to bring him into Diſcredit at Court, becauſe, as 'tis reported, he likewiſe had uſed much Freedom in reproving of the King: So that Mr. *Seton* perceiving the King's Countenance to be altered towards him, and dreading the Power and Influence of the Clergy, thought fit to retire from *Court* into *England*: But before he went farther, he ſtopt ſome Time at *Berwick*, from whence he wrote a (*c*) Letter to the King, in which he declares the Occaſion of his ſudden Departure, and begs the King would be pleaſed to communicate the ſame to the Clergy. But no Anſwer having been returned to his Letter, Mr. *Seton* proceeded afterwards on his Journey to *London*.

Henry Foreſt burnt at St. *Andrews*;

The next Sufferer was *Henry Foreſt*, a young *Benedictin Friar*, (*d*) born in *Linlithgow*, who was burnt at St. *Andrews* about 1533, for ſaying that Mr. *Hamilton* was a good Man, that the Articles for which he had been condemned might be well enough defended, and that he died a Martyr. Whilſt Conſultation was held upon the Manner of his Execution, *John Lindſay*, one of the Archbiſhop's Gentlemen, offered his Advice (for he was a plain ſimple Man) to burn Friar *Foreſt* in ſome hollow Cellar; *for*, ſaid he, *the Smoke of Mr.* Patrick Hamilton *hath infected all thoſe on whom it blew*,

In the Year 1534, *Norman Gourlay* and *David Straton*, two Gentlemen, were brought to their Trial at *Holy-Rood-Houſe*, before the Biſhop of *Roſs*, who ſat Judge by a Delegation from the *Primate*, the then *Ordinary* of that Place. The King, who was preſent at the Trial, laboured much to have them recant what was laid to their Charge (or burn their Bill, (*e*) as the Phraſe was at that Time)

(*a*) See the Articles of Hereſy ſpecified in the Sentence pronounced againſt him. App. Num. 2.

(*b*) Some ſay the 1ſt Day of *March*; and perhaps the Sentence of the Secular Judge might not have been given till the next Day after the Eccleſiaſtick Sentence, which bears Date the laſt Day of *February*; or perhaps the different Account may have ariſen from there being 29 Days in *February* that Year.

(*c*) See App. Num. 3.

(*d*) The Founder of this Order was one *Benedict*, born in the Year 480, at *Nurſi*, in the Dutchy of *Spoletto* in *Italy*. It has been the greateſt Order of all the reſt; and has produced, beſides a World of holy and learned Men, many Popes, Cardinals, ſome Emperors, Empreſſes, Kings and Queens. The Colour of this Order is Black.

(*e*) The Form of burning one's Bill, or recanting, was this: The Perſon accuſed was to bring a Faggot of dry Sticks, and burn it publickly; by which Ceremony he ſignified, that he deſtroyed *That* which ſhould have been the Inſtrument of his Death.

Time) as he had perſuaded ſome others to do; but they perſiſted in their Profeſſion, and were burnt at one Stake, on the 27th Day of *Auguſt*, at (*a*) *Greenſide*. The Pope granted the King this Year, or the preceeding, the Tenth of all Eccleſiaſtical Benefices for three Years, which was done (as ſome Perſons have ſaid) in order to render the King more hearty in giving way to the Proſecution of Hereticks.

and two others on the High-way betwixt *Leith* and *Edinburgh*.

Four Years after this there was a Meeting of Biſhops at *Edinburgh*, where the following Perſons were accuſed, and condemned, *viz.* (*b*) *Killor* and *Beverage*, two Black Friars, Sir *Duncan Simſon* of *Stirling*, a Prieſt, *Robert Foreſter*, a Gentleman of the ſame City, and *Thomas* (*c*) *Foreſt*, a Canon (*d*) Regular of St. *Colm*'s *Inch* in the Firth of *Forth*, and Vicar of *Dolor* in *Perth*-Shire; theſe five were burnt on the Caſtle-Hill of *Edinburgh* the laſt Day of *February* 1538-9.

Five Perſons more burnt at *Edinburgh*.

The ſame Year one *Ruſſel*, a Gray Friar (*e*,) and a young Gentleman of the Sirname of *Kennedy*, were delated of Hereſy at *Glaſgow*; and in order to ſecure their Condemnation, ſome Zealots were diſpatched thither from *Edinburgh*, to ſpur forward the Archbiſhop of that *See*, *Gavin Dunbar*, who was lookt upon to be too cool in Buſineſs of that Nature.

Mr. *Kennedy*'s tender Years inclined him to ſome Puſillanimity; but he was ſoon fortified by the Exhortation of *Ruſſel*, ſo as among other Expreſſions, he ſaid, *Now I defy Death, do as you pleaſe, I praiſe God I am ready.* *Ruſſel* having reaſoned long and learnedly, ſays Biſhop *Spotiſwood*, againſt his Accuſers, and being anſwered with Railings and bitter Speeches, replied, *This is your Hour, and the Power of Darkneſs; now ye ſit as Judges, and we ſtand wrongfully condemned, but the Day cometh which will ſhow our Innocency, and you ſhall ſee your own Blindneſs, to your everlaſting Confuſion: Go on, and fill the Meaſure of your Iniquities.* Theſe Words had a mighty Impreſſion on the Archbiſhop, inſomuch that he was heard to ſay, that theſe bloody Executions did great Harm to their Cauſe; but being over-awed by his Zealous Aſſeſſors, who repreſented to him, That he would not be eſteemed the Church's Friend, if he ſhould take any milder Courſe than that which had been taken at *Edinburgh*; he gave Way, and condemned the Pannels to be burnt alive. However, it was found afterwards that this Archbiſhop had the beſt Judgment in theſe Matters: For tho ſeveral Perſons were put in Priſon for being ſuſpected of the Hereſy of *Luther*, and many were baniſhed into foreign Countries in this ſame Year; yet it was quickly ſeen that the Kingdom began to be divided much in Point of Religion; nor was it in the Power of the King and Council to bear down the new Opinions from gaining Ground daily. But, as it generally happens in Things of this kind, the greater the publick Perſecution was, the greater ſtill was the Number of thoſe that embraced the Cauſe of the Sufferers.

Ruſſel and *Kennedy* burnt at *Glaſgow*.

But this Severity produceth ſtill more Favourers to the new Doctrines.

In the Harveſt-time of this Year 1539 died *James Beton* Archbiſhop of St. *Andrews* (*f*). He was Son to the Laird of *Balfour* in the County of *Fife*; and had been 22 Years Archbiſhop of *Glaſgow*, and was Chancellor of the Kingdom at the Time of his Tranſlation to St. *Andrews*, in which *See* he lived 17 Years. He had the Misfortune to live in a Time wherein the above-mentioned Perſons were put to Death by his Authority, tho we are told by a worthy

James Beton Archbiſhop of St. *Andrews* dies.

(*a*) An open Field cloſs on the Eaſt-ſide of the High-way, betwixt *Edinburgh* and *Leith*, and near to the *Caltoun*.

(*b*) *Al. Kello.*

(*c*) *Al. Forret*, who, ſome ſay, was of the Family of *Forret* in *Fife*, and that his Father had been Maſter Stabler, *i. e.* (as I take it) Maſter of Horſe to King *James* IV.

(*d*) The Canon Regulars (*i. e.* Clergymen living together in one Houſe, under a Set of Rules after the Manner of the ancient Monks,) do all own St. *Auguſtine*, the famous Biſhop of *Hippo* in *Africa*, for their Founder. He was born at *Thagaſte*, near *Hippo* in the Kingdom of *Numidia* in the Year 354. In proceſs of Time the Canon-Regulars came to enjoy Churches and Benefices.

(*e*) The Founder of this Order was one *John*, afterwards named *Francis*, born at *Aſſiſe*, a Town of *Umbria* in *Italy* in the Year 1182. Pope *Innocent* III. approved his Inſtitution in the Year 1210; but it was not confirmed by a Bull till the 30. *October* 1223 by *Honorius* III. Thoſe of his Society behoved to poſſeſs nothing, but live by Alms. His Habit was a gray Coat, with a pointed Cowl fixed to it: But he allowed his Monks to have two Coats if neceſſity required. They go Bare-foot, and wear a Cord about their Body; and are called *Gray Friars*.

(*f*) *Vide Sadler*'s Letters, p. 17.

1527-8. Mr. *Hamilton*'s Management in this was ſo diſpleaſing to the Clergy, that he was ſoon after apprehended at St. *Andrews*, whither he had been inticed to come, under Colour of a friendly Conference; and the very next Day was preſented before the Archbiſhop of that *See*, aſſiſted by the Archbiſhop of *Glaſgow*, and ſeveral other Biſhops and Dignitaries: And the Matter was ſo hotly purſued, that after a Hearing or two, he received a Sentence, declaring him (*a*) *Heretick*, and giving him over to the ſecular Power to be puniſhed. And the ſame Afternoon, being the (*b*) laſt Day of *February* 1527-8, he was carried out and burnt before the Gate of St. *Salvator*'s College in that City. His Patience and Conſtancy in the midſt of the Flames, were ſo remarkable, that many Perſons ſcrupled not to ſay, That he died a true Martyr of Chriſt. *Drummond* attributes this Execution to a Revenge of a private Quarrel againſt the Earl of *Arran*.

Mr. *Patrick Hamilton* burnt for aſſerting the *Lutheran* Doctrine.

After this Execution, ſeveral Perſons in all Quarters of the Kingdom, began of Courſe, as it ſeldom fails in ſuch Caſes, to enquire into the Articles for which Mr. *Hamilton* had been ſo ſeverely treated; and many did entertain favourable Sentiments concerning them: And divers of the *Religious* themſelves did, from that Time forward, declaim openly againſt the lewd Behaviour of their Brethren the Clergy; and particularly in that Lent, one *Seton*, Brother to *Ninian Seton* of *Touch*, of the *Dominican Order*, who was Confeſſor to the King, aſſumed the Courage to recommend ſome of the new Doctrines from the Pulpit. And when, in his Abſence at *Dundee*, another of his own *Order* had taken upon him to refute theſe Doctrines, Mr. *Seton*, at his Return to St. *Andrews*, did boldly confirm what he had formerly taught; and beſides, did declare to the People, the Virtues which St. *Paul* requireth to be found in a good and faithful Biſhop. This Piece of Freedom was not a little grating to the Generality of the Clergy; and they found the leſs Difficulty to bring him into Diſcredit at Court, becauſe, as 'tis reported, he likewiſe had uſed much Freedom in reproving of the King: So that Mr. *Seton* perceiving the King's Countenance to be altered towards him, and dreading the Power and Influence of the Clergy, thought fit to retire from *Court* into *England*: But before he went farther, he ſtopt ſome Time at *Berwick*, from whence he wrote a (*c*) Letter to the King, in which he declares the Occaſion of his ſudden Departure, and begs the King would be pleaſed to communicate the ſame to the Clergy. But no Anſwer having been returned to his Letter, Mr. *Seton* proceeded afterwards on his Journey to *London*.

Mr. *Seton*, the King's Confeſſor, maintains the ſame Doctrine, for which he is forced to fly into *England*; but writes a Letter to the King from *Berwick*.

The next Sufferer was *Henry Foreſt*, a young *Benedictin Friar*, (*d*) born in *Linlithgow*, who was burnt at St. *Andrews* about 1533, for ſaying that Mr. *Hamilton* was a good Man, that the Articles for which he had been condemned might be well enough defended, and that he died a Martyr. Whilſt Conſultation was held upon the Manner of his Execution, *John Lindſay*, one of the Archbiſhop's Gentlemen, offered his Advice (for he was a plain ſimple Man) to burn Friar *Foreſt* in ſome hollow Cellar; *for*, ſaid he, *the Smoke of Mr.* Patrick Hamilton *hath infected all thoſe on whom it blew*,

Henry Foreſt burnt at St. *Andrews*;

In the Year 1534, *Norman Gourlay* and *David Straton*, two Gentlemen, were brought to their Trial at *Holy-Rood-Houſe*, before the Biſhop of *Roſs*, who ſat Judge by a Delegation from the *Primate*, the then *Ordinary* of that Place. The King, who was preſent at the Trial, laboured much to have them recant what was laid to their Charge (or burn their Bill, (*e*) as the Phraſe was at that Time)

(*a*) See the Articles of Hereſy ſpecified in the Sentence pronounced againſt him. App. Num. 2.

(*b*) Some ſay the 1ſt Day of *March*; and perhaps the Sentence of the Secular Judge might not have been given till the next Day after the Eccleſiaſtick Sentence, which bears Date the laſt Day of *February*; or perhaps the different Account may have ariſen from there being 29 Days in *February* that Year.

(*c*) See App. Num. 3.

(*d*) The Founder of this Order was one *Benedict*, born in the Year 480, at *Nurſi*, in the Dutchy of *Spoletto* in *Italy*. It has been the greateſt Order of all the reſt; and has produced, beſides a World of holy and learned Men, many Popes, Cardinals, ſome Emperors, Empreſſes, Kings and Queens. The Colour of this Order is Black.

(*e*) The Form of burning one's Bill, or recanting, was this: The Perſon accuſed was to bring a Faggot of dry Sticks, and burn it publickly; by which Ceremony he ſignified, that he deſtroyed *That* which ſhould have been the Inſtrument of his Death.

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Time) as he had perſuaded ſome others to do; but they perſiſted in their Profeſſion, and were burnt at one Stake, on the 27th Day of *Auguſt*, at (*a*) *Greenſide*. The Pope granted the King this Year, or the preceeding, the Tenth of all Eccleſiaſtical Benefices for three Years, which was done (as ſome Perſons have ſaid) in order to render the King more hearty in giving way to the Proſecution of Hereticks.

and two others on the High-way betwixt *Leith* and *Edinburgh*.

Four Years after this there was a Meeting of Biſhops at *Edinburgh*, where the following Perſons were accuſed, and condemned, *viz.* (*b*) *Killor* and *Beverage*, two Black Friars, Sir *Duncan Simſon* of *Stirling*, a Prieſt, *Robert Foreſter*, a Gentleman of the ſame City, and *Thomas* (*c*) *Foreſt*, a Canon (*d*) Regular of St. *Colm*'s *Inch* in the Firth of *Forth*, and Vicar of *Dolor* in *Perth*-Shire; theſe five were burnt on the Caſtle-Hill of *Edinburgh* the laſt Day of *February* 1538-9.

Five Perſons more burnt at *Edinburgh*.

The ſame Year one *Ruſſel*, a Gray Friar (*e*,) and a young Gentleman of the Sirname of *Kennedy*, were delated of Hereſy at *Glaſgow*; and in order to ſecure their Condemnation, ſome Zealots were diſpatched thither from *Edinburgh*, to ſpur forward the Archbiſhop of that *See*, *Gavin Dunbar*, who was lookt upon to be too cool in Buſineſs of that Nature.

Mr. *Kennedy*'s tender Years inclined him to ſome Puſillanimity; but he was ſoon fortified by the Exhortation of *Ruſſel*, ſo as among other Expreſſions, he ſaid, *Now I defy Death, do as you pleaſe, I praiſe God I am ready. Ruſſel* having reaſoned long and learnedly, ſays Biſhop *Spotiſwood*, againſt his Accuſers, and being anſwered with Railings and bitter Speeches, replied, *This is your Hour, and the Power of Darkneſs; now ye ſit as Judges, and we ſtand wrongfully condemned, but the Day cometh which will ſhow our Innocency, and you ſhall ſee your own Blindneſs, to your everlaſting Confuſion: Go on, and fill the Meaſure of your Iniquities.* Theſe Words had a mighty Impreſſion on the Archbiſhop, inſomuch that he was heard to ſay, that theſe bloody Executions did great Harm to their Cauſe; but being over-awed by his Zealous Aſſeſſors, who repreſented to him, That he would not be eſteemed the Church's Friend, if he ſhould take any milder Courſe than that which had been taken at *Edinburgh*; he gave Way, and condemned the Pannels to be burnt alive. However, it was found afterwards that this Archbiſhop had the beſt Judgment in theſe Matters: For tho ſeveral Perſons were put in Priſon for being ſuſpected of the Hereſy of *Luther*, and many were baniſhed into foreign Countries in this ſame Year; yet it was quickly ſeen that the Kingdom began to be divided much in Point of Religion; nor was it in the Power of the King and Council to bear down the new Opinions from gaining Ground daily. But, as it generally happens in Things of this kind, the greater the publick Perſecution was, the greater ſtill was the Number of thoſe that embraced the Cauſe of the Sufferers.

Ruſſel and *Kennedy* burnt at *Glaſgow*.

But this Severity produceth ſtill more Favourers to the new Doctrines.

In the Harveſt-time of this Year 1539 died *James Beton* Archbiſhop of St. *Andrews* (*f*). He was Son to the Laird of *Balfour* in the County of *Fife*; and had been 22 Years Archbiſhop of *Glaſgow*, and was Chancellor of the Kingdom at the Time of his Tranſlation to St. *Andrews*, in which *See* he lived 17 Years. He had the Misfortune to live in a Time wherein the above-mentioned Perſons were put to Death by his Authority, tho we are told by a worthy

James Beton Archbiſhop of St. *Andrews* dies.

(*a*) An open Field cloſs on the Eaſt-ſide of the High-way, betwixt *Edinburgh* and *Leith*, and near to the *Caltoun*.

(*b*) *Al. Kello.*

(*c*) *Al. Forret*, who, ſome ſay, was of the Family of *Forret* in *Fife*, and that his Father had been Maſter Stabler, *i. e.* (as I take it) Maſter of Horſe to King *James* IV.

(*d*) The Canon Regulars (*i. e.* Clergymen living together in one Houſe, under a Set of Rules after the Manner of the ancient Monks,) do all own St. *Auguſtine*, the famous Biſhop of *Hippo* in *Africa*, for their Founder. He was born at *Thagaſte*, near *Hippo* in the Kingdom of *Numidia* in the Year 354. In proceſs of Time the Canon-Regulars came to enjoy Churches and Benefices.

(*e*) The Founder of this Order was one *John*, afterwards named *Francis*, born at *Aſſiſe*, a Town of *Umbria* in *Italy* in the Year 1182. Pope *Innocent* III. approved his Inſtitution in the Year 1210; but it was not confirmed by a Bull till the 30. *October* 1223 by *Honorius* III. Thoſe of his Society behoved to poſſeſs nothing, but live by Alms. His Habit was a gray Coat, with a pointed Cowl fixed to it: But he allowed his Monks to have two Coats if neceſſity required. They go Bare-foot, and wear a Cord about their Body; and are called *Gray Friars*.

(*f*) *Vide Sadler*'s Letters, p. 17.

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His Charcter.

(*a*) Succeſſor of his in that Office, that his natural Temper was neither violently ſet, nor was he much ſollicitous how Matters went in the Church. (*b*) Before his Death he had not only for ſometime paſt, committed the Charge of all Church Affairs to Cardinal *David Beton* his Nephew; but he had likewiſe nominated him to be his Succeſſor in the *See* of St. *Andrews*: To which nomination the King after his Death was pleaſed to conſent, for the great Affection he had for the old Man, who had ſuffered much from the Earl of *Angus*'s Faction.

The new Archbiſhop accuſeth Captain *Borthwick* of Hereſy in a Meeting of many great Perſons at St. *Andrews.*

The new Archbiſhop, a Man of whom much will come to be ſpoken, did very ſoon after his Inſtalment, take an Opportunity to make a Shew, both of hi sown Grandeur, and of his ſincereſt Intentions to proſecute all thoſe, who at that Time were termed Hereticks: For he brought to St. *Andrews* a great many Perſons of the firſt Rank, both Eccleſiaſticks and Laicks, to whom being aſſembled in the Cathedral Church of that City, he from a Throne erected for the Purpoſe, did repreſent the Danger wherewith the Church was threatned by the increaſe of Hereticks, who had the Boldneſs to profeſs their Opinions, even in the King's Court, where, ſaid he, they find but too great Countenance; and he mentioned by Name Sir *John Borthwick*, commonly called Captain (*c*) *Borthwick*, whom he had likewiſe cauſed to be cited to that Diet, for diſperſing of Heretical Books, and for maintaining divers Articles repugnant to the received Faith: And he concluded with a Deſire to thoſe that were preſent, for obtaining their Concurrence and Aſſiſtance in the Execution of Juſtice againſt him. Then the Articles of his Accuſation were read: But neither Sir *John*, nor any Perſon having a Procuratory for him, offering to appear; he was found guilty, and a ſevere Sentence was pronounced againſt him on the 28. of *May* 1540 (*d*,) Conformable to one Part of which Sentence, his *Effigies* was burnt the ſame Day in St. *Andrews*, and two Days after at *Edinburgh*. Captain *Borthwick* after this retired into *England*, and was employed by King *Henry* to treat of a Confederacy betwixt him and the *Proteſtant* Princes of *Germay*. Yet all the ſtately Appearance and formidable Severity of the Cardinal, did not ſo far terrify the People, but that many of them fell off daily from the Church: So that the Cardinal, and the other Prelates, being very much vexed at the great Increaſe of the Favourers of the new Opinions; and being deſirous by all Means to keep them at under at leaſt, if they ſhould not be able totally to extirpate them, gave Advice to the King, as ſome have ſaid, to lay heavy Taxes and Impoſitions on thoſe whom they called Hereticks. And this Advice being given to the King, at a Time when they foreſaw he might ſtand much in Need of Money, by Reaſon of an impending War from *England*; his Majeſty went the more eaſily into it, and for that Purpoſe gave Commiſſion (according to the Nomination of the Clergy) to Sir *James Hamilton* of *Fennard*, natural Brother to the Earl of *Arran* (*e*,) to conveen before him all Perſons ſuſpected of Hereſy, and to inflict the Puniſhments they ſhould be found to merit.

Sir *James Hamilton* appointed to enquire after Hereticks.

This Sir *James Hamilton* is ſaid to have been a Man every way qualified for this Commiſſion, being both ambitious and cruel; and whereas he had been lately

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(*a*) Archbiſhop *Spotiſwood*.

(*b*) There is a merry Story related of this Archbiſhop, which perhaps it may not be improper to inſert here: The Matter is this. When the Faction of the Earl of *Arran* had determined by the concurrent Advice of this Archbiſhop, who was then in the See of *Glaſgow*, to lay Hands on the Earl of *Angus*, whilſt he was in the City of *Edinburgh*, with only a few of his Friends and Followers about him, and ſuſpecting no ſuch Deceit (as may be ſeen in our Hiſtorians,) *Gavin Douglas* the famous Tranſlator of *Virgil* into *Scottiſh* Verſe, who was Uncle to the Earl of *Angus*, and Biſhop of *Dunkeld*, was ſent to the Chancellor, to beg him, according to his Offices, both Spiritual and Temporal, to uſe his Intereſt to pacify the Tumult that was like to enſue in the Streets, and to reſcue his Nephew from the Danger that threatned him: The Archbiſhop ſmote his Breaſt with his Hand, and ſaid, *In Conſcience, my Lord, I cannot help it*: But his Grace, not being aware that he had under his Gown a Coat of Mail, the Armour happened to give a Sound by the Clap of his Hand; whereupon the Biſhop of *Dunkeld* anſwered, *Ay, my Lord, I think your Conſcience clatters*, i. e. rattles, or is hollow. The Earl of *Angus* unexpectedly prevailed againſt the Earl of *Arran*, who was fain to ſave himſelf by ſwiming over the *North-Loch* on Horſe-back: And in the Fray, (which fell out on the laſt Day of *April* 1520, and was afterwards called *Cleanſe the Cauſey*) his Lordſhip loſt about 80 of his Followers.

(*c*) *Knox* ſays he was, or had been Provoſt of *Linlithgow*; and Sir *Ralph Sadler* in his Negotiations, calls him Lieutenant of the *French* King's Guard.

(*d*) See Append. Numb. 4.

(*e*) Mr. *Buchanan* thinks fit to call Sir *James* a Baſtard of the Family of *Arran*. It ſeems that Author can tell the *whole* Truth, or a *part* only, juſt as it makes for his Purpoſe.

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lately in ſome Diſgrace with the King, for being too much of a Party with the *Douglaſſes* (*a*,) he reſolved now to inſinuate himſelf into Favour by ſome eminent Acts of Severity. But the Providence of God ſoon permitted an End to be put to his Inquiſition. For another *James Hamilton*, Brother to Mr. *Patrick Hamilton* the firſt Sufferer upon Account of Religion, and who had formerly been Sheriff of *Linlithgow*, and was forced to leave the Country for abetting the new Doctrines, but had now obtained a Licence for ſome Months to return Home, and put his private Affairs in Order; finding the whole *Cenſorian* Power to be lodged in his Couſins Hands, and truſting to the Bonds of Conſanguinity, had adventured to continue longer in the Country than his Licence gave him Protection (*b*). But he was quickly made ſenſible of his Miſtake; for Sir *James* being deſirous to ſhew his Zeal in Favour of the Clergy, had fully determined to make his Couſin, firſt of all, feel the effect of his Power. Mr. *Hamilton* perceiving the Danger he was in, but knowing withal that Sir *James* ſtood in ſome Umbrage with the King; and judging that an Aftergame might be dangerous, deſigned to be before Hand with him. For this Purpoſe, he directeth his Son to the King, juſt as he was ready to croſs the Water to go into *Fife*, advertiſing his Majeſty, that now there was great Neceſſity to take Care of his Preſervation; for that Sir *James Hamilton* was in Concert with the *Douglaſſes* (againſt whom the King bare an irreconcilable Hatred,) to aſſaſſinate him ſome *how* or other, and that he only waited for a convenient Time to put his wicked Deſigns in Execution. The King who was never regardleſs of any thing that was propoſed for the Safety of his Life, diſpatched the young Gentleman to *Edinburgh*, and gave him his Ring to be delivered to the Privy-Council, as a Token of the Truth of the Meſſage. The Council (*c*) receiving the Information from the young Man, immediately cauſed Sir *James* to be apprehended, and ſhut up in the Caſtle of *Edinburgh*, till a legal Trial ſhould be made of the Crimes laid to his Charge; in order to which a criminal Court was held at *Edinburgh* on *Munday* the (*d*) 16. Day of *Auguſt* 1540, in which Sir *James* was condemned to loſe his Head. It is a good enough Obſervation which is made by one of our (*e*) Hiſtorians, after his relating of this *Back-blow of Fortune*, namely, “That ’tis dangerous once highly to offend a Prince, and “ afterwards remain in his Service; for Princes put old Offences up, as if ne- “ glected and forgot, and when Occaſion ſerveth them, they ſurprize long af- “ ter the Delinquents, for ſome Faults of which they are ſcarce guilty”. ’Tis likewiſe ſaid by the ſame Hiſtorian, “That this ſudden Downfall of Sir *James* “ *Hamilton* did mightily chill the Spirits of ſundry of the Nobility, who, “ tho they loved not the Man, yet hated the Example of ſuch ſtrict Juſtice” (*f*.)

Mr. *James Hamilton*, Brother to Mr. *Patrick* is among the firſt that were to be called before this high Commiſſion, but he, to evite the Danger, accuſes Sir *James* of high Treaſon, who thereupon is apprehended, and executed.

Some of our Hiſtorians tell us that the Clergy not being at all abaſhed with the firſt Miſgivings of their Project by the Downfal of Sir *James Hamilton*,

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(*a*) See concerning the *Douglaſſes* in the following Chapter.

(*b*) So is the Story related by *Drummond*. And in the *Miſcellanea Scotica*, we are told, that Mr. *Hamilton* never thought himſelf ſafe while Sir *James* was Preſident of this new Court, who, tho his near Relation, was yet his mortal Enemy, becauſe when Mr. *Hamilton* was Sheriff, he had given a Cauſe againſt Sir *James*. But if the Word *Indicium* ought to be read for *Judicium*, in the Place where Mr. *Buchanan* writes of this Matter (as ſome learned Criticks think it ſhould) then it would appear, that Mr. *Hamilton* had obtained Licence to come home, on Deſign to accuſe Sir *James*.

(*c*) Both *Buchanan* and *Drummond* make Mention of Sir *James Lermont* Maſter of the King's Houſhold, Sir *James Kircaldy* Treaſurer, and Sir *Thomas Erskine* Secretary, to have been the principal Perſons at leaſt, to whom the King ſent his Orders at this Time, and who accordingly went to Sir *James Hamilton*'s Houſe, and apprehended him.

(*d*) Regiſters King *James* V. Our Hiſtorians wander much both as to the *Place* and *Time* of this Criminal Court.

(*e*) *Drummond*.

(*f*) This is the common Report of all our Hiſtorians; but if there was any thing cenſurable, in Point of Juſtice, done at this Court; the Nobility and Gentry had themſelves to blame for it, and not the King. For by the publick Records, the Inqueſt or Aſſize conſiſted of theſe following Perſons, *viz. George* Earl of *Huntley*, *James* Earl of *Arran*, *William* Earl *Mariſchal*, *William* Earl of *Montroſe*, *Gilbert* Earl of *Caſſils*, *John* Earl of *Athole*, *Hugh* Earl of *Eglinton*, *Robert* Lord *Maxwel*, *Hugh* Lord *Somervel*, *Henry* Lord *Methven*, *Malcolm* Lord *Fleming*, Sir *William Cunningham* Maſter of *Glencairn*, *Hugh* Lord *Fraſer* of *Lovat*, *William Lauder* of *Hatton*, *William Cunningham* of *Glengarnock*, *David Ramſay* of *Dalhouſy*, *James Douglas* of *Drumlanrig*, *Robert Moubray* of *Barnbougal*, Sir *John Melvil* of *Raith*, *John* Lord *Lindſay* of *Byres*, *James Lundy* of *Balgony*. And the Articles libelled againſt him, were, his deviſing and attempting the King's Death, three or four ſeveral Times.

1540. did again renew the ſame Requeſt to the King; and that they delivered to his Majeſty a Paper, in which were contained the Names of about 360 Perſons, Noblemen, Gentlemen, and others, who were ſuſpected of Hereſy; and with whoſe Eſtates, they ſaid, the King might enrich himſelf, and provide for his Security againſt the Attempts of his Uncle the King of *England*, if he ſhould think fit to make War upon *Scotland*, upon Account of our King's having refuſed to meet him at *York*. In which Caſe they likewiſe promiſed to afford the King a large Sum of Money. After preſenting this Liſt to the King, we are informed that *Kirkaldy* of *Grange*, then Lord Treaſurer, diſſwaded his Majeſty much from purſuing any ſuch Advice; and that the King thereupon did call ſome of the Clergy to him, and ſpoke to them in theſe Terms, as recorded by Mr. *Knox*, "Packe you Jeſwellis, get you to your Charges, and reform your "own Lives, and be not Inſtruments of Diſcord betwixt my Nobility and me; "or elſe I vow to God, I ſhall reform you, not as the King of *Denmark* by Im-"priſonment doth, neither yet as the King of *England* doth by hanging and "heading, but I ſhall reprove you by ſharp Puniſhments, if ever I hear ſuch "Motion of you again". And Sir *James Melvill* adds, that the King ſhould have ſaid, "I ſhall ſtick you with this Whingar, and therewith he drew out "his Dagger, and they fled from his Preſence in great Fear". Mr. *Knox* ſays this ſame Roll was offered of new to the King, immediately before he went to the Borders, in order to engage the *Engliſh* at *Solway*-Moſs; and that then the Scroll was thankfully received by the King, and put into his own Pocket, where it remained to the Day of his Death; and then was found. However, he only ſays, That in it were contained more than 100 landed Men, beſides other of meaner Degree, among whom was the Lord *Hamilton* himſelf, then ſecond Perſon of the Realm. What may be the Truth of this Story, either firſt or laſt, I ſhall not take upon me to affirm or deny. 'Tis certain that the Earl of *Arran* in a Conference with Mr. *Sadler*, mentions himſelf as having been one of this Roll; but whether his Lordſhip ſaid ſo from his own Knowledge of the Fact, or by Report only, is the main Queſtion. Whereas 'tis ſaid that the Roll was found in the Kings Pocket *after* his Death; that ſeems not to be very probable, ſeeing 'tis allowed by the Earl of *Arran* likewiſe, in a Diſcourſe with the ſame Gentleman, and by all our Hiſtorians, that Cardinal *Beton* was about the King at the Time of his Death. And it is not very likely that his *Eminence* would let ſuch a Paper fall by, or eſcape him, which he was ſure could not fail to create him a world of Trouble. To blunder in ſo groſs a Manner was no part of the *Cadinal's* Character.

A Liſt of thoſe ſuſpected of Hereſy is ſaid to have been given to the King.

But not to trouble the Reader any longer with uncertain Accounts and Gueſſes, I ſhall here preſent him with a View of the ſeveral unprinted Acts of Parliment that paſt touching Religion, during this King's Adminiſtration, untill the Time of his Death; for by theſe he will beſt diſcover what his Majeſty's Thoughts and Intentions were concerning it. Vide *alſo an original Diſpatch mentioned in the next Chapter.*

12, *June*, 1535.

ACT agains Heretikis for eſchewing of Hereſy within this Realme, and the Pains thairof.

OURE Sourane Lord Ratifeis and Apprevis the Statute maid of befor, be his Hienes in his Parliament haldin at Edinburgh **the** 17. **Day of** July, **the Zeir of God** 1525 **Zeiris, againis yame yat haldis, diſputis, or reherſis the dampnabill Opinionis of the gret Heretik** Luther, **his Diſcepulis and Followeris, or of ony uther Hereſy, with new Additioun, of the quhilk Act and Additioun the Tenoure followis.**

followis. And oure ſaid Sovrane Lord, for the Zeile and Luf his Heines beris to the Chriſtyn Faith, and the haly Kirk, Ordanis and Statutis the ſaid Act of new. Item, It is Statute and Ordanit: That for aſmeckle as the dampnabill Opinionis of Hereſy are ſpred in diverſs Countreiſs be the Heretik Luther and his Diſcipulis; and this Realme and Leiges thairof, has fermlie perſiſtit in the haly Faith, ſin the ſamen was firſt reſſavit be thame, and nevir as zit admittit ony Opinionis contrar the Chriſtyn Faith, bot evir has bene clene of all ſick Filth and Vice. Therefor, that na Maner of Perſoun, Strangear, that happinis to arrive with thare Schip within ony part of this Realme, bring with thame ony Bukis, or Workis of the ſaid Luther his Diſcipulis, or Servandis, diſputis or reherſis his Hereſeis, or Opinionis, bot gif it be to the Confuſioun thairof, and that be Clerkis in the Sculis allanerlie, under the Pane of eſcheting of thare Schipis and Guidis, and putting of thaire Perſonis in Preſoun; and that this Act be publiſht and proclamit out throwgh this Realme, at all Portis and Burrowis of the ſamin, ſua that thai may allege na Ignorance thairof, and that uthir the Kingis Liegis, Aſſiſtaris to ſic Opinionis, be puniſt ſamblabill wiſe; and that nane of thame haif, uſe, keip, or concele ony Bukis of the ſaidis Heretikis, or contenand thair Doctrine and Opinionis, but that thai deliver the ſamen to thair Ordinaris within 40 Dayis, under the Panis forſaidis, and the Effect of the ſaid Act to ſtrick upoun thame, and Letters to be direct to make publicatioun hereof, in Forme as effeiris.

Eodem Die.

Agains thame that ſuſteinis the Proceſs of Curſing be the Space of 40 Dayis.

ITEM, Becaus the dampnabill Perſuaſionis of Heretekis, and thair perverſit Doctrine gevis Occaſioun to leychtlie the Proceſs of Curſing, and otheris Cenſuris of Halikirk. For Remeid herof, our Sovrane Lord in this preſent Parliament, has ratifeit and apprevit, and of the new, Makis, Conſtitutis and Ordanis the Act made of befor, be his Grace, with the Aviſe of the thre Eſtatis of this Realme in this forſaid Parliament, agains thame that ſuſtenis contemptanlie the Proceſs of Curſſing with new Additioun thereto: Of the quhilk Act and Additioun the Tenor followis. Item, It is Statute and Ordanit, That becaus mony and diverſs the Kingis Liegis of this Realme lyis under the horreble Sentence of Curſſing, ſeparate from the Suffrage and Prayer of the Kirk, and Merit of the Blude of Chriſt, to the Dampnatioun of thare Saulis, evil Exampil, Perrel and Danger of the other gude Subditis of the Realme: Therefor, quhen ony of oure Sovrane Lordis Leigis ſuſtenis dampnably the ſaid horreble Senteins of Curſſing, for the Space of 40 Dayis, quhareupoun Captioun aucht to be gevin be the Law; the Party at quhais Inſtance the Perſonis are curſit, ſall haif oure Sovrane Lordis Letters, to Poynd, Preſs, and Diſtrenze thair Gudis movable and unmovable, for Payment of the Soumes, for quhilks thai lay under the ſaid Sentence. And gif the ſaidis Perſonis lyis under Curſſing be the ſaid Space, for non doing, or fulfilling of ony Act, or Deid; in that Caiſs, the Perſonis thair Creditouris ſhall haif Letters in the Firſt, Second, Third and Ferd Formis, according to the Ordinaris Letters of Curſſing, and this Act

alwayis

alwayis to be na Prejudice to thame that likis to tak Captionis. And albeit ane Perſoun may be under Appellatioun that may ſtop the geving of ſic Letters in Manner above-written: It is Declarit and Ordanit, That nane Appellatioun fra Sentence of Defectioun of Appellatiouns before interponit, ſall ſtop the geving of ſick Letters.

N. B. The Reader will find an Addition to this Act among the printed Acts.

14. *March*, 1540-1.

That na Man argou the Paipis Auctorite.

ITEM, That na Maner of Perſoun argou nor impugn the Papis Auctorite, under the Pane of Deid, and Confiſcatioun of all thare Gudis, movable and unmovable.

Eodem Die.

For reforming of Kirkis and Kirk-men.

Becauſe the Negligence of Divyne Service, the grett Unhoneſte in the Kirk, throw not making of Reparatioun to the Honour of God Almyty, and to the bliſſit Sacrament of the Altar, the Virgyne Marie, and to all haly Sanctis; and als the unhoneſte and Miſreule of Kirk-men, baith in Witt, Knawlege and Maneris, is the Mater and Caus that the Kirk and Kirk-men is lychtlyit and contempnit: For Remeid herof, the Kingis Grace exhortis and prayis oppinly, all Archbiſhopis, Biſhopis, Ordinaris, and uthir Prelatis, and every Kirk-man in his awn Degre, to reforme thare ſelfis, yare Obedienciaris and Kirk-men under thame, in Habit and Maneris to God and Man; and that you caus in every Kirk within your Diocy, under your Juriſdictionn, Cure, Reule, Reparations and Reparaling to be honeſtlie and ſubſtantiouſly maid and done to the Honour of God Almyty, the bliſſit Sacramentis, and divine Service, every Kirk eftir the Qualite and Quantite of the Rentis: And gif ony Perſoun allegiand yame exemit, and wil not obey nor obtemper to thair Superiour; in that Behalf the Kingis Grace ſall find Remeid thairfor at the Papis Halyneſs, and ſicklik agains the ſaidis Prelatis, giff thai be negligent.

Eodem Die.

That na private Conventionis be maid to deſpute on the Scriptour.

ITEM, That nane hald, nor let be haldin in thair Houſis, nor uthirwayis Congregationis or Conventiculis, to commone or deſpute of the haly Scriptour, without thai be Theologis apprevit be famous Univerſiteis, or admittit thairto be thame that hes lauchfull Power. And in likwyiſs, that na Man, quhatſumever Stait or Conditioun he be, luge, reſſave, cheriſs, nor favour ony Heretike. And in caiſs ony reſſavis, or knawis thame quhair thai ar, ſall incontinent denunce and accuſs thame to the nixt lauchful Officiar of Juſtice, under the Pane to be puniſt as Heretikis.

Eodem Die.

Of Perſonis abjurit of Hereſy.

ITEM, Gif ony Heretikis have bene abjurit, or otherwayis haif bene admittit lauchfullie to Pennance and Grace, nane of thame ſall converſs nor comone with utheris of ony Materis tuiching our haly Faith, under the Pane to be haldin as relapſis; and alſway that na Perſoun that hes bene ſuſpectit of Hereſy, howbeit that be reſſavit to Pennance and Grace, ſall in this Realme exerceſs, haif nor bruik ony honeſt Eſtait, Degre, Office, nor Judicator, Spiritual or Temporal, in Burgh, nor without, nor nawiſe ſall be admittit to be of our Counſale.

Eodem Die.

Of Fugitivis ſuſpect, and ſummond for Hereſy.

ITEM, Quhair ony beis ſuſpectit of Hereſy, and lauchfully ſummond to anſwer of the ſamen, ar fugitive, That thai ſall be baniſt, and condempnit as Heritikis; and it ſall not be leful to na Man to ſoliſt, procure, nor mak Supplicatioun for thare Purgatioun, Reductioun or Grace, under the Pane to be puniſt as Favoraris to the Heretikis; and the ſaidis Perſonis Fugitivis, not to be admittit to Purgatioun, nor otherwayis to Reconciliatioun, nor zit to remane or converſs in our Realme. Alſua we forbid to all our Subjectis, quhatſumever Eſtait thai be, to preſent Requeiſtis, mak ony Supplicatioun, defend, ſupple, dyit or writ, counſal, help, procure, or mak Advocatioun, Solicitatioun, labour, or aſſiſt onywayis, to na Heretikis Fugitivis therefor, or other condempnit Perſonis, that ar, or have bene of the ſaid reprevit Sect of Hereſies, to have or impetrate ony Grace of thare Errors, quhilk will naway be accordit to thame, under the Pane to be puniſt as Aſſiſtaris to Hereſies.

Eodem Die.

Reward of thame that revelis Conventionis, and accuſis Heretikis.

TO ſtop the privat Congregatiounis and Conventiculis of Heretikis, quhair thair Errours ar ſpred, That ony Man that firſt revelis incontinent, or accuſis ony that hes kepit the ſaid Conventionis, gif he have bene ane of thame himſelf; for the firſt Tyme he ſall be quyit, and abſolvit thairof, ſwa that he be ane gude Chriſtin Man, and have the ryt Faith, promittand him never to intromett with the ſaid Errours in Tyme cumming. In cais he be not of the ſaid Congregatioun, than he ſall have ane Part of the Confiſcatioun of him that he accuſis, as the Lordis thinkis expedient to ſtatue and ordane. And this to be extendit to all thame that revelis, or accuſis ony Heretikis, to have ane part of thair Confiſcatioun. And that na Man may pretend Ignorance hereof, that it be commandit under Panis to all Shereffis, Proveſtis, and Baillies of Burrowis, to publis be oppin Proclamatioun thir Actis, at the heid Placis of thair Juriſdictiouns twyis in the Zeir.

I have omitted two or three Acts concerning the Freedom and Liberty of the Church, the Honour due to the holy Sacraments, and to the canonized Saints, as not being very material. As to this laſt, Command is given to pray to the Virgin *Mary*, to intercede for a happy and proſperous Life to the King; and a ſevere Prohibition, not to caſt down, nor treat irreverently the Images of the holy Saints.

By theſe Acts it will appear, that the King had no mind to introduce ſuch a ſort of Reformation, as his Uncle had done in *England*, which is likewiſe abundantly evident from his own Conference with Sir *Ralph Sadler* on that Head. But if he had lived for ſome time, I make as little Doubt but he would have taken Care to cauſe the Abuſes be reformed, which had too much overſpread the Worſhip and Practice of the Church. This I think may be gathered from his own Expreſſions with the forementioned Gentleman, and from what we have already heard that our Hiſtorians have related concerning him; but eſpecially from that Act of Parliament concerning the reforming of Kirkis and Kirk-men.

CHAP. II.

Containing an Account of State Affairs from the Time that King JAMES V. *took the Adminiſtration of the Government upon himſelf,* Anno 1524, *to the Death of that King,* Anno 1542; *together with his Character.*

1524.

King *James* V. takes the Government upon himſelf in the 13th Year of his Age: But ſome factious Nobles, and eſpecially the Earl of *Angus* take the King into their Cuſtody, and govern both him and the Kingdom.

After that *John Stewart*, Duke of *Albany (a)*, was ſecluded from the Regency by Conſent of Parliament, on the 16th Day of *November*, in the Year 1524 *(b)*, and the Government put into the Hands of the young King, who was then only in the 13th Year of his Age; his Majeſty found himſelf in worſe Condition than before, being toſſed hither and thither by his Mother and the Nobility, according as this or that Faction of them prevailed. *Archibald Douglas*, Earl of *Angus (c)*, was at the Head of the moſt prevailing Party; and this Nobleman kept the King in ſuch Reſtraint, that he ſeemed to himſelf, as well as to others, rather a Priſoner at large than any thing elſe. The Earl ſuffered no Perſon to come near his Majeſty, but thoſe that were in his Intereſt. He obliged him to ſign what Writs he thought fit; and under the ſhew of the Regal Authority, he diſpoſed of all Places and Preferments, both in Church and State, to his own Creatures: A Guard of his Friends ſtill attended and waited about the King, who being of a fine and aſpiring Genius, could not bear ſuch Thraldom, nor to be ſo coop'd up by his own Subjects. He diſcovered his Uneaſineſs to ſome of thoſe he thought he could beſt truſt, particularly to *John Stewart* Earl of *Lennox*; and begged that ſome Method might be faln upon to deliver him from his preſent Reſtraint. Some Attempts were accordingly made for his Majeſty's Enlargement; which however, by miſgiving, ſerved to no other Purpoſe than the rivetting the Earl of *Angus* more ſecurely in his Settlement. At laſt, in Abſence of that Earl, his Majeſty ſlipt out of his Bed-chamber in the Night-time, and made his Eſcape from *Falkland* to the Caſtle of *Stirling*, where the Queen, his Mother, by ſecret Intelligence, was looking for him. Upon this Turn of Affairs, the King commanded the Earl of *Angus* to confine himſelf be-north the River of *Spey*, (on Deſign, no doubt, that being removed from his Friends, who were moſt numerous in the more Southerly Parts of the Kingdom, he might be in leſs Capacity to diſturb the Government.) But the Earl diſregarding the Orders, as did likewiſe his Uncle and Brother, who had been commanded to enter themſelves Priſoners within the Caſtle of *Edinburgh*; they were all three forfeited on the 5th Day of *September*, in a Parliament holden at *Edinburgh* in the Year 1528, *for Diſobedience to the King's Command in the foreſaid Injunctions*; for making Convocations,

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(*a*) He was Son to *Alexander* Duke of *Albany*, Brother-german to King *James* III. againſt whom he having been in Rebellion, was forfeited, and baniſhed the Kingdom: After which he lived and died in *France*, where this Duke *John* was born, who was afterward reſtored to his Father's Dignity, and made Regent of *Scotland*, when the Nobles could not agree among themſelves who of their Number ſhould be advanced to that high Station after the Queen-Mother's Marriage, whom her Huſband King *James* IV. had by his Latter-will appointed to be Regent of the Kingdom, ſo long as ſhe ſhould remain unmarried: But her Regency was of no long Continuance, ſhe having married the Earl of *Angus* on the 6th of *Auguſt* 1514. The new Regent, Duke *John* of *Albany*, arrived in *Scotland* about the middle of *May* 1515. His Mother was a Daughter of the Earl of *Bologne* in *France*, his Father's ſecond Wife, who had for his firſt Conſort a Daughter of *Sinclair* Earl of *Orkney* and *Cathneſs*, by whom he had a Son *Alexander*; but he being a Man of a ſoft Spirit, did after his Brother's Advancement to the Regency, enter into holy Orders, and became Abbot of *Scoon*, and Biſhop of *Murray*. The Marriage alſo betwixt his Father and Mother was declared to have been unlawful, and conſequently he to be illegitimate. However, 'tis certain that in the Time of Popery, Divorces were obtained, at leaſt in this Country, upon Grounds ſo ſlender, that they might rather be called no Grounds at all. A Gentleman who was lately Commiſſary of St. *Andrew*'s, informs, That the Leaves are all torn out of the Books, where the Divorces of any of our great Men were regiſtrated.

(*b*) Records of Parliament; which becauſe they will ſerve to rectify the Confuſion that appears to be in our Hiſtorians about this Time, I have tranſcribed into the Appendix, Numb. 5.

(*c*) Tho' this Earl had the Honour to be joined in Marriage to the King's Mother, *Margaret*, eldeſt Siſter to *Henry* VIII. King of *England*; yet ſome ſubſtantial Grounds of Diſagreement having faln out very ſoon betwixt them, they ſeparated by Conſent for ſome Time, until the Queen afterwards purſued and obtained a Divorce againſt the Earl.

1534.

cations, and fortifying the Earl's Caſtles againſt his Majeſty; for detaining his Majeſty, contrary to the Ordinance of the Council; and for ſome other ſmaller Matters (*a*). And 'tis by ſome reported, that his Majeſty made an Aſſeveration, never to relax the Earl from his Forfeiture, nor receive him into Favour; which it is certain, he religiouſly obſerved.

and ſets about the ſecuring of his Kingdom, and reforming ſeveral Abuſes.

The King being a Perſon of excellent Natural Parts, how ſoon he attained the Age of a Man, reflected with Indignation upon the Defects he perceived to be in his Kingdom; and therefore, the chief Things he firſt ſet about were, to curb the Inſolencies of Robbers, together with the Factions of the Great Men; and to ſecure the Borders, by putting his Caſtles there in a Poſture of Defence, if they ſhould be attack'd. There was at that Time no formal War betwixt *Scotland* and *England*; but, as the Cuſtom then was, the Subjects on either Side drove a ſort of Pillaging-Trade upon the neighbouring Marches, which the reſpective Kings endeavoured to ſuppreſs, by leſſer Treaties, for one, two or three Years. But theſe Sorts of Truce not anſwering the Ends which the two Kings had in View, they projected to enter into a firmer and more laſting Peace. For this Purpoſe King *James* made choice of two Ambaſſadors, *viz. William Stewart* Biſhop of *Aberdeen*, his Lord Treaſurer, and Sir *Adam Otterburn* of *Redhall* (formerly of *Auldham)* an Advocate *(b)*, to repair into *England*, with full Power to treat and negociate with the Ambaſſadors of his Uncle; who were, Sir *Thomas Audeley* his Chancellor, *Thomas Cromwell* the Secretary, *Edward Fox* the Almoner, *John Tregunwell*, Judge of the Admiralty-Court, and *Richard Guent*, Principal Official of *Canterbury*. Theſe Commiſſioners drew up a Treaty of Peace at *London*, the 11th Day of *May* 1534, which was to laſt during the joint Lives of the two Kings, and One Year after the Deceaſe of him who ſhould die firſt. This Treaty was afterwards confirmed by both the Kings: And beſides what may be eaſily ſuppoſed to be in all Treaties of that Kind, it contained this remarkable Article, *viz.* "That neither Party ſhould, any manner of way, directly or indirectly, "by any Explication or Evaſion whatſoever, violate the Peace, upon account "of any Eccleſiaſtical Cenſure, already emitted or to be emitted againſt either "of the reſpective Kings. *(c)*" The Intention of which Article, the Reader will ſoon diſcover.

He enters into a cloſe Amity with the K. of *England*,

While this Peace was treated, the Lord *Herbert* ſays, That he finds by the Records, how that Lord *William Howard*, Brother to the Duke of *Norfolk*, was ſent into *Scotland*, to carry to King *James* the Order of St. *George*. This, it appears, was done by King *Henry*, that he might not be behind with the Emperor, who had taken the ſame Method to cultivate the King's Friendſhip. The ſame noble Hiſtorian likewiſe tells us, That Lord *William* had Inſtructions, to invite our King to be preſent at an intended Interview in *France* betwixt the King of that Nation and King *Henry*: But ſeeing that Interview was diſappointed, our King was invited to meet his Uncle at *York*. A great deal is ſaid by both *Scottiſh* and *Engliſh* Writers, concerning this Propoſal made by King *Henry* to his Nephew, of meeting one another at *York* and talking Face to Face, which hitherto they had never done, nor indeed ever did all their Lifetime after. I cannot adjuſt their ſeveral Accounts, and ſo am obliged to leave many of them untouch'd; but 'tis proper that the Reader do obſerve, That this projected Interview gave Riſe to all the ſubſequent Tranſactions with *England* during the Life of our King, and was at laſt the Occaſion of his Death. And that the ordinary Reader may not be at a loſs to find out the true Cauſe, why King *Henry* did ſo much deſire a Peace with his Nephew, and ſo often ſolicite for this Interview; he may know, That that King having pretended a Scruple of Conſcience to live any longer with *Katharine* his Wife, (a Daughter of *Spain)* after having cohabited with her as ſuch upwards of twenty Years,

who aſſumes our King into the Fraternity of his Knighthood, and propoſes to have an Interview with him,

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(*a*) Records of Parliament.

(*b*) Tho' our Hiſtorians make mention of *Robert Reid* Abbot of *Kinloſs*, yet I can aſſure the Reader, that he is not mentioned in the King's Commiſſion, nor during the whole Progreſs of the Treaty.

(*c*) Fœdera Angliæ.

The Emperor & the Pope endeavour to diſunite our K. from his Uncle K. *Henry*, who thereupon preſſeth his Nephew again and again for an Interview, and ſendeth him ſome Books of Religion,

1534. because ſhe had been formerly married to his elder Brother *Arthur*, a young Man of about 16 Years of Age, and who died ſoon after his Marriage; he proceeded ſo far as to divorce her from him, by the Authority of his own Clergy, in Oppoſition to the Court of *Rome*, which could have been induc'd to grant that Favour afterwards, had *Henry* been tractable enough in Time (*a*). This Step of the King of *England*, created him as many Enemies as the Emperor (whoſe Aunt the Queen was) and the Pope could raiſe up againſt him. And as this obliged King *Henry* to ſtrive to have the King of *Scotland* his *faſt Friend*, as he was his *near Relation*; ſo our King ſaw himſelf courted by the greateſt Princes in *Europe*: The Pope ſent a Legat hither with a conſecrated Cap and Sword; and the Emperor and King of *France* ſent their Ambaſſadors, from whom the King received the Orders of their Knighthood And the King of *England* laboured hard, after Concluſion of the Peace I have mentioned, to meet with his Nephew; being hopeful, that if he could talk with him, he might perſwade him to ſhake off all Dependence upon *Rome*, and to introduce ſuch a Reformation of Religion in *Scotland*, as he himſelf had done in *England*. To diſpoſe our King the better to this, his Uncle ſent one of his Chaplains, *William Barlow*, Biſhop Elect of St. *David's*, in the End of the Year 1535 at the fartheſt, with ſome *Engliſh* Books, containing the Heads of the Chriſtian Doctrine, to be preſented to the King: Which Books howbeit the King never once lookt into, but delivered them to be inſpected by ſome of his Clergy, who preſently declared them to be *Heretical* (*b*).

and makes ſeveral advantageous Offers.

King *James* complains to his Uncle, of his Ambaſſador's Miſmanagement,

Soon after this, the forementioned Lord *William Howard* and *Barlow* came again into *Scotland*, with a reiterated Propoſal for an Interview: And that they might the more eaſily incline King *James* unto it, they were ordered to make him divers advantageous Offers; ſuch as, That if Matters could be got accommodated to the good Liking of King *Henry*, in that Event, he was willing to give our King his Daughter *Mary* to Wife, and to declare him his Heir and Succeſſor to the Crown of *England*, (for as yet *Henry* had no Son:) And that his Nephew might be brought to give the better Credit to his Promiſes, he propoſed to create him juſt then Duke of *York* and Viceroy of *England*. When theſe Propoſals of the King of *England* were laid before the Council of *Scotland*, it was reſolved, That inſtead of *York*, *Newcaſtle* ſhould be pitch'd upon as the *Place*; and the Feaſt of St. *Michael*, as the *Time* of Meeting: But Lord *William Howard* received theſe Alterations made by the *Scottiſh* Council, as an Affront put upon his Maſter; and ſo took Leave, and went homeward in very bad Humour; having reported to his Maſter Things concerning our King, which his Majeſty did afterwards diſclaim. And the King thought fit likewiſe to ſend Sir *Adam Otterburn* into *England* after the Lord *William*, to make his Compliments to his Uncle, and aſſure him, that the Reaſon of his Council's diverting him from a Journey into *England*, was entirely owing to the Miſmanagement of Lord *William* (*c*), who had "menaced "the Counſellors, and would have forced their Votes; That he was too great "a Friend to the *Douglaſſes* and other Rebels, who had convoyed him to *Scot*-"*land*, and accompanied him back again; That it was againſt the Credit and "Ho-

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(*a*) 'Tis to be acknowledged, that King *Henry* did from the very firſt ſhew a Diſlike to the Marriage with his Siſter-in-law, and that he proceeded ſo far, as to make a ſolemn Retractation of it on the very ſame Day that he came to be of Age: However, political Reaſons made it be judged convenient to retain Queen *Katharine*; and 'tis even probable he would ſtill have retained her, if he had had a Son by her to ſucceed him in the Throne. Queen *Katharine* was married to Prince *Arthur* 14th *Nov.* 1501, who died 2d *April* 1502. A Diſpenſation was obtained from the Pope for her Marriage with Prince *Henry*, 26th *Decem.* 1503. The Sentence of her Divorce from him was given by *Cranmer* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* 22d *May* 1533. And the Pope's Excommunication of King *Henry* was emitted *Anno* 1535, tho' not publiſhed till 1538. Some have doubted of the Truth of the Prince's Retractation, and have thought that it was only forged, after the Divorce came to be demanded.

(*b*) This is the common Story, as delivered by our Hiſtorians. And Mr. *Strype* of *England*, ſays it was the Book called *The godly and pious Inſtitution of a Chriſten Man.* But that Book was not printed, according to *Strype*, until the Year 1537; yet in the *Catalogus Univerſ. Libr.* there is in 1534, *The Doctrine of a Chriſtian Man*, ſet out by *Henry* VIII. in 8*vo*. And Biſhop *Burnet* mentions ſuch a Book publiſhed *Anno* 1533. Lord *Herbert* ſays only, that *Barlow* and *Holcroft*, in Commiſſion with him, laboured to give King *James* all Manner of Impreſſions which might bring him to a Conformity with his Uncle, but makes no Mention of Books.

(*c*) *Drummond.* It appears alſo by King *James*'s own Diſcourſe with Mr. *Sadler*, that his Majeſty blamed Lord *William* for reporting Things concerning him to his Maſter, otherwiſe than he ought to have done.

1536.

“ Honour of free-born Princes to be threatned; That what was friendly begun, ſhould friendly continue and end; That Princes ſhould not be conſtrained, eſpecially in Matters which are not of Debt, but Benevolence.” However, there appears to be ſome Ground to think, that King *Henry*'s large and advantageous Offers had made ſome Impreſſion on our King; ſeeing by an original Diſpatch in *May* 1536, King *James* did certifie his Uncle, *That he had ſent to* Rome, *to get Impetrations for Reformation of ſome Enormities, and eſpecially anent the ordering of great and many Poſſeſſions and Temporal Lands, given to the Kirk by our Noble Predeceſſors (a).*

An Account of Mr. *Sadler*'s firſt Embaſſy into *Scotland*.

For ſome Time after this, I can find but little Correſpondence betwixt the two Kings, until *February* 1539-40, that King *Henry* thought fit to ſend *Ralph Sadler* his Ambaſſador into *Scotland*; which Embaſſage was occaſioned by two late Interviews of the Emperor and King of *France*, in which King *Henry* had perhaps Ground enough to ſuſpect, that ſome Things might be contrived not very favourable to him: Wherefore he again very wiſely laid himſelf out all he could, to gain his Nephew entirely to his Intereſt. The *Letters* and *Negociations* of this Ambaſſador have lately been made publick, by which it appears, that his Inſtructions were: 1*ſt*, To bring Cardinal *Beton* into Suſpicion with King *James*. 2*dly*, To perſwade his Nephew to break off from the Church of *Rome*, and to take the Revenues of the Abbeys and other Religious Houſes into his Hands, for the augmenting of his Revenue. 3*dly*, To diſcover King *James*'s Affection towards his Uncle, by telling him how that Rumours were diſperſed, as if the Pope, Emperor, and King of *France* were to invade *England*; and that it was ſaid King *James* would do the ſame. And in order to make this Embaſſy be the more favourably received, King *Henry* ſent his Nephew a Preſent of ſome fine Horſes, which King *James* was known to be much delighted with. And Mr. *Sadler* was ordered to inſinuate very cunningly, the Hopes King *James* might entertain of being appointed by King *Henry* his Succeſſor, in caſe of the Death of his Son Prince *Edward*; and how much it would contribute to that and many other good Purpoſes, that the Uncle and the Nephew ſhould meet together, ſince they had never yet ſeen one another in the Face. But this, the Ambaſſador told King *James*, his Maſter deſired he would keep entirely to himſelf, and not communicate to his Council. Now this laſt Caution would ſeem to aſſure us, that King *Henry* did reckon, that the Interview had formerly been diſappointed by the Advice of ſome Perſons about his Nephew. Yet King *James*, by his Anſwer to Mr. *Sadler*, made it pretty plain, that he had little Mind to comply with the propoſed Meeting; alledging, that it were expedient to have the *French* King preſent thereat. Notwithſtanding which, it will perhaps appear probable to ſome People, that our King had given his Uncle ſome Reaſon to expect him at *York*, ſeeing King *Henry* did actually come thither in the Month of *September* the following Year 1541. But King *James* having again communicated his Deſign to his Council, the Clergy prevailed upon him to ſuſpend his Journey, for Reaſons that are obvious enough. And becauſe it was juſtly to be apprehended, that this Diſappointment might bring on a War from *England*, therefore the Clergy made large Donations to the King for the preſent, and aſſured him, that in caſe of future Exigencies, all their Rents ſhould be at his Majeſty's Service. By this Means, the King was induced to ſend a Meſſage to his Uncle, declaring, That ſome Buſineſs of great Importance did detain him from keeping the Interview at the Time and Place appointed. And Sir *James Learmonth* was ſoon after diſpatched into *England*, to repreſent the ſame to King *Henry* as favourably as he could; and likewiſe to complain of certain Inroads made by the *Engliſh* Borderers into *Scotland*, and for their having converted to their own particular Profit, the *debateable Ground* lying on the Limits of the two Kingdoms, and which ought to be in common to the Subjects of both.

The Clergy make large Donatives, and larger Promiſes to the King, in order to diſſwade him from going into *England*.

(a) Lord *Herbert*'s Life of King *Henry* VIII.

1542.

Whereupon King *Henry* is highly diſpleaſed, and orders his Army towards *Scotland.*

After our King had thus, by the Perſwaſion of Cardinal *Beton* (*a*) and others, diſappointed his Uncle of the Interview at *York*, King *Henry* returned to *London*, full of Indignation, and with a Mind completely bent upon Revenge: Which however he ſuppreſſed pretty much from appearing outwardly, till the Seaſon for Action ſhould return, and he ſhould be in a Readineſs to pour out his Reſentment with the greater Fury. And acccordingly, tho' he did afterwards receive the Ambaſſadors of his Nephew, for treating amicably their Differences; yet the next Year he prepared a great Army, ſome ſay 40000 Men, to invade *Scotland:* Which advanced in good earneſt for that Purpoſe in the Middle of Harveſt 1542, under the Command of the Duke of *Norfolk*; a publick Declaration of War having been emitted much about the ſame Time (*b*). But tho' the War was not openly declared till now, yet the Reader is not to think, that there had been no Acts of Hoſtility in the Interim committed betwixt the two Nations: For, not to mention other Things of leſſer Moment, the *Engliſh* had ſeized on ſundry *Scottiſh* Merchant-ſhips in their Harbours, and upon the Sea; and the *Scots* had given the *Engliſh* a conſiderable Overthrow by Land at *Haldenrig* in the *Merſe*, on the 24th of *Auguſt* the ſame Year 1542. King *James*, as appears, was ſomewhat apprehenſive of the Iſſue of this War; and therefore, that he might either prevent it altogether, or at leaſt divert the *Engliſh* Army from any Action for that Year, he again ſent *John* Lord *Erskine* and ſome others, Ambaſſadors to his Uncle: Who likewiſe on his Part, gave Commiſſion to the Duke of *Norfolk*, to his Lord Privy Seal, to the Biſhop of *Durham*, and to the Maſter of his Horſe, to treat with the *Scottiſh* Commiſſioners at *York*. But the *Engliſh* Commiſſioners complaining, that the *Scots* only trifled, and that they aimed at nothing but a protracting of Time; King *Henry* commanded his Troops to advance. And indeed 'tis certain, that if King *James* was not in earneſt in the Treaty, yet he ſo far gained his Point by thus amuſing his Uncle, that the *Engliſh* Army was not able to enter the Eaſt Borders of *Scotland* till the 21ſt of *October*; ſo that the Seaſon for Action being then quite ſpent, the General thought fit to return into *England*, after having remained but a few Days, and burnt ſome few Hamlets within the Borders of this Kingdom.

which returns in a few Days.

King *James* deſires to follow the *Engliſh*; but the Nobility will not conſent.

A Conſpiracy fram'd to cut off the King's Favourites.

King *James*, who by this Time had gathered together an Army of about 30000 Men, prompted by his own active Diſpoſition, and much ſolicited thereto by the Clergy, was very deſirous to have followed the Duke of *Norfolk* into *England*. But the Nobles not being forward for ſuch an Enterprize, took upon them to remonſtrate to him, by the Mouth of his Natural Brother the Earl of *Murray*, then General of his Army, That he had gained Abundance of Glory, by ſtopping the Progreſs of ſo mighty an Army, which had been ſo long a-gathering, and had boaſted of ſuch great Matters, under the Conduct of ſo experienc'd a General as the old Duke of *Norfolk* was known to be, and whom his Maſter had wont to call *The Scourge of the Scots.* And 'tis moreover reported, That whilſt the King with his Army lay on *Fala-muir*, the Nobility had formed a Deſign, to cut off ſuch of his Courtiers as had been moſt inſtrumental in the ſowing and fomenting of Differences betwixt his Majeſty and them, and were known Penſioners to the Cardinal and Clergy for keeping open that Breach: But becauſe they could not agree among themſelves who ſhould be the *Victims*, every one ſtriving to ſave his own Friend, they all eſcaped the Danger. However, this Conſultation and Project of the Nobility had not been kept ſo ſecret, but that both the King and the Courtiers got Notice of it, which made them return immediately to *Edinburgh*; where the King, being highly exaſperated againſt the Nobility, both for their intended *Refor-*

mation

(*a*) The Cardinal offered afterwards to prove, that this was unjuſtly laid to his Door. *Vide Sadler's Letters*, P. 154.

(*b*) *Vide Holinſhed.* In it are theſe Words: " Having a Meſſage ſent unto Us the Year paſt from Our ſaid Nephew, and a Promiſe made for the repairing of the ſaid King of *Scots* unto Us to *York*; and after great Preparation on Our Part made therefore, the ſame Meeting was not only diſappointed, *&c.* In this Declaration likewiſe, tho' there be a long Enumeration of the ſeveral Homages done by our Kings to thoſe of *England*, yet K. *Henry* thinks fit to lay the Streſs of the preſent War, as much, or rather more upon the perſonal Injuries received from his Nephew; and plainly ſays, That he had no Intention to make War upon the Score of Homage.

1542.

mation of his Court, and their peremptory declining to march after the Duke of *Norfolk* into *England*, reproached them openly as Cowards, and Men that neither wiſh'd to advance his Honour, nor to purſue the Glory of their Native Country; telling them, That ſince he was betrayed by them, he himſelf, and ſuch as would follow him, would do that which they had ſo cowardly refuſed to undertake.

His Majeſty gathers an Army, which marches into *England*, and falls into a miſerable Diſorder.

In the Beginning of *November* following, the King called a Council of his principal Favourites and moſt truſty Servants; in which Council, the Clergy, zealous of their Religion, obliged themſelves, That on Condition His Majeſty would cauſe proſecute ſuch Perſons as they ſhould delate to be guilty of Hereſy *(a)*, they would furniſh him with Money for the neceſſary Charges of making a ſecond Inroad into *England*, on which the King ſeem'd then to be extremely bent. They alſo adviſed him to ſummon his Nobility to meet him on the Borders with their Dependents and Followers. To which he readily condeſcended, as being a Thing moſt agreeable to his own Inclination: And for that Purpoſe, he ſent without Delay Letters *privately* through the Country, leſt if he had ſummoned them by *open* Proclamation, the *Engliſh* ſhould be advertiſed of his gathering together a new Army. It was propoſed, That the Army ſhould make its Inroad upon *England* by the *Weſt Marches*, where the Lord *Maxwell* was Warden, and who had generouſly offered to undertake ſuch an Expedition, at the Time that the King was chiding the Nobility. But to cover this Deſign the better, the Earl of *Arran* and the Cardinal raiſe Men publickly, and advance with them towards the *Eaſt Borders*. When Sir *Thomas Wharton*, the *Engliſh* Warden, appeared with the few Men he could gather together in that ſudden Surprize, the *Scottiſh* Army ſhewed a Deſire to know who was to command them as Lieutenant under the King; and how ſoon they ſaw that *Oliver Sinclair*, a Son of the Family of *Roſline*, was mounted on Mens Shoulders to be ſeen as General *(b)*, the Nobles that were preſent, and eſpecially the Lord *Maxwell*, mutiny'd much, that a Man of ſo mean a Rank ſhould be preferr'd and ſet over them. Whereupon ſuch a Murmur and confus'd Clamour immediately enſued, that all military Order was quite neglected; and the Tumult and Confuſion became ſo remarkable in our Army, that the *Engliſh*, who perceived the ſame, attacking them in that Diſorder, obtained an eaſy Victory, whilſt they were in Suſpenſe whether to fight or fly: Men, Horſes, Artillery and Baggage, were all confuſedly driven into the *Solway Marſhes (c)*, and a great many willingly ſurrendred themſelves to a few *Engliſh* vaſtly inferiour to their own Number *(d)*, without making ſo much as a Shew of Reſiſtance or Defence: So that not one ſingle Man was killed on either Side.

Thereupon the King turns melancholy,

The News of this Loſs (for it cannot properly be called a Defeat) at *Solway Moſs* being brought to the King, then at *Carlaverock (e)*, he became extremely diſconſolate, and began to apprehend that the whole Nobility had conſpired his Overthrow. The Cardinal alſo, who had greatly adviſed him to this unfortunate Expedition, was in a huge Conſternation. The Day after the Battle the King returned to *Edinburgh*, and in a few Days he went into *Fife*, and retired to his Palace of *Falkland*, where he gave himſelf up entirely to Melancholy. No Man almoſt got Acceſs to him, except his chief Confidents; and he remained fixed to his Bed, being vexed with various Cares, and quite worn out with Watching and Faſting.

(*a*) This was the Time, when (as is pretended) the Roll containing the Names of ſuſpected Hereticks was preſented to the King, and which was mentioned in the 1ſt *Chapter*.

(*b*) *Drummond* ſays, that the Generalſhip was intended for the Lord *Maxwel*; and that Mr. *Sinclair* was only entruſted by the King to read the Royal Commiſſion. But ſince Biſhop *Leſly*, who would not fail to ſuggeſt whatever could vindicate the King, owns that Mr. *Sinclair* was appointed General, I ſee no Room to doubt of it.

(*c*) The Army was on the *Scottiſh* Side of *Solway* Firth, in the debatable Ground betwixt the Waters *Esk* and *Sark*. This debatable Ground is 6 Miles long, near 2 Miles broad at moſt, but in ſome Places not one Mile.

(*d*) Some *Engliſh* Hiſtorians ſay, that our Army conſiſted of 15000 Men, with a Train of 24 Pieces of Artillery; That their own conſiſted only of 400; and that there were taken Priſoners of the *Scots* about 1000.

(*e*) A Caſtle diſtant about 12 Miles to the Weſt from the *Marſhes*.

1542.

While he lay in this diſmal Poſture, News was brought him that the Queen was brought to Bed of a Daughter at *Linlithgow:* And when he heard this, he is ſaid to have turned his Face to the Wall, and to have ſpoken to this Purpoſe: " It will end as it began; the Crown came by a Woman, and it will go by " one: Miſeries approach this poor Kingdom; King *Henry* will labour to make " it his own, by Arms or by Marriage. " After this, either by Grief or (*a*) Poiſon, he died the ----- (*b*) Day of *December* 1542, having lived 30 Years and 8 Months; leaving his Heireſs an Infant, only ſome few Days old (*c*). 'Tis a groſs Error in our Hiſtorians to ſay he died in the 33d Year of his Age.

and dies.

On the 14th Day of *January* 1542-3, the King's Body having been tranſported from the Palace of *Falkland* (*d*), where he died, to the Chapel of the Palace of *Holy-rood-houſe* (*e*); was honourably depoſited there, beſide the Body of his firſt Queen; the Cardinal, the Earls of *Argyle*, *Marſhal*, *Rothes*, *Arran*, and a great many more of the Nobility attending the Corpſe: Nor was there any Thing wanted, that could render the funeral Pomp both decent and magnificent. The embalmed Body is yet to be ſeen, whole and entire, in a Vault (*f*) built by his Grandchild King *James* VI. in the South-eaſt Corner of the Neſf of that ſtately Church which ſtands to this Day; the Quire whereof was demoliſhed by the *Engliſh* Armies that thereafter entred *Scotland*.

Character of K. *James* V.

King *James* was born in the Month of *April* 1512 (*g*), and loſt his Father at the unfortunate Battle of *Flowdon-hill* in *Northumberland*, on the 9th of *September* in the following Year 1513. It hath been already obſerved, That the Adminiſtration of the Government during his Minority was, according to his Father's Latter-will, lodged in the Hands of his Mother during her Widowity; and that after her Marriage, *John* Duke of *Albany* was by the States declared Governor of the Realm; in which Office he continued, till the King took the Adminiſtration upon himſelf. His Majeſty was of a middle Stature, but rather tall; His Eyes of a dark-gray, and very penetrating; His Hair of a Yellow Colour, turn'd up into Links; His Voice ſweet, his Aſpect and Countenance comely: So that he was reckoned the handſomeſt Prince of his Time. His Body was ſound and healthy, and of a vigorous Conſtitution; and he rendred it ſtill more firm and ſtrong, by a conſtant Application to Labour and Exerciſe, and an exemplary Sobriety in his Eating and Drinking. He had likewiſe a quick and ingenious Mind; but by the Misfortune of the Age in which he lived, it was not ſufficiently cultivated with generous Education. Yet he loved Learning and learned Men, and was naturally given to Poeſy; in which he hath ſucceeded very well, if the old *Scots* Ballads, which Fame aſcribe to him, be really genuine, and of his Compoſition. He was likewiſe well ſeen in the

Laws

(*a*) Both *Drummond* and *Melvil* report, eſpecially the latter, That the Clergy cauſed him to be poiſoned. But as it is ordinary to affirm that Kings die of a Doſe, and neither *Knox* nor *Buchanan* ſaying any Thing of it, 'tis hard to determine in the Matter. Sir *James Balfour* ſays he died of a Lent Fever.

(*b*) The learn'd Annotator on *Buchan.* Hiſt. Fol. Edit. *Edinb.* 1715, p. 450, has enumerated the principal Authors that condeſcend on the Day of the King's Death: Some placing it on the 10th; others, on the 13th, 14th & 20th Days of *December*. But the moſt probable of all is, that he died the 13th; becauſe this is ſupported by a Letter written by the Earl of *Arran*, Governor of the Kingdom, to the Pope. *Vide Epiſt. Regum Scot.* Vol. II. And there is in the Advocates Library, a Copy of the Confirmation of former Leagues betwixt the Kings of *France* and *Scotland*, which is dated the 15th of *December*, in the 2d Year of the Reign of Queen *Mary:* By which we are aſſured, that the King was dead before or on the 15th of *December* the preceeding Year.

(*c*) *Leſly* ſays Queen *Mary* was born on the 7th Day of *December*; *Knox* and *Drummond*, the 8th. As to the Difference that is remarked in *Buchanan*, who ſays, in the Cloſe of the 14th Book of his Hiſtory, That King *James* V. died, *relictâ filiâ ante quintum diem natâ*; and in the Beginning of the 15th Book, *Puellam octavo ante ejus mortem die natam reliquerat:* Perhaps it may be reconciled, by obſerving, That the 8th of *December* is juſt five Days before the Death of the King, if ſuppoſed to be on the 13th; which might occaſion a caſual Miſtake in the Author's own Writing, or in his Tranſcriber.

(*d*) The Village and Palace of *Falkland* in the County of *Fife*, is 12 Miles from St. *Andrew*'s to the Weſt, and 10 from the Water of *Forth*, North from *Edinburgh*. It was anciently the Seat of *Macduff* Earl of *Fife*, from whom it came to *Murdoch* afterwards Duke of *Albany:* After whoſe Forfeiture and Execution for High Treaſon in the Reign of King *James* I. it hath probably fallen to the Crown. King *James* V. ſeems to have reſorted much there, for Love of the large Hunting Fields that lie near the Place.

(*e*) The Palace and Abbey of *Holy-rood-houſe* ſtands cloſe at the Eaſt-end of the City of *Edinburgh*. The Abbey belonged to the Canons Regular.

(*f*) In the ſame Vault are to be likewiſe ſeen the Bodies of Queen *Magdalene*, of the Lord *Darnley*, Husband of Queen *Mary*, the King's Daughter, of the Counteſs of *Argyle* his Natural Daughter, &c. All which Bodies are lying open to the View within the Vault; the Coffins having been broke open by a diſorderly Mob in the Month of *December* 1688.

(*g*) The Day of his Birth is uncertain: Some ſay it was the 15th; others, the 11th; and others, the 5th.

1542.

His Virtues;

Laws and Cuſtoms of his Kingdom, and did oft-times hear and decide Controverſies in the Places thro' which he travelled. And becauſe he obſerved, that his Subjects were at a great Loſs for want of a ſettled Court of Juſtice, manag'd by Judges learn'd in the Law, he firſt (a) inſtituted in *Scotland* THE COURT OF SESSION, or COLLEGE OF JUSTICE, conſiſting of Fifteen Judges, to remain fix'd in a certain Place, as it ſubſiſts to this Day. *And long may it do ſo!* Moreover his Propenſity to Juſtice was ſuch, and his Deſire to ſuppreſs the then too much prevailing Cuſtom of Robbery and Thieving, ſo great; that whenever he got Notice of a Company of Thieves, he would mount his Horſe by Day or by Night, in hot, cold, or wet Weather, and ſeldom halted till he had diſperſed or catched them: And this many times he would do in a Manner that did but too much expoſe the Majeſty of his Perſon to thoſe wild and rude Ruffians. However it ſo fell out, by the Providence of God, that he never received any Harm that Way. Nor was this Juſticiary-care of his confin'd to the Inland Parts of his Kingdom only; for he alſo made a bold Attempt and ſailed round the Iſles, miniſtring Juſtice by executing the moſt guilty, and compelling others to give Security for their future good Behaviour. This extreme Vigilance to deliver his Kingdom from Spoil and Rapine, the Terror which he ſtruck into theſe (b) *Banditti*, and a moſt eaſy Acceſs granted to the pooreſt and meaneſt of his Subjects, gained him the Name of *a good Poor-man's King*; and raiſed a common Saying, which continues to this Day, *viz. That he made the Ruſh-buſh keep the Cow.* But his princely Regard for the Welfare of his People did extend itſelf yet further, in encouraging them much to proſecute and apply themſelves to foreign Trade; and he brought into the Country foreign Artificers, to ſet up and teach Manufactures at home; and particularly Men ſkill'd in Mining, by whoſe Aſſiſtance he firſt digged up Gold in this Kingdom. He was a good Manager of his Treaſure, and of his private Affairs; yet ſtately and magnificent when his Dignity required it. In a Word, he was a Prince adorned with many good Endowments, and might have proved a great Bleſſing to a wiſe Nation. His Death was certainly an unſpeakable Loſs.

and Vices;

As to the Vices charg'd upon the King by *Buchanan* and *Knox*, two Hiſtorians contemporary with him, tho' too much affecting a Power in the Populace, not to find ſome Faults in a King, who endeavoured early to maintain the Diſtance of Majeſty, and ſupport the Dignity of a Crown; it may be lookt upon as an excellent Apology for him, what both relate of him: namely, *That his bad Morals were rather to be attributed to the Licentiouſneſs of the Times, than to his own natural Diſpoſition.* By which *bad Morals*, are to be underſtood, his being too much addicted to Women, and making too light of taking the Name of GOD in vain; for theſe are the only two Vices that I find ſufficiently vouched againſt him: And would to God they were Vices yet leſs to be cenſured amongſt the *Great* in our Days, than they were in him. As to *Covetouſneſs of Money*, which is laid to his Charge by Mr. *Buchanan*: Any Perſon who is well acquainted with the Hiſtory of King *James*, will perceive ſome Miſtake to be therein: Nay, that ſame Author ſeems not to inſiſt upon it. The ſingle remaining Flaw obſerv'd in the King, which would be lookt upon as an *Imprudence*, rather than a *Vice*, was *a too great Diſregard of his Nobles.* I ſhall not preſume abſolutely to vindicate or condemn him in this, unleſs Circumſtances were better known than they now are, or ever are like to be. But this I may ſay, tho' with Regret, That whoſoever ſhall look into the Body of our Hiſtorians, be they never ſo popularly affected, will find, that the Nobles of *Scotland*, particularly ſince *Malcolm* II. divided the Lands of the King-

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(a) There had been a Deſign ſet on foot for a fix'd Court of Juſtice by the Duke of *Albany* during his Regency, and perhaps the King took the Hint from thence; or probably they both took it from what they had ſeen in *France*. The Thing was in Agitation for a conſiderable Time by the King, as would appear from our Hiſtorians; but the firſt Act of Parliament conſtituting the Court, is of no older Date than the 7th of *May* 1537. And the Pope's Bull authorizing it, is dated the 12th Day of *March* 1534. For the Court conſiſted then of Seven Clergymen, Seven Laymen, and a Preſident of the Clergy. But ſince the Reformation, all the Fifteen Judges are of the Laity.

(b) I chuſe to call them ſo, becauſe they were worſe than what we *commonly* call Robbers; for they went about in great Companies openly and without Fear, with a Captain at their Head. Something of this Kind is to be found in the *Highlands* at this Day.

1542. Kingdom amongſt them, 700 Years ago; have not only been frequently factious, and very troubleſome to one another, but have often extended their Inſolencies even to the Sacred Perſons of their Sovereigns. And this very King had ſufficiently experimented the like Treatment during his Minority. Now if, in a Country where ſuch rebellious Practices have prevail'd and become habitual, a King ſhall ariſe who would pretend to keep the Nobles in their Duty; 'tis almoſt plain to a Demonſtration that Grudges will enſue. And 'tis equally certain, that if there be in the Kingdom another Sett of Men, that can be made uſe of as a Balance to ſupport the King in his juſt Prerogative; that King will as certainly place his Favour on theſe Men: Which is the very Thing that King *James* was blam'd for, with reſpect to the Clergy in Oppoſition to the Nobility. And if this was the Caſe with him and his Nobles, as indeed it was; then every one is at Freedom, to form what Judgment he ſhall think proper concerning the Conduct of this King. 'Tis hardly to be imagined, that ſo fine a Gentleman as the King was, would, merely out of Caprice, have ſet himſelf to extirpate, or even diſcountenance his Nobles. But the late Minorities in the Royal Family, which have been already taken notice of, having probably rendred them out of Meaſure inſolent; and beſides, he being a Perſon of a ſound Judgment, and finding few of the Nobility capable to ſerve him as Miniſters of State, for want of Education and Letters, ſaw himſelf under a Neceſſity of making uſe of the Clergy, and other Gentlemen of inferiour Rank, whoſe Circumſtances in the World had obliged them to cultivate their Minds with Learning, in order to obtain Preferment. What Mr. *Sadler*, in his firſt Embaſſy to *Scotland*, writes to one of the Privy Council of *England*, after he had taken Notice of our King's Court, may in great Meaſure ſerve to confirm this Obſervation, and to ſupport his Majeſty's Wiſdom in the Choice of his Favourites. "To be plain with you (ſays the Ambaſſador) I ſee none
" among them (i. e. *the Scots Nobility*) that hath any ſuch Agility of Wit,
" Gravity, Learning or Experience ------ to take in hand the Direction of
" Things. So that the King, as far as I can perceive, is of Force driven to
" uſe the Biſhops and his Clergy, as his only Miniſters for the Direction of
" his Realm. They be the Men of Wit and Policy that I ſee here."

His Marriages.

The King married firſt, *Magdalene* Daughter to *Francis* I. King of *France*, on the 1ſt Day of *January* 1536-7 *(a)*, in the City of *Paris*; with whom he landed at *Leith* in the Month of *May (b)* thereafter. But as ſhe was lookt upon to be but in a languiſhing State of Health at the Time of her Marriage, ſo ſhe lived but a ſhort Space after her Arrival in this Country; for ſhe died in the Month of *July (c)* that ſame Year. Yet by her gracious Deportment the little Time ſhe was among us, ſhe had ſo gained the Hearts and Affections of Perſons of all Ranks and Conditions, that her Death was much lamented: And for a Teſtimony of their Sorrow, they put on Mourning; which, as Mr. *Buchanan* judges, was the firſt Time that Mourning-cloaths were worn in *Scotland*.

The following Year the King married by Proxy, *Mary* Daughter to the Duke of *Guiſe*, and Widow of the Duke of *Longueville*; who arrived at *Crail* on the

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(*a*) *Leſly* and *Buchanan* do both take Notice, That *Mary* of *Bourbon*, Daughter to the Duke of *Vendoſme*, was the firſt projected Wife for the King. And *Buchanan* ſays, That tho' the King's Ambaſſadors ſucceeded very well in their Negociation, yet they had not Courage to finiſh the Marriage-Contract, without firſt acquainting their Maſter. Yet *Mezeray* affirms, That the Contract was actually ſigned. That *French* Hiſtorian, and not Mr. *Buchanan*, hath good Ground for what he relates; for I have ſeen a Copy of the Contract in the Lawyers Library, dated at *Cremien* in the *Dauphinate* the 6th of *March* 1535-6, ſigned both by the King of *France*, the Adoptive Father of the Princeſs, and by all our King's Ambaſſadors; who were, *James* Earl of *Murray*, Natural Brother to the King and Lieutenant-General of the Kingdom; *William Stewart*, Biſhop of *Aberdeen*, the Treaſurer; *John* Lord *Erskine*; Sir *Thomas Erskine* of *Brechin*, the Secretary, *Robert Reid* Abbot of *Kinloſs*; and (who ſhould have been named firſt) *John* Duke of *Albany*, the late Governor of the Kingdom, then living in *France*, and whom the King by his Commiſſion, which bears Date from *Stirling*, the 29th of *December* 1535, expreſly requires to be One of the Three that muſt ſtill be preſent at the conſulting and drawing up of the Conditions of the Contract. The King, upon Advice from his Commiſſioners, took Journey into *France*: But it ſeems the Lady did not pleaſe him, after he had *Incognito* ſeen her. Which ſhe took ſo ill, that ſhe afterwards renounced the World, and turned *Religious*.

(*b*) *Leſly* ſays ſhe arrived the 19th of the Month; *Buchanan*, on the 28th.

(*c*) *Buchanan* ſays on the 7th Day; *Leſly*, the 10th.

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the Coaſt of *Fife*, the 10th Day of *June* 1538. By her he ſoon aſter had Two Sons; *James*, born in the Year 1539, and *Arthur*, in 1540: But they both died in the Beginning of *Auguſt*, about a Month after the Birth of the laſt. The Queen, after this, brought forth only one Daughter, named *Mary*, who became her Father's Succeſſor in the Kingdom.

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CHAP. III.

A Continuation of the Affairs of State, from the Death of King JAMES V. Anno 1542, *till the Deſcent made upon* Scotland *by the* Engliſh *Navy* Anno 1544.

KING *JAMES* V. dying thus in the Flower of his Age, and leaving the Kingdom under great Diſorder, both by reaſon of the War with *England*, and for want of a ſettled Adminiſtration at home; the Cardinal of St. *Andrew's*, hoping to aggrandize himſelf 'midſt the publick Calamities, did (as 'tis ſaid) in the laſt Minutes of the King's Life, and when he was even almoſt dead, take the King's Hand into his, and ſo leading it along, cauſed him ſubſcribe a blank Paper *(a)*; wherein afterwards he himſelf was appointed Tutor to the young Queen, and Governor of the Realm; and three of the principal Nobility aſſigned him as Counſellors or Aſſeſſors in the Adminiſtration, *viz.* the Earls of *Huntly*, *Argile* and *(b) Arran*. This counterfeit Teſtament the Cardinal cauſed to be proclaimed at *Edinburgh*, on the *Monday* after the King's Death, as may be gathered from Mr. *Knox*: But as the Truth of this Teſtament began ſoon to be ſuſpected, the Nobles and other Perſons of Diſtinction, together with the Relations of the Earl of *Arran*, who was next in Blood to the Crown, did, on the 22d of *December*, according to *Leſly*, proclaim that Nobleman *Governor* of the Kingdom, and *Tutor* to the Queen, notwithſtanding the Struggle and Oppoſition made by the Cardinal and his Party.

The Cardinal of St. *Andrews*, firſt, and ſoon after the Earl of *Arran*, declared Tutor to the Queen, and Governor of the Kingdom.

Whilſt theſe Things were a tranſacting in *Scotland*, the Chief of the Priſoners taken at *Solway Moſs* were carried to *London*, by Sir *Henry Savil* and Sir *Thomas Wentworth*, whither they came on the 19th of *December*, wearing by King *Henry*'s Appointment, a red St. *Andrew*'s Croſs, and were preſently committed to the Tower; and on the 21ſt of the ſame Month, the Nobles, together with *Oliver Sinclair*, were conducted by Sir *John Gage* Conſtable of the Tower riding before them, and the Lieutenant behind them, two by two, in new Gowns of black Damaſk furr'd with black Conies, Coats of black Velvet, and Doublets of Satine, to the *Star-chamber*, where *Thomas* Lord *Audeley* the Chancellor reprimanded them, in the King his Maſter's Name, for the late Attempt upon his Kingdom; but withal told them, "That ſuch was his Majeſty's "Benignity, that he would ſhew them Kindneſs for Unkindneſs, and Right "for Wrong;" and thereupon (after their Promiſe to remain true Priſoners) commanded that they ſhould no more be returned to Goal, but be diſtributed

The *Scottiſh* Nobility taken at *Solway Moſs*, are led in a Sort of Triumph thro' the City of *London*:

(*a*) This is the current Report, but whether true or not true, I ſhall not offer to determine. It is indeed certain that the Earl of *Arran* talked of it, with Mr. *Sadler*, as a Crime for which he might proſecute the Cardinal; for which ſee *Sadler*'s Letters p. 161. Biſhop *Leſly* takes no Notice of any ſuch Thing, but owns that the Cardinal and ſome others oppoſed the Advancement of the Earl of *Arran*, becauſe, as they affirmed, the late King had by his Teſtament appointed four Adminiſtrators of the Kingdom, during the Nonage of his Daughter; which however that Author confeſſes they could not ſufficiently make appear. If the Cardinal was really guilty of this Crime, it ſeems hard to conceive how it came not to be laid to his Charge at the Time he was ſhut up in Priſon: And that no ſuch Thing was done, is evident from the following Part of a Letter, from the King of *England* to the above mentioned Mr. *Sadler* his Ambaſſador, dated 30th *March* 1543, *viz.* "We could never yet hear from them [the "Lords of *Scotland*] what ſpecial Things they had to lay againſt the Cardinal when they took him."

(*b*) *Buchanan* expreſly and only mentions the Earl of *Arran*, as one of the three; but that Lord is omitted by *Knox* and *Spottiſwood*, and the Earl of *Murray*, the late King's baſtard Brother, put inſtead of him.

1542.

They are civilly treated:

And upon the News of the King of *Scotland*'s Death, the King of *England* prevails with them to endeavour to obtain the young Queen of *Scots* to be delivered up to him, in order to her Marriage with Prince *Edward*, his Son.

The Noblemen are ſent home for the furthering of that King's Intentions.

into divers noble Houſes, there to be entertained ſuitably to their Rank and Quality; which was immediately done, and they were lodged with the principal Perſons and Office-bearers of *England*; ſuch as the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, Lord Chancellor, Dukes of *Norfolk*, *Suffolk*, *&c.* Now as King *Henry* was well known not to be over mild in his Nature, this Management of his makes it appear how earneſt he was to gain the Friendſhip of the Kingdom of *Scotland*; which, as we have already ſhewn, he had had of a long Time much at heart: And the Truth is, he was very lucky in his late Civility to his Priſoners; for on the morrow News *(a)* was brought him of his Nephew the King of *Scotland*'s Death; and of the Birth of his Daughter a few Days before. This begot a new Scheme in the Mind of King *Henry*, who gave Orders for the *Scottiſh* Lords to attend him at Court, on the 26th of the ſame Month, where they were nobly entertained, and then he diſcovered *(b)* to them his Inclination to have the Kingdoms of *Scotland* and *England* united, by a Marriage betwixt his only Son Prince *Edward*, a Child little above five Years old, and *Mary* their Infant Sovereign; nor did his Majeſty leave any proper Means *(c)* uneſſayed, to gain the Aſſiſtance and good Offices of the Noblemen, to ſecond his Deſign: And it is certain, that ſome of them did very cordially enter into his Meaſures, promiſing upon Oath, and binding themſelves to labour all they could, not only to bring about the projected Match, but likewiſe to bring the young Queen immediately into *England*, and to get the Government of the Kingdom of *Scotland* devolved upon his Majeſty, and the ſtrong Holds thereof delivered into his Hands. Hereupon King *Henry* releaſed them all, under Obligation nevertheleſs to give their Sons or neareſt Relations as Pledges for entring themſelves Priſoners again, if they ſhould not be able to accompliſh what they had undertaken, againſt a certain Day preſcribed them by that King. Under theſe Engagements they began their Journey homeward on the firſt Day of *January* 1542-3, having in their Way dined at *Enfield*, in order to ſee the young Prince, whoſe Cauſe they were to take in hand: And in their Company, and under the ſame Obligations, returned *Archibald* Earl of *Angus*, Brother in law to King *Henry*, and his Brother Sir *George Douglas*, who had been Exiles in *England* for the Space of above fourteen Years, with Letters from the King of *England*, containing a Requeſt for their Reſtitution to their Lands, Liberties, *&c.*

The Lords *(d)* arrived at *Edinburgh* about the Middle of *January*, after having delivered their Pledges at *Newcaſtle*, to the Duke of *Suffolk*, Lieutenant of the North Parts of *England*; and how ſoon they arrived, they declared to the Governor the Propoſition made by the King of *England*, who had wrote by them to the Eſtates of *Scotland* concerning the ſame, and had offered a ſafe Conduct to ſuch as ſhould come from *Scotland* to treat thereupon. The Governor hearkned readily to the Propoſal, and ſummoned a great Council

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(*a*) It may however be a Queſtion, whether King *Henry* might not have had private Intelligence of all this, even before he cauſed the *Scottiſh* Lords to be brought from the Tower, our King having been dead a full Week before that Time.

(*b*) Some *Engliſh* Writers ſay, that the Lords of *Scotland* firſt propoſed the Match.

(*c*) It is plain, from Mr. *Sadler* and other *Engliſh* Hiſtorians, that King *Henry* kept them in Penſion to forward his Deſigns.

(*d*) Theſe were, the Earls of *Caſſils* and *Glencairn*; the Lord *Somervel*, *Maxwel*, *Gray*, *Oliphant* and *Fleming*. It doth not appear by Mr. *Sadler*'s Negociations, that any other of the *Scottiſh* Priſoners were ſent home on this Errand; however I ſhall, for the Satisfaction of the Reader, ſet down here, from the *Fœdera Angliæ*, the Names of the other principal Perſons, together with the Sums ſtipulated for their Ranſoms, by the Ambaſſadors of *Scotland*, at the Time that the Treaties of Marriage and Commerce were agreed upon this Summer. At which Time, the Ranſoms for the above Noblemen, *viz. Caſſils*, *&c.* were ſtipulated alſo: By which it would appear, that they had been diſmiſt by King *Henry* upon their ſingle Parole, at leaſt till they came to *Newcaſtle*, where they remained till their Hoſtages came thither. Earls of *Caſſils* and *Glencairn*, at *L.* 1000 each; Lords *Somervel*, *Maxwel* and *Fleming*, 1000 Merks each; Lord *Gray*, *L.* 500; Lord *Oliphant*, 800 Merks; *Oliver Sinclair*, *L.* 500; *George Home* Lord of *Ayton*, *L.* 200; *Robert Erskine*, Son and Heir to the Lord *Erskine*, *L.* 200; *William Seton*, 200 Merks; *Patrick Hepburn*, 500 Merks; *James Pringle*, 400 Merks; *James Sinclair*, *L.* 100; *Alexander Sinclair*, *L.* 100; *John Maitland*, L---d of *Awn* Caſtle, 200 Merks; *Henry Maxwel*, Brother to the Lord *Maxwel*, *L.* 100; *John Roſs* Lord *Craigie*, the Lord *Monkereth*, *William Monteith* Lord of *Carſy*, 300 Merks each; *John Leſly*, younger Son to the Earl of *Rothes*, 200 Merks; *John Carmichael*, eldeſt Son to the Captain of *Crawford*, *L.* 200; all *Sterling* Money. And it was agreed, that in caſe the *Engliſh* Priſoners be taxed at a lower Rate in *Scotland*, the Sums above limited ſhall be abated in Proportion: And likewiſe, that the Priſoners of *Scotland* ſhall be uſed with ſuch Gentleneſs as ſhall be ſhewed to the Priſoners of *England*. This laſt Clauſe would ſeem to make it evident, that theſe other *Scottiſh* Priſoners here mentioned, were yet detained in Captivity, except the ſeven Noblemen firſt mentioned, and perhaps *Oliver Sinclair*.

1542-3.

Proceedings of the Council,

cil to meet the 27th of the ſame Month, to adviſe what was propereſt to be done in that Affair: The Reſult whereof was, to indite a Parliament againſt the 12th of *March* enſuing, in order to act in the Marriage by publick Authority; and in the mean Time, to ſend for the ſafe Conduct offered by the King of *England*, for certain Ambaſſadors to go thither, to conclude both the Marriage and the Peace. And in the ſame Council it appears a Reſolution was taken to ſeize Cardinal *Beton*, and put him in Priſon, (*a*) upon an uncertain Information, by the Lord *Lyle*, that the Cardinal had procured the Duke of *Guiſe* to come into *Scotland* with an Army to ſubdue it, and take the Government of the ſame: Which Reſolve was accordingly put in Execution; and the Cardinal was ſhut up within the Caſtle of *Blackneſs*, on the ſouth Side of the River *Forth*, ten Miles above *Leith*, in Cuſtody of the Lord *Seton*; tho', as the Governor confeſſed to Mr. *Sadler*, they had no Proof afterwards of that Information. But the *Engliſh* Lords, as they were then called, (*viz.* theſe who had lately come from *England*, and were known to be Penſioners of that Crown) ſaw it abſolutely neceſſary for their Deſigns, to have this Prelate put out of their Way, who they were aſſured would, by his Mettle and Intereſt, be able to baffle all their Intentions: Therefore, having now got rid of him, they lay themſelves out all they can to ſet forward the Match with *England*. And becauſe the Tranſactions, relating to this Affair, have formerly been repreſented too confuſedly, and too ſuperficially, as well by our own Hiſtorians as thoſe of our Neighbour Nation, they being all led by the Narration of Mr. *Buchanan* eſpecially; I expect the Reader will pardon me, if I inſiſt ſomewhat longer on this Matter, than perhaps might otherwiſe have been neceſſary, with a View of rectifying former Miſtakes, by the Help of our publick Records, and the Letters and Negociations of the *Engliſh* Ambaſſador, tranſmitted to his Court.

and the Parliament of *Scotland.*

The firſt Thing entred upon, the next Day after the meeting of the Parliament, (for there was no Buſineſs done the firſt Day) was, to declare *James* Earl of *Arran*, ſecond Perſon of the Realm, and neareſt to ſucceed to the Crown thereof, failing the Infant-Queen, and the Iſſue of her Body; and to ratify his Office of being *Tutor* lawful to the Queen, and *Governor* of the Kingdom during her Nonage (*b*). The ſame Day, *viz.* the 13th of *March*, the Archbiſhop of *Glaſgow*, then Lord Chancellor of the Kingdom, made a Motion concerning the Treaty of Peace with *England*, and the Marriage of the young Queen with Prince *Edward*; and exhibited Inſtructions (*c*) to the Ambaſſadors that were to be ſent into *England* for theſe Purpoſes, namely, Sir *James Lermont* of *Balcomy*, Sir *William Hamilton* of *Sanquhair*, and Mr. *Henry Balnaves* of *Hallhill* Secretary of State. As to the Marriage, the Ambaſſadors had Inſtructions, not to conſent to the Queen's Removal out of *Scotland* into *England*, until ſhe was of full Age to compleat the Marriage; but that the King of *England* might have Liberty to keep and entertain two Gentlemen, at his own Expences; and as many Ladies, with their Servants, about the Queen during her Under-age. *Item*, Not to conſent to the Surrender of any of the Forts of the Realm for Security of delivering the young Queen at her perfect Age. Moreover this Parliament appointed the Archbiſhop of *Glaſgow*, the Biſhops of *Aberdeen*, *Murray*, *Orkney*, *Roſs* and *Brechin*; the Abbots of *Dumfermling* and *Cowper*; the Earls of *Angus*, *Huntly*, *Murray*, *Argile*, *Bothwel*, *Mariſchal*, *Caſſils* and *Glencairn*; the Lords *Erſkine*, *Ruthven*, *Maxwel*, *Seton* and *Methven*; *George Douglas*, the Provoſt of *Aberdeen*, Sir *William Hamilton*, Sir *James Lermont*, the Treaſurer, the Secretary, the Clerk-regiſter, the Juſtice-clerk and the Queen's Advocate, to be the Governor's Council, ſix whereof to be ſtill preſent at the leaſt; and ap-

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(*a*) *Sadler*'s Negociations, p. 74 and 161.

(*b*) Records of Parliament.

(*c*) A Copy of theſe Inſtructions may be ſeen in the Preface to Mr. *Sadler*'s Negociations.

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pointed the Earl *Mariſchal* and the Earl of *Montroſe*, the Lords *Erskine*, *Ruthven*, *Livingſton*, *Lindſay* and *Seton*, and the Laird of *Calder*, Keepers of the Queen's Perſon, at *Linlithgow* or *Stirling*, at the Queen Dowager's Pleaſure, with Advice of the Governor and his Council; and the Queen not to be tranſported from one Place to another, without Advice of the Queen Dowager, the Governor and Lords of Council. 'Tis likewiſe ſpecified in the Act, that the ſaid Lords ſhall be Keepers of the Queen, or any two of them, quarterly; and that one Nobleman be added to theſe Lords, by the Lord Governor, at his Pleaſure. Afterwards, the Forfeitures of the Earl of *Angus* and Sir *George Douglas* his Brother were reverſed: And then the Parliament was prorogued on the 17th (*a*) of *March*, after that the Lords of the Articles had been impowered to make Laws for the general Benefit of the Kingdom; but with a Reſtriction not to meddle with Affairs of the Church, nor Privileges of the ſame.

Mr. *Sadler*'s ſecond Embaſſy into *Scotland*.

The Day after, being *Sunday*, Sir *Ralph Sadler*, Ambaſſador from King *Henry*, arrived at *Edinburgh*, with Letters to the Earl of *Arran*, and a Commiſſion to act in Concert with the Noblemen before mentioned, in the Affair of the Marriage of the young Queen; and to tender his Advice, according as it ſhould be required, to the Governor and Council. The Governor received this Ambaſſador very kindly, and gave him Aſſurance that the King his Maſter had his Heart above all other Princes, and that he ſhould have him at Command in all Things reaſonable, *ſaving ſtill his Duty and Allegiance to his Sovereign Lady and the Realm.* This Qualification of his Service to the King of *England*, the Governor, like a Man of Honour, did ever afterwards reiterate, even when King *Henry*, in order to break his Steddineſs in that Point, inſtructed his Ambaſſador to make him ſmell the Danger of a War on one Hand, and on the other did allure him by the Offer of his own Daughter the Lady *Eliſabeth*, in Marriage to his Son the Lord *Hamilton*; and at another Time, by the Offer of his Aſſiſtance, to make him King of all *Scotland* beyond the River *Forth*, in caſe the contrary Party ſhould ſeize the Perſon of the young Queen. The Ambaſſador began ſoon to perceive, that it was in vain for him to expect any further Succeſs in his Negociation here, than ſimply a Treaty of Peace and Marriage, without the Surrender of the young Queen, the Government or Forts of the Realm. Which when the King of *England* was advertiſed of, he ſent private Inſtructions to his Ambaſſador to labour clandeſtinely with the Lords his Aſſociates, to convey the young Queen into *England*. But tho' the Earl of *Glencairn* was ready enough to offer his Service in that Point; yet her Majeſty was ſo well look'd after, that that Project was very quickly let fall; as was likewiſe another of conveying Cardinal *Beton* into *England*, which laſt the Governor would by no means conſent unto. This Determinateneſs in the Nobility and Gentry of our Kingdom, made the King of *England* give up ſeveral Things which he had laid down as a Plan of the Marriage betwixt his Son and our Queen; ſo that he was at laſt content to nominate Commiſſioners to meet with the Commiſſioners from *Scotland*, in order to draw up two Treaties of Peace and Marriage, according to the Terms which the Parliament of *Scotland* could be brought to condeſcend unto. The Commiſſioners on the Part of *England* were, Lord *Audeley* the Chancellor, Duke of *Norfolk* Treaſurer, the Biſhops of *Wincheſter* and *Weſtminſter*, the Lord *St. John*, Chamberlain, and Sir *John Gage*, Comptroller of the King's Houſhold: Thoſe on the Part of *Scotland* were, the Earl of *Glencairn* and Sir *George Douglas*, in Conjunction with the other three Ambaſſadors that were already in *England*. The Treaties were agreed upon, and ſigned (*b*) by the Commiſſioners on both Sides, at *Greenwich*, the firſt Day of *July* 1543; after which Time, two Months were allowed for Ratification of the ſame by the King of *England*, and by the Governor

Two Treaties, the one of Commerce, the other of Marriage, concluded betwixt *Scotland* and *England*

(*a*) So it may be gathered from Mr. *Sadler*'s Letters, but in the Regiſters there appears to be no Parliament-day after the 15th of *March*.

(*b*) See Copies of theſe Treaties in the 2d Vol. of *Epiſt. Reg. Scot.*

vernor of *Scotland*, by and with the Approbation and Authority of the Parliament of this Kingdom. 1543.

In the Treaty of *Peace* (which was to continue during the joint Lives of the two Sovereigns, and one Year after the Demiſe of the firſt) tho' the King of *England* had labour'd hard to have the ancient Leagues betwixt *France* and *Scotland* annull'd, and the two Kingdoms in *Britain* to *be Friends to Friends, and Enemies to Enemies*, as the Language at that Time was; yet the Article agreed upon concerning that Affair, contained no more, but that neither Kingdom ſhould give, or ſuffer to be given by their reſpective Subjects, any manner of Aſſiſtance to any foreign Aggreſſor whatſoever, notwithſtanding any Leagues already contracted, or hereafter to be contracted or confirmed. And in the Treaty of *Marriage*, inſtead of the former high Demands of King *Henry*, it is agreed that the Queen of *Scots* ſhall not be ſent into *England* until ſhe be ten Years of Age compleat, during which Space ſhe ſhall remain in the Tuition of certain of her own natural *Scottiſh* Subjects; but that in the mean Time it ſhall be lawful for the King of *England* to ſend a Gentleman with his Lady, or two or more Ladies and Servants, to attend the young Queen, and overſee her Education and Diet; provided always that this Attendance exceed not twenty Perſons.

Item, That within two Months after the Date of the Treaty, two Earls and four Lords Barons of *Scotland*, or their apparent Heirs, ſhall be given as Hoſtages to the King of *England*, for the Performance of the Delivery of the Queen, and her Marriage; and that if any of the Hoſtages chance to die, their Room to be ſupplied within two Months after the ſaid Event ſhall be notified; and that it ſhall be lawful for the Eſtates of *Scotland* to change the Perſons of the Hoſtages once every ſix Months, for other Noblemen of the ſame Rank and Condition.

Item, That the Kingdom of *Scotland*, even tho' the Queen have Iſſue by the Prince of *England*, ſhall ſtill retain its own proper Name and Title of Kingdom of *Scotland*, and ſhall enjoy its own Laws, Privileges and Liberties.

Tho' the King of *England* did by theſe Treaties give up many of his high and proud Demands, yet they were not at all agreeable to a great many of this Kingdom. The Queen Dowager, a Lady of great Addreſs, had laboured all ſhe could to obtain the Cardinal's Liberation from Priſon, under a Pretext of doing Service to King *Henry*: And that artful Prelate, or wyly Carle (as the Earl of *Angus*'s Brother call'd him) had ſo far prevail'd with the Governor, that by his own Promiſes to accede to his Intereſt, the Practices and Perſuaſions of the Earls of *Argile*, *Huntly*, *Bothwel* aud *Murray*, and the Arguments of the Abbot of *Paiſly*, the Regent's natural Brother, who ruled all at Court, and who being all *French* in his Heart, had entred into ſtrait Bonds of Friendſhip with the Cardinal; the ſaid Governor not only allowed of that Prelate's being tranſported to his own Caſtle in St. *Andrews*, but poſitively ordered it, the Cardinal himſelf at firſt declining, or ſeeming to decline the Propoſition (*a*).

(*a*) In the Liberation of the Cardinal, the Governor might have had different Views, as may be gathered from Mr. *Sadler*'s Letters; ſuch as, 1. That the Cardinal, whoſe Intereſt he knew to be very extenſive in the Country, might join the ſame to his. Or 2. That he might the more eaſily decoy the Cardinal, and make himſelf Maſter of the Caſtle of St. *Andrews*. Or 3. Which touched him moſt, he thereby might prevent what was determined upon by Oath and Bond, betwixt the Earls of *Argile*, *Huntly*, *Bothwel* and *Murray*, with divers Biſhops; *viz.* the Cardinal's Liberation, or the Governor's Deſtruction; by being before hand with them, and making that Prelate owe his Liberty, tho' under Cover, to himſelf. For nothing is more plain, Than that even then the Governor, (if ever he was in earneſt) began to repent him of his *Engliſh* Bargain, ſeeing himſelf ſo like to be bubled of King *Henry*'s Promiſes of his Daughter in Marriage to his Son, or all be-north *Forth* for a Kingdom, by that King's ſo warmly inſiſting to have the young Queen and the Cardinal deliverd into his Hands; which he knew would render him but a Tool in *Scotland* ever after, if at all continued in any Truſt: Since even then that King denied him the Title of Governor in the Letters which he addreſſed to him, calling him ſimply *Earl of* Arran *occupying the Place of Governor*; and left him no Expectation that his Majeſty would confer ſuch Honours upon his Family, when he once had the Queen of *Scotland* in his Cuſtody, the Head of the Clergy in Bonds, and the Reins of the Government in his own Hands. This, which was not untold him by *Huntly*, his own Brother and many of the Nobility, ſoon made him caſt about for the Cardinal's Friendſhip; yet ſo as he might ſeem to act in Sincerity with *England*: He therefore, in Oppoſition to all *Sadler*'s Remonſtrances, ſends the Cardinal to St. *Andrews*, in Charge of the Lord *Seton*, with a Guard of about twelve or ſixteen Men; tho' he knew the Cardinal had not only above 300 of his own, but all that Town, and indeed moſt of that Country at his Devotion: Nay further, the Lord *Seton* had the Governor's Orders to give the Cardinal his full Liberty about his own Houſe; yet in his communing with *Sadler*, he would fain have thrown the whole Blame of the Cardinal's Liberty upon the Lord *Seton*, as if he had been bribed

King *Henry* finding by his Ambaſſador, that his Demands in *Scotland* were highly oppoſed, not only by the Governor and the Body of the Nobility, but even coldly entertained by his very Penſioners; reſolved to atchieve by Force, what he could not obtain by Promiſe and fair Words.

The Earl of *Lennox* comes from *France*, and upon what Account.

Theſe Meaſures of King *Henry* were before look'd for, both by the Queen Mother and the Cardinal: And having little Confidence in the Governor, they had timeouſly provided to get *Matthew* Earl of *Lennox* ſent home from *France*, as being a Perſon very fit for their Purpoſes, by reaſon of a Grudge ſubſiſting betwixt his Family and the Governor's. This young Nobleman was not only put in Hopes of having the Queen Dowager to Wife, but was likewiſe made believe that he might have a fair Title to the Succeſſion of the Crown, and even to the paternal Eſtate and preſent Office of the Governor (*a*).

He arrived in *Scotland* in the Month of *April*, and brought along with him many fair Promiſes of Aid and Aſſiſtance from the *French* King, which he offered to the Council, having come with the reſt of the Lords upon the Governor's Summons to *Edinburgh*: But the Governor being driven by King *Henry*'s Penſioners to ſign the Treaty of Marriage, upon the ſhifting Terms he had himſelf inſiſted upon before, the Earl of *Lennox* returned, and appeared in Arms againſt the Governor about the Middle of *May*; yet he was able to act nothing to the Purpoſe: And the Cardinal finding that either he did not anſwer his Expectation, or that he could do his Buſineſs well enough, or better without him, began much to neglect the Earl; ſo that he was forced to take quite contrary Meaſures to thoſe for which he firſt came home, as afterwards will appear.

One of the firſt Things the Cardinal did after his Liberation, was, to hold, by Conſent of the Governor, a Convocation of the Clergy at St. *Andrew*'s, in the Beginning of *May*, in order to determine upon a certain Sum of Money to be given by them in the Event of a War; but becauſe ſome Biſhops were abſent, the Aſſembly was prorogate till the Beginning of *June*: However, it was reſolved by thoſe that were then preſent, to give all their own Money, their Silver-plate, and the Plate belonging to their Churches, for the Maintenance of a War; and that they themſelves alſo would fight, if Need ſhould ſo require. By means of this Money beſtowed by the Clergy, and with his natural Cunning, the Cardinal (beſides his Intereſt with the Vulgar, who, by the Clamours of the Clergy, and the in-bred Animoſity betwixt the two Nations, then hated the very Name of *Engliſh* Alliance) perceived his Party to increaſe a-pace among the Nobility and Gentry. The Earls of *Huntly*, *Argile*, *Bothwel* and *Murray*, had been ſtill noted as averſe to the Match with *England*.

The Treaties with *England* are ratified by the Governor, on the Part of *Scotland*, notwithſtanding the Oppoſition made by ſeveral Lords:

Theſe Noblemen, the Cardinal and ſome others, gathered Forces together at *Stirling*, after they had heard of the Concluſion of the Treaties; and in the Beginning of *Auguſt* they came to *Linlithgow*, and carried off the two Queens to the Caſtle of *Stirling*, being invited thereto by the Queen-Mother. They laboured likewiſe to diſappoint the meeting of the Parliament, which was ſummoned by the Governor for the Ratification of the Treaties: But not being able to effectuate that, the Governor did, on the 25th Day of the ſame Month of *Auguſt*, ratify, ſign and ſolemnly ſwear to the two Treaties of Peace and Marriage with

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by the Cardinal's Money: But a ſhort Time took off the Mask; and how ſoon he ſaw the Cardinal and his Friends in any Condition to ſecond him, he plainly and openly refuſed all King *Henry*'s Conditions; but ſent for the Cardinal and his Adherents, to come and join him, tho' without their Forces, to *Edinburgh*: Whither they all came except *Huntly* and the Cardinal, who being now at Liberty, and all his Offers to *Sadler* of favouring King *Henry*'s Intereſt, and a deſired Communing refuſed him, ſets himſelf vigorouſly a-work to oppoſe all King *Henry*'s Meaſures.

(*a*) *Matthew* Earl of *Lennox* had to Wife a Daughter of the Lord *Hamilton*, by *Mary* Daughter to King *James* II. By her he had his Son and Heir *John*, who was appointed a Lord of the Regency in the Minority of King *James* V. and was ſlain at the Bridge of *Linlithgow*, by a Party headed by the Lord *Hamilton*, then become Earl of *Arran*. *John* was Father to *Matthew* the preſent Earl of *Lennox*, whoſe Pretenſions to the Crown, &c. ſtood thus. *James* Earl of *Arran* Son to his Father by Princeſs *Mary Stewart* Daughter of *James* II. (by virtue of whom the Family of *Hamilton* have a Claim to the Regal Succeſſion,) after he had been divorced from Lady *Eliſabeth Home*, had by his ſubſequent Wife, *James* the preſent Earl of *Arran*. Therefore the Earl of *Lennox* alledged he was but a Baſtard, and that himſelf inherited the Rights of the Family of *Hamilton*, as being deſcended from a Daughter of Princeſs *Mary*.

with *England*, at High-Maſs in the Abbay Church of *Holy-rood-houſe*; and the Great Seal of the Kingdom was appended thereunto *(a)*. The Cardinal and his Party did not come to the Parliament; and 'tis not improbable, but they were the more indifferent how Things went at that Time, becauſe they were aſſured the Governor ſhould never be able to lay in the Hoſtages which are mentioned in the Treaty of Marriage, not one of the Nobility ſhewing any Willingneſs to go into *England* in that Quality. The ſame Day that the Governor ſigned the Treaties, he went Northwards to St. *Andrew*'s, in order, as he pretended, to have received the Cardinal's Submiſſion: But whatever the Matter or the Management was, that Prelate did not ſo much as ſtir out of his Caſtle, to wait on the Governor, who thereupon cauſed him be denounced Rebel, in the Town of St. *Andrew*'s; and then returned to *Edinburgh*, with an Intention, as he ſaid, to levy Forces, and compel the Cardinal into a Submiſſion: All this the *Engliſh* Ambaſſador ſeems firmly to have believed as genuine Truth. But *the wonderful Change* (as that Gentleman words it) which ſoon after followed, would even ſeem to render ſuſpected that Journey of the Governor; and that the Hand of the wily Cardinal had been deeply engaged in the whole Affair. Whether therefore ſome open Threatnings to depoſe the Governor from his Office, or a ſecret Suggeſtion, that by adhering to *England*, he might endanger his Title, not only to the Regal Succeſſion, but to his own paternal Eſtate, both which were ſupported only by the Pope's Authority; or whether it was ſome other ſeparate Views or Influence made uſe of by the Cardinal, that weighed moſt with the Governor, is not neceſſary here to be determined: But one Thing is certain, that within eight Days after he had confirmed the Treaties with *England*, having received a Meſſage from the Cardinal, by the Hands of Sir *John Campbel* of *Lundy*, and the Abbot of *Pittenweem*, he left *Edinburgh* that ſame Day in the Evening, being *Monday* the 3d of *September*, under a Pretext of viſiting his Lady in the Caſtle of *Blackneſs*, who, as he ſaid, laboured of Child; and next Day he went to *Calendar (b)*, where the Cardinal and Earl of *Murray* met him; and after ſome ſecret Communication together, they all three rode forward to *Stirling*. And ever after, the Governor remained addicted to the Cardinal, (albeit ſometimes he wavered, at leaſt to outward Appearance) becauſe, as he ſaid, "Tho' he would do as much as in him was, to obſerve the "Treaties; yet more than he might, he could not do."

But immediately thereafter, the Governor goes over to the *French* Intereſt.

The *Engliſh* Ambaſſador, after this Revolt (as he calls it) of the Governor from his Maſter's Service, ſeems to have given over all Hopes of ſucceeding in his Negociation here; as indeed he might well have done, conſidering the general Diſguſt our Nation had conceived againſt that of *England*, inſomuch that even he, the Ambaſſador, was not free from being inſulted in the City of *Edinburgh*, and was in no ſmall Danger of his Life from the Rabble. But the Thing that gave the Cardinal and his Accomplices the faireſt Handle to act in Oppoſition to King *Henry*, was an Action of that Prince, if not altogether unjuſt in it ſelf, yet apparently moſt impolitick at this Juncture of Time. Indeed I am moſt ſenſible, that for a private Man to cenſure the Actions of ſo great a King, may be look'd upon as a Piece of no ſmall Imprudence and Impertinence: And I am likewiſe aware, that the King of *England* perceiving himſelf to be much ſuperior in Force to the Power of *Scotland*, eſpecially as it was then ſtated; and perceiving, in like Manner, that his Affairs in our Kingdom were not likely to ſucceed according to his Mind, might readily enough think, that the beſt Way to bring them to a good Iſſue, was, to frighten and terrify us into a Compliance, by touching us in the ſenſible Part of worldly Intereſt and Advantage. But ſeeing Kings may err, as well as other Men, I am willing to ſuſpend any harſh Judgment of mine upon this Head, and to lay the bad Succeſs of this Project of the King of *England* upon the uncertain Event of

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(*a*) See the Confirmation of theſe Treaties by the Governor in 2d. Vol. *Epiſt. Reg. Scot.*

(*b*) The Seat of the Lord *Livingſton*, near to the Town of *Falkirk*.

1543.

Several *Scottiſh* Ships lying in the Harbours of *England* are ſeized by Orders from that King:

Which Incident puts a Stop to the Performance of the Treaties.

all humane Counſels and Devices whatſoever. The Matter in ſhort was this: The Merchants of *Scotland* having had their Trade a long Time interrupted by the Wars; when they knew that the Treaties with *England* were ſigned by the Commiſſioners of both Kingdoms, and that the Peace was proclaimed in *England* as well as in *Scotland*, were at a great Expence to furniſh and ſet forth a good Number of Ships, to ſeveral Ports; and among others to the Ports of *France*: Theſe Ships truſting to the Treaties already agreed upon, tho' not ratified, went ſecurely, but too raſhly, into the Harbours of *England*, to refreſh themſelves after a Storm: But they were ſoon made ſenſible of their Error; for tho' at firſt they were courteouſly entertained, yet in a ſhort Time they were, by Orders from Court, all ſtopt, and had their Goods confiſcated, notwithſtanding they pleaded the Faith of the Treaties lately agreed to, and the Proclamation of the Peace following thereupon. This was in the Month of *Auguſt*, and conſequently before the Expiration of the two Months ſtipulated for the mutual Exchange of the Treaties, ratified by the reſpective Kingdoms. When Complaint of this bad Treatment was made, the *Engliſh* Ambaſſador (who appears in his own Mind to diſapprove of it, and did write to his Court, adviſing the Releaſe of the Ships) made Anſwer, in his Maſter's Name, That it was contrary to the Treaty of Peace, to aſſiſt *France* with Victuals; and next, that ſuch as were within the *Scottiſh* Ships, had ſpoken very ſlanderouſly of the Governor and other Noblemen of this Realm. The Cardinal now ſitting in Council, together with the Governor, at *Edinburgh*, the 23d Day of *September*, made anſwer, That as to the loading with Victual, he underſtood that the Ships had no ſuch Loading, except it was Fiſh; and that he could not perceive by the Treaties, but that the Merchants, Subjects of both Realms, might uſe their accuſtomed Traffick, with ſuch Merchandize as they have been in uſe to tranſport to other Countries: And as to the unſeemly Words ſpoken of the Governor, the Cogniſance and Puniſhment thereof appertained to him, and not to the King of *England*. After which the Cardinal having demanded, Whether the King his Maſter would yet ratify the Treaties, provided Hoſtages ſhould be delivered, according to the Tenor thereof; and whether he would reſtore the Ships; and cauſe Redreſs to be made for ſome Inroads on the Borders? the *Engliſh* Ambaſſador not taking upon him to give any Aſſurance of this in his Majeſty's Name; and having deſired the Council here, to declare their Reſolution to perform literally the Treaties, before he ſhould write to his Maſter to know his Pleaſure herein, as the Cardinal had requeſted him to do: And the Council having made anſwer, That the Matters were weighty, and they muſt have Time to adviſe upon the ſame, and would declare their Reſolution upon Knowledge of his Maſter's Intention: It doth not appear, that there was afterwards any further communing upon the Head; but that both Parties look'd upon the Treaties as good as at an End. And indeed it is probable enough, that the Cardinal, who then acted as Prime Miniſter, and who, by the Superiority of his Genius, did much out-ſhine the Governor, had no mind to adhere to the Treaties, even tho' Satisfaction ſhould be made by King *Henry*, for any Infraction of them; and tho' he ſhould agree to ratify them in the Terms propoſed.

The young Queen is crowned,

and a Council is appoined to aſſiſt the Lord Governor.

It is now fit to take a View of what other Matters paſſed about this Time. The firſt Step of Moment that was done, after the Union betwixt the Governor and the Cardinal, was, the Crowning of the young Queen at *Stirling*, on *Sunday* the 9th of *September*; at which Solemnity, 'tis ſaid, the Governor carried the Royal Crown, and the Earl of *Lennox* the Sceptre. Next they proceeded to make Choice of a Council, by whom the Governor ſhall be directed, in all the great Affairs of the Realm. Of this Council the Queen Dowager was the principal Perſon: The reſt were, the Cardinal, the Archbiſhop of *Glaſgow*, the Biſhops of *Murray*, *Orkney*, *Galloway* and *Dunblane*; the Abbots of *Paiſly* and *Cowper*; the Earls of *Angus*, *Huntly*, *Argile*, *Murray*, *Glencairn*, *Lennox*, *Bothwel* and *Mariſchal*; whoſe Counſel the Governor was ſworn to uſe, and to be directed by them: But I do not find

The Lords that favour the King of *England* keep Meetings and Conſultations.

Some Ships arrive from *France* conſigned to the Earl of *Lennox*.

that the Earls of *Angus*, *Caſſils* and *Glencairn* did meet with them at *Edinburgh* the 18th and ſubſequent Days of *September*, as they were advertiſed to do by a Meſſage ſent them by the Lord *Fleming* and the Abbot of *Paiſly*. The Earls of *Angus*, *Glencairn*, and other Lords of that Side, had likewiſe had Letters written to them, by the Cardinal, the Chancellor, Biſhop of *Murray*, Earls of *Huntly* and *Argile*, inviting them to witneſs the Coronation of the young Queen; which they alſo refuſed to comply with. On the contrary, theſe *Engliſh* Lords, (except the Lord *Fleming*, who had ſeparated himſelf from them ſome time before the Ratification of the Treaties) when they found how Things went, and that the Governor had abandoned them, conveened at *Douglas* Caſtle, upon the 25th of *October*, where they drew up and ſigned a Writing to the King of *England*, to be carried to him by the Lord *Somervel*, importing, as may be gathered by a Meſſage of theirs to the *Engliſh* Ambaſſador, That they had entred into a Bond to abide firmly together, in order to ſerve his Majeſty; and praying his Majeſty to ſend them Aſſiſtance, eſpecially of Money, without which they ſhould not be able to bear the Malice of their Enemies. But the Lord *Somervel* was apprehended in or about *Edinburgh*, with his Letters; as was the Lord *Maxwel*; and both ſhut up in the Caſtle of that City: Only the former was ſoon after removed to that of *Blackneſs*: And great Endeavour was uſed by the Governor and Cardinal to get the reſt of them into their Hands. But the Lord *Maxwel* having made a Shift to eſcape, he, together with the Earls of *Angus*, *Caſſils* and *Glencairn*, Sir *Hugh Campbel* of *Lowdon* Sheriff of *Air*, and *James Douglas* of *Drumlanrig* (which two Gentlemen had joined the *Engliſh* Lords ſometime before) did again aſſemble at *Douglas*, about the 10th of *December*, where they concerted Meaſures how to proceed againſt their Enemies, and to do them all the Miſchief they could deviſe. By this Time the Earl of *Lennox* was much weaned from the *French* Intereſt; and had for ſome Time paſt made Suit to the Earl of *Angus*, for the Marriage of his Daughter, the Lady *Margaret Douglas*, Neice by the Mother to King *Henry*: Nor had his Propoſal been utterly rejected, only it ſeems that King and the Earl of *Angus* had found *Lennox* a little unſtable, and not hearty enough to join their Intereſt. And the Truth is, he liked not to break from *France* altogether, ſo long as he had any Expectation from thence; and alſo, except he had a Certainty of being kindly received by *England*. But now a fair Occaſion offer'd, to do him great Service that Way, after he had perceived himſelf to be neglected by the Queen Dowager and Cardinal, and that very ſiniſtrous Repreſentations had by them been made of him to the Court of *France*: For in the Beginning of *October*, ſix or ſeven good Ships arrived from that Kingdom in the Firth of *Clyde*, which had on board a Legat from *Rome*, and two Ambaſſadors, with Arms, Ammunition, and 30000 Crowns in Silver from *France*, to be diſtributed to proper Perſons in *Scotland*, by the Advice of the Queen Dowager and Cardinal. The Earl got the Captains of the *French* Ships perſuaded to land the Money, and ſome of the Arms and Ammunition, in his Caſtle of *Dunbarton*; whereupon the Queen Dowager and Cardinal begin again ardently to cajol the Earl, and to endeavour a Reconciliation betwixt him and the Governor: But notwithſtanding all the Cardinal's Addreſs, the Earl would by no means part with the Money; but took that Opportunity to ingratiate himſelf with the *Engliſh* Lords: And 'tis not improbable, but the former Neglect that Prelate had uſed towards the Earl, after he had gained the Governor, made his Lordſhip the leſs obſequious now to his Eminency's Directions.

As *John Hamilton*, Abbot of *Paiſly*, had a great Aſcendant over the Mind of his Brother the Governor, and had been very ſerviceable to the Cardinal in the firſt bringing over the Governor, and ſtill retaining him fix'd to the Cardinal's Meaſures; the Cardinal did firſt reſign to him the Office of *Privy-Seal*; and ſhortly after, that the riſing Fortune of the Abbot might be more noticeable in the Parliament, which was to ſit down in the Beginning of the Month of *December*, An Account of the Proceedings in Parliament.

1543. *cember*, he was advanced to be *Treaſurer* of the Kingdom, in the Room of Sir *William Kircaldy* of *Grange* in *Fife*, who was known to be a great Favourer of the new Doctrines, and an avowed Enemy to the Cardinal and the other eſtabliſhed Clergy. On the 8th of *December*, being the fourth Day of the Parliament, Direction was given to Mr. *Henry Lawder* the Queen's Advocate, to raiſe a Summons of Treaſon againſt thoſe that ſigned the Writing at *Douglas*-Caſtle, to be ſent by the Lord *Somervel* to the King of *England*: And next Day there was an Indemnity made out to the Lords and Gentlemen that had conveened at *Stirling* for carrying the young Queen thither. On the 11th of *December*, the Parliament declared the Treaties of Peace and Marriage with *England* to be expired *(a)*, and not to be kept on the Part of *Scotland*: And that the Reader may ſee upon what Grounds theſe Treaties were annull'd, I have inſerted in the Appendix the Act it ſelf, as it ſtands in the publick Records *(b)*. The ſame Day were introduced into the Parliament, *Jaques de la Broſſe* and *James Meſnage*, Ambaſſadors of the King of *France*; who opened the Reaſons of their Embaſſy, for renewing the old Leagues betwixt the two Kingdoms, and offering their Maſter's Aſſiſtance, for Defence of the young Queen and the Liberty of the Realm, againſt the King of *England*'s invading it: Which Propoſal was accepted by the Governor and the Eſtates, who appointed the Cardinal, the Earls of *Argile* and *Murray*, the Lord St. *John* and Sir *Adam Otterburn*, or any four, three or two of them, to meet, and conclude with theſe Ambaſſadors of *France*, for ratifying the former Alliances, and entring into new ones *(c)*. Next Day the Lords *Fleming*, *Ruthven*, St. *John* and Sir *John Campbel* of *Calder*, were choſen Counſellors to the Governor, in the Place of the Earls of *Angus*, *Lennox*, *Glencairn* and *Mariſchal*, who are ſaid not to have come, or not to be willing to accept. And the Day after, *viz* the 13th of *December*, the Cardinal accepts of the Office of Lord High Chancellor, at the Deſire of the Governor and the Eſtates. This was all the State-buſineſs that paſt in the Parliament at this Time.

The Earl of *Lennox* and his Partners raiſe Forces,

About *Chriſtmas*, the Earl of *Lennox*, and the Lords and Gentlemen that favoured King *Henry*, aſſembled in the Town of *Air*, in order to conſult what was proper to be done, ſince they heard that the Governor, by the Advice of the Cardinal, had formed a Deſign to levy an Army, and with it to march weſt-ward, and ſurpriſe the Earl of *Lennox*; and by that means oblige him to ſurrender the *French* Money. There it was reſolved to gather together what Force they were able, and with it to oppoſe the Governor's Deſigns: And their Levies of Men ſucceeded ſo well, partly by the Diſpleaſure which ſeveral

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(*a*) The Author of the *Brief Account*, &c. printed at the End of Sir *Ralph Sadler*'s Letters, tells the World, " that the Clergy " were very frequent in this Parliament :" Whereas upon Peruſal of the Parliament Rolls, I find there only fifteen Clergymen preſent at this Time, and eighteen in the laſt Parliament *March* 1542-3. He likewiſe ſays, " that whoever is pleaſed to examine " the Rolls of Parliament, will find, there was a far more numerous and powerful Party of the Nobility in the Parliament, " wherein the Treaty [*viz.* of Marriage and Commerce with *England*] was made, than in that wherein it was broken." I own indeed, that in the Parliament *March* 1542-3, which gave Orders and Inſtructions to our Ambaſſadors to repair into *England*, there were preſent at the firſt Meeting ſixty eight Members, *vix.* eight Biſhops, ten Abbots, eleven Earls, ninteen Lords, four Maſters, ten Burghers, ſix Officers of State; and only forty nine Members, *viz*, five Biſhops, ten Abbots, nine Earls, nine Lords, one Maſter, ten Burghers, five Officers of State, in the Parliament *December* 1543, in which the Treaties were annulled. But as the Treaties with England could not be ratified by Parliament until the Month of *Auguſt* 1543; at which Time the Governor called a Parliament to ſit for that Effect only, the Treaties themſelves not having been concluded by their reſpective Commiſſioners until the 1ſt Day of *July*; and ſince there are no Rolls nor any Records extant concerning that ſhort Parliament in *Auguſt*, and ſeeing we are certain by Mr. *Sadler*'s Letters, that not only many of the Nobility were not preſent at that Meeting, but did remain with the Queen Dowager and the Cardinal, in plain Oppoſition to it. For theſe Reaſons this Author ſeems not to have Foundation enough for undeceiving the World of what he ſays the the Cardinal would have made it believe, *viz.* " That the " Parliament who entred into the Treaties with *England* were only a ſmall Party and Faction." 'Tis well enough known, that anciently in *Scotland*, the Parliament after ſome few Days Sitting was commonly diſſolved, or only ſometimes adjourned; and that the firſt Day of the Parliament the Lords of the Articles, *i. e.* a certain Number out of each State were elected, which Lords of the Articles, were deemed a ſufficient Authority to enact any Law. But if an unforſeen Emergent did at any Time interveen, our Kings could by their Sovereignty call together any ſmall Number of the States upon even a ſhort Warning, and propoſe to them the enacting of this or the other Expedient into a Law. I ſay not that the Parliament in *Auguſt* 1543 was of this Sort in the laſt Degree; but it is much to be ſuſpected that there were but few Members preſent, perhaps no more than thoſe whom we find marked as Witneſſes to the ſaid Treaties, in all ten. No Body can imagine that the Parliament holden by the Governor in the Convent near *Hadington* Anno 1548, had a formal Summons to conveen, ſince it was not poſſible to divine the Time and Place of its Sitting: And the ſame is to be ſaid of the Parliament at *Monktownhall* immediately before the Battle of *Pinkie*.

(*b*) Appendix, Numb. *6*.

(*c*) See Appendix, Numb. 7.

ſeveral Perſons, in thoſe Weſtern Counties, where the Eſtates of the moſt part of theſe Noblemen lay, had conceived againſt the Governor, for his late ſhifting of Sides; but moſtly by the Power of the Money which they had in their Cuſtody; that finding their Army in a Condition to act offenſively againſt their Enemies, they advanced to the Town of *Leith*, in order to be before hand with the Governor; and offer him Battle in the Fields between that Town and *Edinburgh*. But the crafty Cardinal, who well perceived that the Governor was in no Condition to hazard a Battle, together with the Earl of *Huntly*, did ſo manage Affairs, that a Capitulation was agreed upon; and *Lennox* came in to *Edinburgh* to the Governor, where Matters were tranſacted by theſe two Lords, for ſome Days together, as if they had quite forgot their old Grudges and Animoſities; and Sir *George Douglas*, and the Lord *Kilmaurs*, Son to the Earl of *Glencairn*, were delivered up as Hoſtages (*a*), for Conſervation of the late Agreement, on the Part of the Earls of *Angus* and *Glencairn*. Nevertheleſs this Settlement was of no long Continuance: For within a Week, the Governor being at *Linlithgow*, the Earl of *Lennox*, upon Information, as is reported, that ſome ſudden Miſchief was preparing againſt him, ſlipt privately away from thence to *Glaſgow*. But as to the ſubſequent Scuffles betwixt the Governor and *Lennox*, which fell out all to the Diſadvantage of this Nobleman and the *Engliſh* Lords; becauſe I have no ſure Records whereby to unravel the perplex'd Accounts that are given of them by our Hiſtorians, in the true Order of Time, I chuſe rather to leave them untouched, and only aſſure the Readers of our *Scottiſh* Affairs, that (in great Probability at leaſt) all this Buſtle, from the firſt to the laſt, was tranſacted pretty early in the Spring of the Year 1543-4; as may appear from the Dates of the following publick (*b*) Tranſactions, relating to the Earl of *Lennox*; and which I ſhall here inſert, that I may not be obliged to reſume the Conſideration of this Nobleman's Affairs, when Things of weightier Moment require not to be interrupted.

and march againſt the Governor:

But a Pacification is agreed to,

which is of ſhort Continuance; ſo that new Differences ariſe.

On the 8th Day of *April*, the Earls of *Lennox* and *Glencairn* diſpatched *Hugh Cunningham* and *Thomas Biſhop* from *Dunbarton*, with ample Commiſſion, in their Names, to meet and treat with the Lord *Wharton* and Sir *Robert Bowis*, Commiſſioners of the King of *England*, at *Carlile* or elſewhere the ſaid Royal Commiſſioners ſhall happen to be. On the 17th of *May*, the Earl of *Glencairn* is at *Carlile*; and there, together with *Robert Stewart*, Brother to the Earl of *Lennox*, and Biſhop Elect of *Cathneſs*, *Hugh Cunningham* and *Thomas Biſhop*, he ſigns a Contract, betwixt King *Henry*, the Earl of *Lennox* and himſelf; in which the two Earls promiſe all manner of Aſſiſtance to King *Henry*, againſt their native Country: And King *Henry*, on his Part, promiſes to give in Marriage to the Earl of *Lennox*, the Lady *Margaret Douglas* his Neice; and that the ſaid Earl ſhall be Governor of the Kingdom of *Scotland* under King *Henry*, in the Event of his being ſucceſsful. The Biſhop Elect of *Cathneſs* is to remain a Hoſtage in *England*, for his Brother's Performance of his Part of this Treaty: And King *Henry* gives in Gratuity to the Earl of *Glencairn* 1000 Crowns; and promiſes to continue in Penſion the Earl of *Lennox*. On the 26th of *June*, the Earl of *Lennox* is perſonally preſent at a Treaty in *England*, (whither he had ſailed in the Ships of that Nation, when they returned home from the Deſcent upon *Scotland*; which will come ſhortly to be mentioned:) In which Treaty, that Lord obliges himſelf to deliver up to the King of *England*, the Caſtle and Territory of *Dunbarton*, together with the Iſle of *Bute*, and other Lands of his Lordſhip lying within the Kingdom of *Scotland*: and King *Henry* gives for Wife to the ſaid Earl, the Lady *Margaret Douglas*, with Lands in *England* amounting to the

Several Tranſactions of the Earl of *Lennox*, *&c.* taken from the *Fœdera Angliæ*.

(*a*) *Leſly* ſays, theſe Hoſtages were delivered at this Time. But *Buchanan* ſays, that they were delivered upon a ſecret Agreement made betwixt the *Hamiltons* and *Douglaſſes*, unknown to *Lennox*: And ſeems to inſinuate, that it was upon private Information thereof, that that Earl made his Elopment from *Linlithgow*.

(*b*) *Leſly*, who (in my Opinion) gives the moſt diſtinct Account of theſe Matters, tells us expreſly, that the ſending of Mr. *Biſhop* into *England*, was poſterior to the laſt Conflict betwixt the Lord Governor and *Lennox*.

1543-4. Value of 6800 Merks *Scots* Money, equal to 1700 Merks *Engliſh (a)*. *Item*, The King of *England* gives in Penſion 100 Merks *Sterling*, to *George Stirling*, Deputy Governor of the Caſtle of *Dunbarton*, under the Earl of *Lennox*. On the 6th of *July*, the Earl of *Lennox* is naturalized a Subject of *England* : [This 'tis probable has been done upon the Conſummation of his Marriage.] On the 13th of *July*, King *Henry* gives a Penſion, during Life, and payable at two Terms in the Year, to the Earl of *Glencairn L.* 250 *Sterling*; and to his Son, *Alexander* Lord *Kilmawrs*, *L.* 125 *Sterling*, alſo during Life, and payable twice a-year.

CHAP. IV.

Containing an Account of Church-Affairs, from the Death of King JAMES V. Anno 1542, *till the Murder of Cardinal* Beton, Anno 1546.

1542-3. THE new Doctrines concerning Religion had ſo far prevailed in *Scotland*, notwithſtanding the Severities uſed againſt the Profeſſors thereof, in the late King's Reign, by the Influence of the ſettled Clergy; that in the very firſt Parliament holden after his Death, by *James* Earl of *Arran*, Tutor of the Queen and Governor of her Kingdom, there was a Propoſal offered by the Lord *Maxwel*, on the 15th Day of *March* 1542-3, being the fourth of the Parliament, for a Liberty of reading the Bible in the Vulgar Tongue: Which Propoſal was received and approved by the Governor and the Lords of the Articles. And becauſe this was the firſt publick Step towards a Reformation of Religion, perhaps the Reader will not be diſpleaſed to ſee the Act inſerted in this Hiſtory; which is as followeth.

The Bill offered to the Parliament for reading the Scriptures in the vulgar Tongue.

ANent the Writting gevin in be Robert **Lord** Maxwell, **in Preſens of my Lord Governour and Lordis of Articklis, to be aviſit by theim, gif the ſamin be reaſonable or not, of the quhilk the Tenor followis: It is ſtatute and ordanit, that it ſal be lefull to all our Soverane Ladyis Lieges to haif the haly Writ, to wit the** New Teſtament **and** Auld, **in the Vulgar Toung**, in Inglis **or** Scottis, **of ane gude and true Tranſlatioun; and that thai ſal incur na Crimes for the heſing and reading of the ſamin, providing alwayis that nae Man diſpute or hald Oppinzeonis, under the Painis contenit in the Acts of Parliament. The Lordis of Articklis beand aviſit with the ſaid Writting, finds the ſamin reaſonable; and therefore thinkis that the ſamin may be uſit amangis all the Lieges of this Realm, in oure Vulgar Toung, of ane gude, true and juſt Tranſlatioun, becauſe there was na Law ſhewin nor producit in the contrair; and that nane of oure Soverane Ladyis Lieges incur ony Crimes for haiſing or reding of the ſamin in Form as ſaid is, nor ſall be accuſit therefore in Time coming; and that na Perſonis diſpute, argou or hald Oppunionis of the ſamin, under the ſaidis Painis contenit in the foreſaides Actis of Parliament.**

It

(*a*) This authentick Document, ſerves notably well to aſcertain the Proportion betwixt the *Scottiſh* and *Engliſh* Computation of Money at that Time, *viz.* that the *Engliſh* Merk contained but four of the *Scottiſh*. I had formerly perceived by Reading, that there was not in elder Times ſuch a great Diſproportion betwixt the Denominations of Money of the two Nations as at preſent; but I do not remember of ſo clear an Inſtance as this before us. *Quar.* Whether the *Engliſh* Computation has riſen, or the *Scottiſh* fallen in later Times? Or if either of the two have ſtood fixed?

1542-3

It ſeems this Draught of an Act, for having and reading the Holy Scriptures in the Vulgar Language, had not been ſo privately concerted, but that the Clergy had got Notice of the Deſign: And therefore immediately after reading of it, the Archbiſhop of *Glaſgow*, then Chancellor of the Kingdom, offered to the Parliament theſe following Reaſons, why the Act ſhould not be paſt into a Law at that Time, *viz.*

The quhilk Day, ane Maiſt Reverend Fader in GOD, Gawine **Archbiſhop of** Glaſgow, **Chanceler, for himſelf, and in Name and Behalfe of all the Prelates of this Realm, beand preſent in Parliament, ſchew, That ther was ane Act inſtantly red in Face of Parliament, that the haly Writ may be uſit in our Vulgar Toung, and that na Crime ſuld follow therupon throu the uſing therof; and alegit in the ſaid Act, that the three Eſtates concludit the ſamen: Whilk he, for himſelfe and the Remanent of the Prelates, being preſent, as ane of the three Eſtates of the ſaid Parliament, diſſaſſentit therto** ſimpliciter; **bot apponit thaim therto, unto the Tyme that ane provincial Counſel might be had of all the Clergy of this Realm, to aviſe and conclud therupon, gif the ſamen be neceſſar to be had in Vulgar Toung, to be uſit amang the Queins Lieges, or not; and therafter to ſhaw the utter Determination that ſal be done in that Behalfe: And therupon askit Inſtrumentis.**

A Proteſt entred againſt the Bill by the Archbiſhop of *Glaſgow*.

But notwithſtanding this Proteſtation, the Lord *Maxwel*'s Bill was certainly enacted; ſeeing that within two Days after the Parliament had riſen, the Governor, who found himſelf beſt ſupported by the Adverſaries of the eſtabliſhed Religion, thought fit to cauſe iſſue out a Proclamation, for Notification to all the Lieges, of the Act concerning the Holy Scriptures. Here follows the Orders for the Proclamation.

GUBERNATOR.

Clerk of Regiſter, it is our Will, and we charge zou, that ze gar proclaim this Day, at the Marcat Crois of Edinburgh, **the Actis maid in oure Soverane Ladyis Parliament, that ſuld be proclamit and gevin furth to hir Lieges; and in ſpeciale, the Act made for having the** New Teſtament **in Vulgar Toung, with certain Additionis; and therefter gif furth the Copyis therof attentick, as efferis, to all thaim that will deſyre the ſamyn; and inſert this oure Command and Charge in the Bukis of Parliament, for zoure Warrant. Subſcrivit with our Hand, at** Edinburgh, **the** xix **Day of** Marche, **the Zeir of** GOD Jaj vc **and** xlii **Zeris.**

JAMES G.

Proclamation in favours of the Bill.

The Clergy had already been highly offended with the Governor, and had taken particular Exception at his entertaining in his own Family, two Preachers of the *Dominican* Order, *viz. Thomas Williams* (*a*), and *John Rough* (*b*), who both proceeded to cenſure the Pope's Authority, the Adoration of Images,

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(*a*) He was born at *Athelſton*-Ford in Eaſt *Lothian*, and was Provincial of the *Black-Friars* in *Scotland*. Sir *James Balfour* ſays, he tranſlated the New Teſtament into the vulgar Tongue, and publickly preached againſt the Pope's Authority, and that he was winked at by the Regent, and ſupported by the Noblemen that had returned lately from *England*.

(*b*) He entred among the *Black-Friars* in the Town of *Stirling* at the Age of 17 Years, where he remained the Space of 16 Years, at which Time the Lord Governor having a Favour for him, asked of the Cardinal to grant him Liberty to come out of his Monaſtery, and become his Lordſhips Chaplain; in which Station he continued about a Year, until the Governor thought fit to diſmiſs ſuch Perſons from his Attendance, as favoured the new Opinions. What became of Mr. *Rough* afterwards during his Abode in this Kingdom will afterwards appear in this Hiſtory. He preached in the Towns of *Carlile*, *Berwick*, and *Newcaſtle*, in the Reign of *Edward* VI. King of *England*: But in the ſucceeding Reign of Queen *Mary* he fled into the *Low Countries*, and together with his Wife gained his Livelyhood by knitting of Stockings, Capes, &c. at *Nordin* in Eaſt *Friſeland*, until the End of *October* 1557, that he came over into *England* for providing of Neceſſaries for his Occupation. There he was elected Preacher to a private Congregation, but was taken at *Iſlington* a Suburb of *London*, *Sunday* the 12th Day of *December* thereafter, and burnt to Death on the 22d of the ſaid Month.

1543.

The Governor ſends to *England* for Bibles and other Books in the *Engliſh* Tongue.

&c. in their Sermons. Nor is it to be ſuppoſed, that the Diſcontents and Clamours of the Clergy were any whit allayed, but rather, on the contrary, much heightned by the late Act of Parliament, and Proclamation following thereupon. However, the Governor was not ſo ſtartled therewith, but that he continued his Care to implement the Deſign of the Act. For which Purpoſe, he deſired Mr. *Sadler* to write into *England* for ſome *Bibles* in *Engliſh*, and for the Statutes and Injunctions made lately there by King *Henry*, for the Reformation of the Clergy, and Extirpation of the Biſhop of *Rome*'s Authority. And about a Week thereafter, *viz.* on the 9th of *April*, he told the ſaid Mr. *Sadler*, that he had given Direction for admoniſhing the People to read the Scriptures ſincerely and quietly to themſelves, for their own Knowledge, without taking upon them any ſiniſter or raſh Interpretation of the ſame, as by Act of Parliament, made in that Behalf, is fully ſet forth, with the Baniſhment of all other *Engliſh* Books, except the mere Scriptures, being of the beſt and trueſt Tranſlation. And he added, that when the King of *England* ſhall have perfected ſuch Books as he intended to ſet forth by publick Authority, containing ſuch a certain Doctrine as is maintainable by the mere Truth; if his Majeſty ſhall be pleaſed to ſend him the ſame, he would not fail to publiſh them here in *Scotland*. But when he came to talk of the Extirpation of religious Perſons and their Houſes, which the King of *England* had recommended to him, he ſaid, That tho' he deſired no leſs the Reformation of the Abuſes of the Church, and the Extirpation of the Eſtate of Monks and Friars, with the Abolition of the Biſhop of *Rome*'s uſurped Authority, than that King did; yet he own'd that that would be a hard Matter to bring to paſs: "For "(ſaid he) there be ſo many great Men in the Kingdom that are Papiſts, that "unleſs the Sin of Covetouſneſs bring them into it, (that is, the Deſire of "having the Lands of the Abbays in their own Poſſeſſion) he knew no other "Mean to win them to his Purpoſe in that Behalf." And the Truth is, the Governor ſeems here to have *hit the Nail upon the Head*, as we commonly ſpeak: For how palpable ſoever ſome Errors were that had overſpread the Chriſtian Doctrine, and however well diſpoſed the great Men might have been to apply proper Remedies thereunto; yet it is much to be queſtioned, whether they had ever gone ſo readily, as they did afterwards, into a total Suppreſſion of the Monaſteries and Nunneries, (which by prudent Methods might certainly have been regulated to good Purpoſes, as had been formerly ſet forth by *Herman (a)* Archbiſhop of *Cologne)* had not their avaritious Minds abſorbed before

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(*a*) This Prince and Prelate (of the Counts of *Meurs*) was excommunicated by Pope *Paul* III. for Hereſy; and in Conſequence thereof, driven from his Electorate by the Emperor *Charles* V. He ſeems to have been a Perſon of great Prudence and Moderation; and it is perhaps much to be wiſht, that the Reformers in the ſeveral Nations where their Doctrines obtained Credit, had gone more upon his Plan, than followed an extravagant Humour of departing at all Adventures from the received Practices of the ancient Church. I cannot here give the Readers a complete Account thereof; only they may know, that he publiſhed a Book containing his Senſe and Regulations concerning religious Worſhip, which was tranſlated into *Engliſh*, and printed at *London* by *John Daye*, *anno* 1547, in *duodecimo*, and conſiſting of about 27 Pages: It is intituled, *A ſimple and religious Conſultation of us,* Herman *by the Grace of GOD, Archbiſhop of* Colone, *and Prince Elector,* &c. *by what Means a Chriſtian Reformation, and founded in GOD's Word, of Doctrine, Adminiſtration of the divine Sacraments, of Ceremonies, and the hole Cure of Souls, and other Eccleſiaſtical Miniſteries, may be begun among Men committed to our paſtoral Charge, until the LORD graunt a better to be appointed, either by a free and Chriſtian Counſyale General or National, or elles by the States of the Empire of the Nation of* Germanie, *gathered together in the holye Goſt.*

The principal Articles treated in the Book are theſe: 1. Of Doctrine. 2. That ſome Leſſon muſt be recited out of the holy Scriptures before a Sermon, and declared unto the People. 3. That all Sermons muſt be made to the magnifying of the Lord CHRIST. 4. Of the Trinity. 5. Of the Creation and Governance of all Things. 6. Of the Cauſe of Sin and Death. 7. Of Original Sin, and Man's Weakneſs before Regeneration. 8. Of the Old Teſtament. 9. Of the Difference of the Old and New Teſtaments. 10. Of preaching peculiar to the New Teſtament. 11. Of the preaching of Repentance. 12. Of the true and proper Uſe of GOD's Law. 13. A ſhort Expoſition of the ten Commandments. 14. Of Remiſſion of Sins and Juſtification. 15. Of good Works. 16. Of the true and natural Signification of this Word *Faith*. 17. Of the Croſs and Tribulations. 18. Of the Church of GOD. 19. Of the Unity or Concord of the Church. 20. Of Chriſtian Prayer. 21. A ſhort Expoſition of the LORD's Prayer. 22. Of the Abuſe in Prayer. 23. Of the true and falſe Uſe of Images. 24. Of Chriſtian Faſts. 25. Of holy Offerings. 26. A Premonition and Commandment againſt the Errors of the *Anabaptiſts*. 27. Of the Adminiſtration of Religion. 28. Of Sacraments generally. 29. Of Baptiſm. 30 The Form of a Catechiſm before Baptiſm. 31. The Exorciſm. 32. Of the Adminiſtration of Baptiſm. 33. How Baptiſm muſt be adminiſtred at Times not preſcribed. 34. Of Confirmation. 35. Of the LORD's Supper. 36. At what Time the LORD's Supper ought to be celebrated. 37. Of the Communion of Strangers and ſick Folk. 38. How ſick Perſons muſt be viſited, and how we muſt celebrate the Communion with them. 39. Of Communion in private Houſes for Men in Health. 40. Of turning from Sins, and true Repentance. 41. Of Excommunication. 42. Of the making of Paſtors. 43. Of the bleſſing of Marriages. 44. Of Burying. 45. Of holy and feaſtful Days. 46. Of faſting Days and Lent.

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fore hand the whole Revenues thereof, whether it was right or wrong, Sacrilege or not Sacrilege.

Some Clergymen ſent by the King of *England* into *Scotland*.

The King of *England* (whether being requeſted ſo to do, or not, I cannot tell) ſent down to *Scotland*, in the Beginning of *July*, one Sir *Robert Richardſon* a Prieſt (*a*), who was preſented to the Governor by Mr. *Sadler*. The Governor received him courteouſly, and heard him preach; and likewiſe promiſed him a Living and Entertainment in the Country: And the ſame Sir *Robert*, by Licence from the Governor, went to St. *Andrew*'s, and talked with the Cardinal: But 'tis a Pity we are ignorant of the Communing that paſt betwixt them; the Purport thereof being only tranſmitted to King *Henry* by *Richardſon* himſelf, and no Part thereof dropt to Poſterity in Mr. *Sadler*'s Letters. The Books which were ſent from *England* were not very much eſteemed in this Country, becauſe it ſeems they treated moſtly of true and ſolid Religion; whereas the Faction that favoured the new Opinions here, were moſtly taken up with that Part which confuted the Biſhop of *Rome*'s Supremacy, and tended to depreſs the Clergy: Which was a Point of Reformation that our great Men were ſpecially fond to advance and ſet forward, that thereby they might enrich themſelves out of the Spoils of the Church. Things went in this Channel, from the firſt Parliament of the Governor, until the Time that he ſhifted Sides, and went over to the Cardinal. But how ſoon the Governor came with that Prelate to *Stirling*, his natural Brother *John Hamilton* Abbot of *Paiſly* did ſo effectually, it ſeems, repreſent to him the former falſe Meaſures he had taken, conſidering that the Legitimacy of his own Birth, and conſequently the very Title to his own private Eſtate, as well as his Advancement to the publick high Office in which he was inveſted, did ſolely depend upon the Pope's Authority, and the Laws of the Church as then eſtabliſhed; that the Governor himſelf was quickly reconciled to the Church, by making a publick Renunciation of his Errors, and receiving Abſolution from the Hands of the Cardinal, in the Church of the *Franciſcans* in that City. The Conſequence of which was, that the two Preachers, *Williams* and *Rough*, and ſuch Gentlemen as favoured the new Doctrines, were diſmiſt from being about the Governor. Sir *Robert Richardſon* alſo, and others that had come from *England*, were fain to return home, as being in Danger of their Lives ſince the new Turn of Affairs. Nor was the Governor ſatisfied in the abandoning of his former Friends; but that he might the better teſtify his Zeal and Integrity in his late Converſion, he, in the Parliament that ſat next *December*, made the following Propoſition, on *Saturday* the 15th of that Month, *viz.*

The Governor turns from the new Doctrines.

Lent. 47. Of the Difference of Meats. 48. Of certain other Rites or Ceremonies of the Church. 49. Of Eccleſiaſtical Rites upon working Days. 50. Of peculiar Days of Proceſſion. 51. Of Litany. 52. Of common Alms. 53. Of Schools for Children. 54. Of Schools of Divinity. 55. Of Diſputation. 56. By what Means a Chriſtian Reformation of holy Miniſtry, and Cure of Souls, may be begun and practiſed in Pariſhes. 57. Of reforming of Canonical Colleges. 58. Of the Reformation of Monaſteries both of Men and Women. 59. Of free and not Monaſtical Colleges of Virgins. 60. Of the Order of Cell-brethren, and Lay-brethren.

In the Article concerning the Reformation of Monaſteries and Nunneries, this judicious Prelate ſaith thus, "As for us, we muſt follow the LORD's Word, and not to go before it; which Word not only enjoineth not to Man wifeleſs [*i. e.* unmarried] Life, neither by Neceſſity of Commandment, nor by Commendation, or Exaction of a Vow, or by the Occaſion of any Kind of Life, or Miniſtry; but alſo it bindeth and moderateth the Praiſe of wifeleſs Life; and not of every wifeleſs Life, but of that which may cauſe a Man cleave to GOD and godly Actions more faſtly, and with greater Continuance: It moderateth the Praiſe thereof, I ſay, ſo ſtudiouſly, and with ſo ſingular a Promiſe, that as oft as it bringeth forth any thing in the Commendation of this wifeleſs Life, and of the Manner of ſerving GOD without Marriage, it addeth forthwith ſomewhat whereby it admoniſheth, that it is not given to every Body to ſerve GOD out of Wedlock; and that every Man ought to conſider what Gift he has received of the LORD, leſt labouring to higher Things, he be not able to ſtand in the lower; and leſt while he followeth the higher Virtue, he loſe the lower, and lay a Snare for himſelf. Thus the LORD's Mouth and the HOLY GHOST taught of wifeleſs Life, *Matt.* 19. I. *Cor.* 7. I. *Tim.* 5. Seeing then that the LORD himſelf and Maſter of Religion commendeth wifeleſs Life after this Sort, and with this waryneſs both by himſelf and by his Apoſtles, it cannot ſurely be lawful to us his Diſciples to lay a Snare to Men commended to our Charge, that we ſhould keep them in the Grace of GOD, either by any renewing of Commandments, [*i. e.* making new Commandments] or Exaction of Vows whereby they periſh, and to thruſt them from that, that might be to them a better and a ſurer Way." Then he goes on to adviſe all Virgins, *&c.* not to act indiſcreetly in marrying, but to pray to GOD for the proper Virtues, when meet Husbands to whom they might be married, fall not in their Way. And afterwards he proceeds to regulate the Differences that may happen to ariſe in Families concerning Inheritance, when any Man or Woman ſhall chance to leave their Monaſtery, and enter into a married State.

(*a*) *i. e.* A Perſon in Prieſts Orders; and not what we now commonly call a *Prieſt*; by which Appellation we mean one that is a Presbyter of the Church of *Rome*. He had the Title of *Sir* from the Pope, who dubbed Knights like other Princes. But he has been one of thoſe Clergymen who afterwards renounced the Pope's Juriſdiction, and entred into the King's new Meaſures.

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and gets an Act of Parliament to paſs againſt the Abettors thereof.

The quhilk Day, my Lord Governour cauſit to be ſchewin and proponit in plane Parliament, to all Eſtatis being thair gaderit, how thair is gret Murmure that Heretikis mair and mair riſis and ſpredis within this Realm, ſawand dampnable Oppinionis in contrar the Faith and Lawis of Haly Kirk, Actis and Conſtitutionis of this Realme: Exhortand thairfor all Prelatis and Ordinaris, ilk ane within thair awin Diocy and Jurisdictioun, to inquir apoun all ſic manner of Perſonis, and proceid agains thame according to the Lawis of Haly Kirk; and my ſaid Lord Governour ſhall be rady, at all Tymes, to do thairin that accordis him of his Office (*a*).

During this Winter, remained in *Scotland* the Pope's Legate (*b*), who arrived here in the Ships that brought the Money, *&c.* from *France*, to the Earl of *Lennox*. I mention the Legate in this Article of Church-Affairs, merely becauſe of his Eccleſiaſtical Character and Dignity; for I do not find that he had any particular Buſineſs to do relating to the Church, further than may be ſuppoſed in general to recommend the Extirpation of Hereſy, and a firm Adherence to her Intereſts. His chief Commiſſion ſeems to have been, to diſſuade the Marriage of our Queen with the Prince of *England*; and to make promiſe of bulky Aſſiſtance from the Pope, in caſe of a Rupture with that Crown. After he had been courteouſly and ſplendidly entertained, by Perſons of the greateſt Rank, from his Arrival in the Kingdom, he departed in the Beginning of the Month of *March* (*c*) 1543-4; and was ſo well pleaſed with the Reception he had met with here, that wherever he went afterwards, he ſtill ſpoke of the magnificent Civilities of the *Scottiſh* Nation; and repreſented them in a particular Manner to the King of *France*, the State of *Venice*, the College of Cardinals, and to the Pope.

The Cardinal of St. *Andrews* viſits ſome Parts of his Dioceſs, at which Time ſome Perſons are executed upon Account of Religion.

In Proſecution, as would appear, of the Order in Parliament preſented by the Governor, in the End of the Year 1543, the Cardinal made a Viſitation into ſome Parts of his Dioceſs, in the End of the Year 1545, or rather, as may be conjectured (*d*), 1545-6, accompanied by the Lord Governor, the Earl of *Argile* Lord Juſtice General, the Lord *Borthwick*, the Biſhops of *Dunblain* and *Orkney*, Sir *John Campbel* of *Lundy*, and ſundry other Gentlemen. When they were in the Town of *Perth*, ſeveral Perſons were delated of Hereſy, being indicted particularly for controveening the Act of Parliament 1542-3, whereby the Lieges were forbidden to argue or diſpute concerning the Senſe of the holy Scriptures. The Pannels were quickly found guilty by the Verdict of an Aſſize: Three or four were baniſhed, and ſome were ſhut up in Priſon;

(*a*) Regiſt. Parliam.

(*b*) Biſhop *Leſly* calls him *Peter Francis Contareno*, the Patriarch of *Venice*. But Mr. *Sadler* calls the Legate, who he heard was coming into *Scotland*, *Mark German.* And (which ſeems to be of greateſt Authority) the Earl of *Arran*, in his Letter to the Pope, dated the 8th *December*, calls him *Marcus Grymanus* Patriarch of *Aquileia*.

(*c*) His recommendatory Letter from our Infant Queen to the Pope, when he was ready to return Home, is dated the laſt Day of *February* 1543. *Vide Epiſt. Reg. Scot.* Vol. 2d.

(*d*) The Chronology of this Progreſs, as delivered by our Hiſtorians, is ſo irreconcileable, that I can make nothing of it. Mr. *Knox* ſays, that the Execution at *Perth* was on St. *Paul*'s Day, (*i. e.* the 25th of *January*) before the firſt Burning of *Edinburgh*. Now that firſt Burning was in the Year 1544; ſo that according to him, the Cardinal and Governor were at *Perth* in the Month of *January* 1543-4. But this is highly improbable, ſince we have already obſerved that about that Time of that Year, the Governor was in the Weſt about *Glaſgow*, purſuing the Earl of *Lennox*; beſides that the Pope's Legate was then in the Country and they were buſied in entertaining him. Mr. *Sadler* does indeed inform us, that the Governor and Cardinal went about the 10th of *November* 1543 into *Fife* and *Angus*, in order to gain the Earl of *Rothes*, the Lords *Gray*, *Ogilvy*, and *Glammis*, to their Party, either by Force or Policy, but he ſays nothing of *Perth*, nor of any Execution of Hereticks. Mr. *Fox* alſo aſſigns this Execution to the ſame Year, and Time of the Year 1543 with Mr. *Knox*, *ex Regiſtr. & Inſtrumentis a Scotia miſſis*, Mr. *Buchanan*, that the Progreſs was in the End of the Year 1545, and that after the Execution at *Perth*, and a farther Progreſs into the County of *Angus*, in Search of Hereticks, the Cardinal and Governor returned and kept their Chriſtmaſs for three Weeks together in St. *Andrews* that ſame Year 1545, immediately before the catching of Mr. *Wiſhart*. So that neither the certain Year, nor Seaſon of the Year are clearly accounted for by our publick Writers. However that I might afford ſome Light to this Matter, I have narrowly obſerved the Rolls of Parliament, and do find that the Governor and Cardinal were preſent in the Winter Parliaments, except in the End of the Year 1545, in the Months of *December* and *January*. 'Tis true there was no Seſſion of Parliament in the Month of *January* 1543-4: But that the Governor and Cardinal did not make their Progreſs Northward in that Year, I think is very improbable for the Reaſons above aſſigned. Nor was it likely to have been in *January* or *February* 1544-5, *Ancrum Moor* having been fought the 17th of *February* that Year. So that all theſe Things being duly conſidered, I rather join with Mr. *Buchanan*, who places this Execution at *Perth* in the End of the Year 1545.

Priſon; but theſe following were condemned to die, *viz. William Anderſon, Robert Lamb, James Ronald, James Hunter, James Finlayſon*, and *Helen Stark* his Wife. Great Interceſſion was made for a Pardon, but nothing did prevail; ſo the Men were executed by hanging, and the Woman by drowning. Perhaps the Cardinal was the more inexorable, that he might caſt a Copy for the other Prelates, what they ought to do in their ſeveral Dioceſes: Or perhaps he thought, by this exemplary Puniſhment, to put an effectual Stop to the growing of Hereſy throughout the Kingdom, ſeeing that Town, and the Country thereabout, was more infected therewith, than any other Parts of the Nation.

The Cardinal perceiving, that notwithſtanding the Severities he had uſed, many Perſons, in divers Places, did incline to the new Doctrines; and that they were much fortified in their Opinions, and diſcouraged from entertaining a due Regard to the Church, by the immoral Lives of a great many of the Clergy, had called a provincial Council, to meet at *Edinburgh* on the 13th of *January* 1545-6, in the *Black Friars*, in order to conſult upon proper Methods to diſcourage the ſpringing Hereſy, and to reſtrain the Licentiouſneſs of Clergymen, which gave ſo great Scandal, and a Handle to the People to deſert them. But how far they proceeded in that Affair, remains uncertain: Or if they were not altogether diverted from any Enquiry into it, by the Information they then received, that Mr. *George Wiſhart*, the famous Preacher of Hereſy, for whom the Cardinal had long ſearched, was juſt then at the Houſe of *Cockburn* of *Ormiſton* in Eaſt *Lothian*. The Cardinal went immediately to the Governor, and deſired he would ſend his Servants to ſeize the ſaid Mr. *George Wiſhart*, that he might be purſued as an Heretick; which the Governor very unwillingly complied with. But the Laird of *Ormiſton* refuſing to deliver him up, as hoping to have wrought his Eſcape; the Earl of *Bothwel* High Sheriff of the County, advanced to the Houſe of *Ormiſton*, having left the Cardinal within a Mile of the Place, and as ſome ſay, the Governor in Company with him: And to this Nobleman Mr. *Wiſhart* was delivered up, he undertaking, according to Mr. *Knox*, to keep the Man harmleſs at that Time, and either to ſet him at Liberty, or to reſtore him to the ſame Place where he received him. This Step made by the Cardinal in Perſon, is ſufficient to ſhew the Value he put upon the Man; which is likewiſe ſtill more apparent from the following Act of Council, obliging *Patrick* Earl of *Bothwel* to deliver up to my Lord *Governor* the Perſon of Mr. *Wiſhart*.

A Meeting of Biſhops is kept at *Edinburgh*; during which

Mr. *Wiſhart* is taken,

19. *January*, 1545-6.

The quhilk Day, in preſens of my Lord Governour and Lordis of Counſel, comperit Patrik **Erle** Bothwel, **and has bundin and obliſt him, to deliver Maiſter** George Wiſchart **to my Lord Governour, or ony utheris in his Behalfe, quham he will depute to reſſave him, betuix this and the penult Day of** Januar **Inſtant** incluſive; **and ſal kepe him ſurelie, and anſer for him in the meyn Tyme, under all the hieſt Pane and Charge that he mai incur, giff he falzies herintill.**

Mr. *Wiſhart* was firſt carried by the Earl of *Bothwel* to the Houſe of *Elphinſton*, where the Cardinal was; from thence he was conveyed to the Caſtle of *Edinburgh*, and from that to the Cardinal's Caſtle of St. *Andrew*'s. Thither the Cardinal wrote to the other Prelates to conveen on the 27th of *February*: And in that Meeting Mr. *Wiſhart* was ſentenced to be burnt the 1ſt of *March*; which was accordingly put in Execution: And that Day the Cardinal cauſed be proclaimed thro' the City of St. *Andrew*'s, That no Perſon ſhould pray for the Heretick, under Penalty of the ſevereſt Eccleſiaſtical Cenſures. Mr. *Wiſhart* was a Son of *Pitarrow* in the *Merns*. He had been in his younger Years Maſter of the Grammar-School at *Montroſe*; and had afterwards ſtudied at *Cambridge*: He is reckoned to have been the worthieſt Perſon

and burnt.

His Character.

1545-6. of all thoſe who ſupported the new Doctrines in this Kingdom. He returned into *Scotland* in the Year 1544; and an Account of his Labours, and the laſt Scene of his Life, is written pretty fully by our other Hiſtorians, to whom I refer. But perhaps there is one Paſſage which ſome would expect I ſhould not omit; and that is, the prophetical Warning which he is ſaid to have declared againſt the Cardinal at the Time of his Death. The Matter was thus: The Cardinal, as is reported, was viewing the Execution from a Window overlaid with Tapeſtry; and after the Fire had begun to burn about Mr. *Wiſhart*, he is ſaid to have expreſt himſelf in theſe or the like Words: *This Flame hath ſcorched my Body, yet it hath not daunted my Spirit; but he who from yonder high Place beholdeth us with ſuch Pride, ſhall within few Days ly in the ſame as ignominiouſly, as now he is ſeen proudly to reſt himſelf.* I confeſs I give but ſmall Credit to this, and to ſome other Things related concerning ſome of thoſe Perſons that ſuffered for Religion in our Country, and which upon that Account I have all along omitted to narrate. I own I think them ridiculous enough, and ſeemingly contrived; at leaſt magnified, on purpoſe to render the Judges and Clergymen of that Time odious and deſpicable in the Eyes of Men. And as to this Paſſage concerning Mr. *Wiſhart*, it may be noticed, that there is not one Word of it to be met with in the firſt Edition of Mr. *Knox*'s Hiſtory; and if the Thing had been true in Fact, I cannot ſee how Mr. *Knox*, who was ſo good an Acquaintance of Mr. *Wiſhart*, and no farther diſtant from the Place of his Execution than Eaſt *Lothian*, and who continued ſome Months along with the Murderers of Cardinal *Beton* in the Caſtle of St. *Andrew*'s, could either be ignorant of the Story, or neglect to inſert in his Hiſtory ſo remarkable a Prediction. And it has even its own Weight, that Sir *David Lindſay*, who lived at that Time, and wrote a Poem called *The Tragedy of Cardinal* Beton, in which he rakes together all the worſt Things that could be ſuggeſted againſt this Prelate; yet makes no mention, either of his glutting himſelf inhumanely with the Spectacle of Mr. *Wiſhart*'s Death, nor of any prophetical Intermination made by Mr. *Wiſhart* concerning the Cardinal; nor doth Mr. *Fox* take notice of either of theſe Circumſtances: So that I am much of the mind, that it has been a Story trump'd up a good Time after the Murder.

Not only did the Clergy in general, and the Cardinal's Friends highly applaud him for the Execution of Mr. *Wiſhart*, without the Approbation, and even without the Knowledge and Conſent of the Governor, who had deſired the Trial might be delayed till he himſelf ſhould come to St. *Andrew*'s; but the Cardinal himſelf was no doubt greatly pleaſed therewith, as hoping that now he had given a deadly Blow to the Hereſy, and that his Enemies would henceforth be kept in Fear and Subjection. And yet ſo uncertain are the Iſſues of all humane Conſultations, that this very Thing proved the Rock on which he and all his Fortunes periſhed: For not only were the Minds of the Commons much irritated by this Execution, but even the Humours of ſome of high Rank, who otherwiſe bore no good Will to the Cardinal, were ſo ſharpned and inraged at his Perſecutions, that they openly avowed the Blood of Mr. *Wiſhart* ſhould not paſs unrevenged. Soon after this the Cardinal went into *Angus*, to be preſent at the Marriage of his Daughter *Margaret* (*a*), with *David Lindſay* Maſter of *Crawford*, at *Finhaven*, the then Dwelling-houſe of the Earl of *Crawford*, where the Nuptials were ſolemnized with great Pomp and Magnificence. Whilſt this was adoing, Mr. *Buchanan* informs us, that the Cardinal received Intelligence how that the King of *England* was making great naval Preparations to infeſt the *Scottiſh* Coaſts; and that thereupon he immediately returned to St. *Andrew*'s, and appointed a Day for the Gentlemen of that Country, which lyes much expoſed to the Sea, to meet, and conſult in common, what Remedy to apply to the preſent Evil. He likewiſe began to fortify

Cardinal *Beton* marrieth his Daughter to the Maſter of *Crawford*;

(*a*) I have ſeen a Copy of the Contract of Marriage in the Hands of *David Beton* of *Balfour*. It is dated at St. *Andrew*'s the 10th of *April* 1546, and ſubſcribed by the Cardinal, who expreſly calls the Bride, *My Daughter*; with whom he gives 4000 Merks in Dowry: A great Sum at that Time. The King of *England* gave but 6800 Merks with his Niece to the Earl of *Lennox*.

1546.

tify his own Caſtle of St. *Andrew*'s more ſtrongly than it had been before. Amongſt other Perſons who repaired to the Cardinal, was *Norman Leſly* eldeſt Son to the Earl of *Rothes*. This Man had formerly done Services to the Cardinal; but meeting now with ſome Diſappointment from him, with reſpect to a certain Buſineſs depending betwixt them two, he departed with Thoughts full of Revenge, and inveighed openly amongſt his Friends againſt the intolerable Pride of the Cardinal; inſomuch that they entred into a horrid Deſign to take away his Life.

and ſhortly thereafter is murdered.

The Accomplices went early in the Morning on *Saturday* the 29th of *May*, and expelled from the Caſtle of St. *Andrew*'s all the Servants and Workmen, having firſt ſeized the Porter, and ſecured the Gate. This was performed with ſo little Noiſe, that the Cardinal knew nothing of it till they knock'd at the Chamber-door where he lay: Then he asked, *Who was there?* *John Leſly* made anſwer, My Name is *Leſly*. *Which* Leſly, ſaid the Cardinal*? Is it* Norman*?* It was anſwered, That he muſt open to thoſe that were there. This Anſwer made the Cardinal fear the worſt; and therefore he began to ſecure the Door: And whilſt they were uſing Force to make it open, he asked, *Will ye ſave my Life?* *John Leſly* anſwered, Perhaps we will. *Nay*, replied the Cardinal, *but ſwear unto me by God, and I will open*. To which *John* anſwered, What was ſaid is unſaid; and then he called for Fire to burn the Door. Upon which the Cardinal, after a Promiſe given him, as ſome relate, that no Violence ſhould be uſed, thought fit to open the Door; and then ſat him down on a Chair, ſaying, *I am a Prieſt, ye will not ſlay me*. Howbeit *John Leſly* ſmote him once or twice, as did likewiſe *Peter Carmichael*; but *James Melvil (a Man*, ſays Mr. *Knox*, in his Account of this barbarous Murder, *of Nature moſt gentle and moſt modeſt)* perceiving them both to be in Choler, ſaid, " This Work (a) and Judgment of God, altho' it be ſecret, " ought to be done with greater Gravity:" And, preſenting to the Cardinal the Point of his Sword, ſaid, " Repent thee of thy former wicked Life, but " eſpecially of the ſhedding of the Blood of that notable Inſtrument of God " Mr. *George Wiſhart*, which albeit the Flame of Fire conſumed before Men, " yet crys it for Vengeance upon thee; and we from God are ſent to revenge " it (b). For here, before my God, I proteſt, That neither the Hatred of " thy Perſon, the Love of thy Riches, nor the Fear of any Trouble thou " couldſt have done to me in particular, moved or moveth me to ſtrick thee; " but only becauſe thou haſt been, and remaineſt an obſtinate Enemy againſt " Chriſt Jeſus and his holy Goſpel." This ſaid, without waiting an Anſwer, or allowing him the ſmalleſt Time for performing of that, to which he had fanatically exhorted him, he ſtabbed him twice or thrice thro' the Body, and ſo left him weltering in his Blood. Mean Time the Noiſe ſpread, that the Caſtle was taken: Whereupon ſuch as favoured the Cardinal poſted thither in all haſte, and called out for Ladders to ſcale the Walls; but when it was told them that the Cardinal was dead, whom they ſought to reſcue, their Hearts cool'd, and they diſperſed at the Sight of his dead Body, being ſhewed to them from that Place where before he had beheld the Execution of Mr. *Wiſhart (c)*, as the Story is now related.

(a) In the 8*vo* Edition of *Knox*'s Hiſtory, there is the following marginal Note, *viz.* " The Godly Fact and Words of *James* " *Melvin*;" but in the 4*to* and *folio* Editions, the Word *Godly* is ſuppreſſed by the Editors.

(b) Conformable to this enthuſiaſtick Notion, Mr. *Calderwood* in his Hiſtory Page 2d hath theſe Words, *viz.* " The Cardinal " intended farder, if the Lord had not ſtirred up ſome Men of Courage to cut him off in Time." And Mr. *Fox* in his Martyrology ſays, theſe Men were *ſtirred up by the Lord*. Were I by Opinion a *Predeſtinarian*, I would not ſtick to affirm that they had been ſtirred up to this heinous Sin for their farther and more certain Condemnation. But as I am not, I have as little Scruple to ſay, that they have been ſtirred up to it by ſome one elſe than the Lord.

(c) Mr. *Dempſter*, in his *Hiſtoria Eccleſiaſtica* p. 598, printed at *Bononia* 1627, affirms that Mr. *Wiſhart* was in the Plot to take away the Cardinal's Life; and ſo might eaſily foretell his Death. And Dr. *Mackenzie*, in his Life of Mr. *Wiſhart*, has given us a Scrape of a Letter that ſeems ſtrongly to ſupport the Truth of that Aſſertion. But becauſe the Letter is not among Mr. *Sadler*'s Letters, nor can I find it in the Lawyers Library, after a great Deal of Search made for it, tho' the Doctor ſays it is there to be met with; I can determine nothing in the Matter. However I ſhall here ſet down the Letter as publiſhed by the Doctor.

1546. Thus died Cardinal *David Beton* (a), the laſt of that Dignity in *Scotland.* He was born in the Year 1494, and was a Son of the Family of *Balfour* in the Shire of *Fife*. The Beginning of his Promotion has very probably riſen from his Uncle the preceeding Archbiſhop of St. *Andrew's*. In the Year 1519 he was ſent to reſide at the Court of *France:* And his Uncle beſtowed upon him the Rectory of *Campſay*; and about the 1524, he gave him the Abbacy of *Aberbrothock*, reſerving to himſelf the half of the Rents. He returned into *Scotland* in 1525; and in 1528 was made Lord *Privy-Seal*. In 1533 Abbot *Beton* was again ſent into *France*, together with Sir *Thomas Erſkine* of *Brechin* the Secretary, to confirm the Leagues ſubſiſting betwixt the two Kingdoms; and to negociate a Marriage for our King *James* V. with *Magdalen* the *French* King's Daughter: But that Princeſs being ſickly, the Marriage went not forward at that Time. There is great Probability that the Abbot did remain in *France* for ſome good Space after this; during which, as Tradition handed down in the Family of *Balfour* informs us, he became mighty agreeable to that King; who perceiving his Mettle and Parts, and knowing withal the Favour he had from his own Sovereign the King of *Scotland*, was deſirous to keep him in *France*; hoping by his Influence to retain our King firm to his own Intereſt, in Oppoſition to that of the King of *England*, Uncle to our King. However, it appears by Sir *David Lindſay*'s Tragedy, that the Cardinal was in *Scotland* after Queen *Magdalen*'s Death, that he paſſed again into *France*, and returned home in Company with Queen *Mary*. What former Gratifications the King of *France* beſtowed upon the Abbot, I cannot tell; but in the Year 1537, he was conſecrated Biſhop of *Mirepoix* in that Kingdom on the 5th *December*; and by that King's Favour, he was made a Cardinal on the 20th *December* 1538, by the Title of *Sancti Stephani in monte Cœlio*. And I ſee in the Advocates Library, the Copy of a Grant dated the 30th *June* 1539, for Services the Cardinal had already done, and which he might afterwards do to his Majeſty, allowing his Heirs to ſucceed to his Eſtate in *France*, altho' the ſaid Heirs ſhould be born and live within the Kingdom of *Scotland*, and tho' they ſhould have no particular Letter or Act of Naturalization in *France*. And this new Grant, that King ſays, is in conſequence of a former one in *November* 1537, by which the Abbot was allowed to hold Benefices, acquire Lands, Nobility, *&c.* as a Native of *France*. Thus 'tis certain that Mr. *Beton* was raiſed to the Dignity, both of Biſhop and Cardinal, by the Means of the King of *France:* But the Cardinal knowing that his Uncle the Archbiſhop of St. *Andrew*'s could not live many Years, by reaſon of old Age, and that the King's Favour to *both* might make him hope to become his Uncle's Succeſſor, he determined to return to *Scotland:* Where ſoon after his Arrival, he obtained an entire Management of his Uncle's Dioceſs and Primacy, having been made Co-adjutor of the Archbiſhoprick of St. *Andrew*'s; and being recommended by his Uncle to the King ſometime before his Deceaſe, the King agreed, and his Nomination to that Primacy was confirmed by the Pope. Upon the Death of King *James*, the Cardinal was proclaimed principal Adminiſtrator of the Kingdom; but in a few Days he was forced to quit that Office to the Earl of *Arran*, by whom the Cardinal

The Hiſtory and Character of Cardinal *Beton*.

Earl of Hartford'*s Letter to King* Henry, *17th* April, 1544.

"THis Day arrived from *Scotland* Mr. *Wiſhart*, who brought me a Letter from my Lord *Brimſton*, which I ſend your Highneſs herewith, and according to his Requeſts, I have taken Order of the Repair of the ſaid Mr. *Wiſhart* to your Majeſty, for the Delivery of ſuch Letters as he hath to your Majeſty from the Lord *Brimſton*; and alſo for the ſaid Declaration of his Credence, which, as I can perceive by him, conſiſteth of two Points; one in the Laird of *Grange*, late Treaſurer of *Scotland*, and the Maſter of *Rothes*, the Earl of *Rothes* his eldeſt Son, and *John Chartres*, who would attempt either to apprehend or ſlay the Cardinal at ſome Time when he ſhould paſs through the *Fife*-Land, as he doth ſundry Times to St. *Andrew*'s; and in caſe they can ſo apprehend him, will deliver him up to your Majeſty; which Attempt, he ſays they would enterprize if they knew your Majeſty's Pleaſure therein; and what Supportation and Maintenance your Majeſty will miniſter unto them after the Execution of the ſame, in caſe they ſhould be purſued afterwards by any other Enemies." *Nota*, This might be *Wiſhart* of *Pitarrow*.

(a) They now write their Name *Bethune*. But in the Time that the Cardinal lived, I find it written in the Records, *Beton*, or *Betoun*.

Cardinal was ſometime after ſhut up in Priſon, for his vigorous Adherence to the *French* Intereſt, againſt that of *England*, in the Diſpoſal of our Infant-Queen: Yet he managed Matters ſo, that in a few Months, he not only got out of Priſon, but gained an entire Command of that Earl, turning him from the *Engliſh* to the *French* Alliance; was by his Lordſhip made Chancellor of the Kingdom, and prevailed with him ſo far as to ſollicit at *Rome* for his being made Vicar or Legate *à latere (a)* for the Pope in the Kingdom of *Scotland*, as an additional Luſtre to his former Dignities. 1546.

After this Account of our Cardinal *(b)*, I ſuppoſe I need ſay little concerning the Qualifications of his Mind. He was undoubtedly a Man of great Parts and Dexterity: It were to be wiſhed, the ſame Praiſe could be given him with reſpect to his Morals. Mrs. *Marion Ogilvy*, a Daughter of the Predeceſſor of the Earls of *Airly*, bare him ſeveral Children; ſome of whoſe Deſcendents, both of the Male and Female Line, are known to be Perſons of good Note in our Country to this Day. As ſeveral of our Nobility found it their temporal Intereſt, as much as their ſpiritual, to ſway with the new Opinions as to religious Matters; ſo the Cardinal found it his Intereſt to bear down the ſame with all his Might. For this Purpoſe he in all his Adminiſtration, both Eccleſiaſtick and Secular, treated the Preachers and their Abettors with great Severity; that being, as he thought, the ſureſt Method to ſuppreſs the growing Evil. And what might have proved to be the Iſſue of ſuch Procedure, had he enjoyed his Life for any conſiderable Time, I ſhall not pretend to judge: Only this ſeems to be certain, that by his Death the Reins of the Government were much looſned; and ſome Perſons came to be conſiderable ſoon after, who probably, if he had lived, had never got the Opportunity to perpetrate ſuch Villanies, under the Cloak of Religion, as 'tis certain they did; he being at leaſt no leſs a *Stateſman* than a *Clergyman*.

CHAP. V.

Containing Affairs of State, from the Deſcent made by the Engliſh *Navy* Anno 1544, *until the Advancement of the Queen-Mother to be Regent of the Kingdom,* Anno 1554.

IN the preceeding Chapter of State-Affairs, I have ſhown how the Treaties depending with *England* had been annulled: And as it was natural for the Government of *Scotland* to look for new Reſentments from the King of *England*, conſidering what he had practiſed during the Courſe of theſe Treaties, or rather after they had been concluded; ſo it was neceſſary our Government ſhould provide all they could to make head againſt ſuch Deſigns. In conſideration of which, Diſpatches were ſent, during the Winter Seaſon, and in the Spring following, requeſting Succours from the Pope, the Kings of *France* and *Denmark*; nor did the Government omit to endeavour an amicable Compoſure of Affairs with the King of *England*, by offering a new Treaty. But notwithſtanding all their Precautions, they were anticipated by the Fury of that King, whoſe Armies, both by Sea and Land, were ordered to invade *Scotland* betimes in the Year. To this Purpoſe *Ed-* 1544.

(*a*) The original Bull conſtituting him Legate *à latere*, is to be ſeen in the Appendix of Biſhop *Burnet*'s 2d Volume of the Hiſtory of the Reformation. It bears Date 30th *January* 1543: But this ſeems to be a Miſtake in the Tranſcriber or Printer, for 1544; for I do not remember that by the *Roman* Account the Year did commence at any other Time than the firſt of *January*. That it was in the Year 1544 appears, not only by the Addition of *Pontificatus noſtri Anno decimo* (that Pope being created 12th *October* 1534) but alſo by a Letter of the Earl of *Arran* to the ſame Pope, dated at *Stirling* 30th *March* 1544, wherein he takes notice that that Juriſdiction was granted the 10th of *February*; which doubtleſs was the *February* immediately preceeding.

(*b*) We had never but one other Cardinal in this Kingdom, *viz. Walter Wardlaw* Biſhop of *Glaſgow*, a worthy Prelate, in the Reign of King *Robert* II.

1544.

A great Fleet from *England* arrives in *Scotland*,

ward Seymour Earl of *Hartford*, afterwards Duke of *Somerſet*, and Uncle to the Prince of *Wales*, was conſtituted Lieutenant General of the North, and appointed to conduct the Land Forces, conſiſting of 10000 Men *(a)*, to be imbarked aboard a Navy of 200 Ships, lying at *Tinmouth*, and commanded by *Dudley* Lord *Liſle*, then Lord Admiral of *England*. This Fleet appeared in the Frith of *Edinburgh* on *Saturday* the 3d Day of *May* 1544; and having landed the Army a little above *Leith*, they began to commit Hoſtilities in that Town. Hereupon the Governor ſent Sir *Adam Otterburn* Provoſt of *Edinburgh*, to enquire the Reaſon of ſuch Threats and Hoſtilities, without a previous Declaration of War; and to offer a Treaty for a friendly compoſing of Differences. The General made anſwer, That his Commiſſion extended to the burning and laying waſte the Country, unleſs the Governor would deliver the young Queen to his Maſter *(b)*. To this the Provoſt replied, That the *Scots* were reſolved to endure the laſt Extremity, rather than yield to ſo unjuſt a Demand. After this, the Governor finding himſelf in no Condition to make Reſiſtance againſt ſo great a Force, retired to *Linlithgow*: And the *Engliſh*, after having landed their Ordnance, *&c.* and being joined at *Leith* with 4000 (our Hiſtorians ſay 6000) Horſe from *Berwick*, under the Conduct of the Lord *Evers*, came up to *Edinburgh*; but were repulſed at the Eaſt Gate called the *Nether-Bow*; on which they retired to *Leith*. That Night the Inhabitants left the City; and next Day the *Engliſh* advanced again, and broke open the Ports with their Cannon, and began to raiſe a Battery againſt the Caſtle; but *Hamilton* Laird of *Stenhouſe*, Captain of the Caſtle, ply'd them ſo cloſe with his great Guns, from the *Half Moon* fronting the high Street, that he ſoon diſmounted their Battery, killed many Men, and forced them to quit their Enterprize: Whereupon they ſet themſelves to the burning of the City, which laſted three Days. Mean time the Governor, the Cardinal, the Earls of *Huntly*, *Argile*, *Bothwel*, *Murray* and others, did all they could to get together an Army; and that all Party-differences might be buried in a national Preſervation, the Earl of *Angus*, his Brother Sir *George Douglas*, the Lord *Maxwel*, and the Lord *Kilmaurs*, eldeſt Son to the Earl of *Caſſils*, then in Cuſtody, were all ſet at Liberty. The *Engliſh*, after they had thus burnt *Edinburgh*, and the Palace of *Holy-rood-houſe*, retired, and remained at *Leith*, ſpoiling the Country for ſeven Miles round, and making Pillage of every thing they could carry to their Ships. After which, finding that an Army was a-coming againſt them, they firſt ſet Fire to *Leith* on the 13th of *May*, then reimbarked ſo many of their Forces as they thought proper, and on the 15th ſet Sail and were gone, taking along with them two large Ships, the *Salamander* and *Unicorn*, which Mr. *Stow* ſays were of *notable Fairneſs*, beſides other Merchant Ships from the Harbour of *Leith*; and as they ſailed by the Coaſt, they took out of every Creek or Haven, all the Ships and Boats they found in them. Nor was the Land Army leſs cruel and covetous in their March to *Berwick*, burning and pillaging *Seton*, *Haddington*, *Dunbar*, and other ſmaller Villages on the Road, " in a crueller Manner (ſays Lord *Herbert*) than " became ſuch as would obtain the Favour, either of that Queen or Coun-" try, for their young Prince." Aboard this Fleet the Earl of *Lennox* ſailed into *England*, as hath been already obſerved.

and burns *Leith* and *Edinburgh*,

and ravages all the Country about.

This Expedition, *thus glorioſly ended*, ſays the laſt mentioned noble Hiſtorian, (one would think ironically) the King of *England* found his main Deſign nothing advanced: He had done too much for a Suiter, and too little for a Conqueror. However, it ſeems that King pleaſed himſelf with this Reflection, That ſeeing he could not *obtain*, he would ſtudy to *chaſtiſe*; and if ſuch violent Meaſures did not procure a Wife to his Son, he would at leaſt ſtrive

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(*a*) Some of our Hiſtorians ſay, they were near 20000.

(*b*) I ſuppoſe this may be all the Ground that Mr. *Buchanan* has, for affirming that King *Henry* ſent Letters into *Scotland* full of juſt Complaints, before he ſent his Fleet and Army. No other Author that I know, makes Mention of theſe Letters. But we are ſure that a Letter was ſent by the Earl of *Arran* to that King, entreating an Accommodation; which ſee in the Appendix, Numb. 8.

ſtrive to add a Conqueſt to his Kingdom: Which that he hoped, is plain from the Treaty of Marriage mentioned before, betwixt him and the Earl of *Lennox*, for his Niece, dated *June* the 26th this Year; wherein he ſtipulates to conſtitute the ſaid Earl, Governor of *Scotland*, for the King of *England*, after he ſhall become Maſter of that Kingdom. And it was in view of ſuch a Conqueſt, that ſoon after this Treaty, and the Conſummation of the Marriage, the foreſaid Earl was ſent, with eighteen Ships *(a)*, and about 600 Men, into the Frith of *Clyde*, for ſecuring to that King the Caſtle of *Dunbarton*, then kept for the Earl by *George Stirling*; for recovering what other Places pertained to himſelf in thoſe Parts, and for haraſſing and intimidating this Kingdom all they were able. Mr. *Stirling* at firſt received the Earl very joyfully; but how ſoon he underſtood his Deſign of betraying his Country into the Hands of a foreign Power, he obliged his Lordſhip, and the *Engliſh* Men that landed with him, to return to their Ships. After this Repulſe, the Earl of *Lennox* ſailed back into *England*, having in his Paſſage hither, according to *Holinſhed*, burnt and deſtroyed ſeveral Places along the Weſt Coaſt; and likewiſe in his Return ſkirmiſhed much with the Earl of *Argile*, who endeavoured to ſtop his Ships in the narrow Part of the Frith. And that he pillaged and burnt the Country, and havocked the Iſles of *Bute* and *Arran*, is ſufficiently documented by the Tenor of the Forfeiture paſt againſt him in Parliament, 1ſt *October* 1545. Theſe Things fell out in the Month of *Auguſt* 1544.

The ſame Year, the Earl of *Lennox* arrives in the Weſt, with *Engliſh* Ships, and does great Damage.

The King of *England* had croſſed the Seas, and landed at *Bologne* in *France*, in the Month of *July*; and thither the Governor of *Scotland*, conſidering the many Inroads the *Engliſh* made upon our Borders, had ſent Sir *George Meldrum* of *Fyvie* in *Aberdeen* Shire, Ambaſſador to that King, to demand a Truce, until ſuch Time as Commiſſaries from both Kingdoms could meet on the Borders, in order to ſettle their Matters. To this King *Henry* conſented, and granted a Truce: But notwithſtanding thereof, after his Return into *England* in the Month of *October* following, he ſent the Earl of *Lennox*, the Lord *Dacres*, and Sir *Thomas Wharton*, with Forces into *Scotland*; who carried all before them, and drove away much Plunder without Reſiſtance. Theſe Succeſſes ſo puffed up the *Engliſh*, that ſome of their principal Men made a ſecond Inroad into *Scotland* during the Winter, to the no ſmall Deſolation of our Southern Provinces. This ſtill emboldned them more and more, ſo that in the Spring following the ſame Perſons made us a third Viſit; at which Time they found to their Coſt, Succeſs is not always to be relied upon: For now the Governor, the Earl of *Angus*, and others of the Nobility, being gathered together, with about 6 or 800 Men, entirely routed the *Engliſh*, to the Number of at leaſt 5000, at *Ancrum*, on the 17th Day of *February* 1544-5, with the Loſs only of two or three private Men. But Biſhop *Leſly* ſays, that our Soldiers were much too cruel againſt the *Engliſh* in their Flight; ſo as he takes notice, after that Day we had never any tolerable Succeſs.

King *Henry* grants a Truce; but ſoon breaks it.

His Men make ſeveral ſucceſſful Inroads upon *Scotland*:

But are at laſt worſted at *Ancrum-moor*.

About the Middle of the Month of *May* 1545, or thereby *(b)*, arrived in *Scotland* Captain *Lorge Montgomery*, Knight of the Order of St. *Michael*, with about 3500 Men from the King of *France*, as a Supply to ſupport us againſt the prevailing Power of *England*: Soon after whoſe Arrival, *viz.* 7th *June*, the Lord Governor and Council ordained Letters to be directed to all Prelates, Earls, Lords and great Barons of the Realm, to aſſemble at *Edinburgh* on the 23d of the ſame Month, for their Advice and Counſel. And on the 28th of the ſame Month, the Lord Governor and Lords of Council ordain Letters to be directed to all Sheriffs, *&c.* by open Proclamation to command and charge all the Lieges, between ſixty and ſixteen, to conveen at the Moor of *Roſlin* on the 28th of *July*, in order to paſs forward with my Lord Governor to the Borders, for Defence of the Realm, and reſiſting of our *auld Inymyis*

Succours arrive from *France*.

(a) *Epiſt. Reg. Scot.* Vol. 2d, p. 218.

(b) Tho' our Hiſtorians, both *Scottiſh* and *Engliſh*, differ widely concerning the Time of this Gentleman's Arrival; yet it muſt have been at the Time I here aſſign, becauſe the Act of Council here mentioned, takes Notice of him, as being *laitlie arrivit with his Cumpany*. See the Act in Vol. 2d *Epiſt. Reg. Scot.*

1545. *myis* of *England* (a). In Compliance with this Act, an Army of 15000 *Scots*, as our Hiſtorians ſay, marched together with the *French* Auxiliaries to the Borders of *England*; but I find no material Thing performed by them. After that this Army had broken up, and had returned home, the Earl of *Hartford* gathered together about 12000 Men, and entred *Scotland*, and did great Miſchief in our Borders, as far as the *Merſe* and *Teviotdale*; and then retired. In the Beginning of the Winter *Monſ. de Lorge* returned into *France*: And the Parliament of *Scotland* being met at *Linlithgow*, and taking under their Conſideration the lamentable Condition of the Borders, did, on the 2d Day of *October*, appoint 1000 Horſemen to be hired for lying there during the remaining Part of Winter, after the 15th Day of that Month, to ſecure the Inhabitants of thoſe Countries, and their Goods, from the Incurſions of the *Engliſh*: And the Parliament ordered the Sum of *L.* 16000 to be levied, from the Spiritual and Temporal Eſtates, and the Burrows, according to the old Taxation, for the Maintenance of the ſaid Horſemen (b). Which Precaution, as far as I can perceive, put a Stop to the Border-depredations for that Year.

The Parliament orders 1000 Horſe to be levied for Defence of the Borders.

1544. Before I enter upon the new Scene of Affairs which the next Summer preſents us with, 'tis proper to take a View of what other Things fell out in the State during the preceeding Space. The Queen-Mother had ſtill retained in her Mind a Grudge againſt the Governor; and therefore, ſhe, with ſome Lords of her Faction, having the young Queen in their Hands at *Stirling*, cauſed proclaim a Parliament to be holden in that Town, the 12th of *November* 1544; in the mean Time ſuſpending the Governor from the Adminiſtration of his Office, and ſummoning him to appear before them. The Conſequence of which was, that in the Parliament (c) holden at *Edinburgh* by the Governor, in the ſaid Month of *November* 1544, there is an Act, dated the ſeventh Day thereof, declaring the pretended Parliament at *Stirling* to be null, and of none Avail, Force or Effect; and all Perſons are prohibited to concur with the ſame under Pain of Treaſon. And on the morrow, the Earls *Mariſchal* and *Montroſe*, the Lords *Seton* and *Sempil*, and Sir *James Lermont* of *Balcomy*, are ſent to *Stirling* by the Governor, at the Requeſt of the Parliament, to notify to the Queen-Mother and Lords with her, what had paſſed in Parliament, and to endeavour an Agreement, according to the Inſtructions to be given them: And in caſe the Queen, and Noblemen with her, ſhall not think fit to come into Meaſures of Concord; then the Parliament immediately declared, that they will ſtand by the Governor, and defend him in his Authority to the utmoſt of their Power. And moreover the ſame Day they paſſed another Act, which was inſtantly proclaimed at the Croſs of *Edinburgh*, ſummoning all Perſons preſently within that City, or that ſhall happen to come into it, and *all manner of Man* that dwells within the Sheriffdom of *Lothian*, to meet the Lord Governor at that City, on *Monday* the 10th of the ſaid Month, with four Days Victuals, to paſs forward with his Grace, under the Pain of Loſs of Life, Land and Goods (d). Theſe vigorous Reſolutions having been communicated by the foreſaid Lords Commiſſioners to the Queen-Mother, had probably the Effect which the Parliament deſigned, ſince we hear no more of theſe Matters.

The Queen-Mother, with a Party of the Lords, ſets up a Faction againſt the Governor, and proclaims a Parliament at *Stirling*.

But the Governor prevails.

1546. I now proceed to the Hiſtory of the Year 1546, which, as I have before hinted, opened a new Scene of Affairs in this Kingdom, by the inhumane Murder of Cardinal *Beton*. Whether any ſuch Thing had been whiſpered about, upon the apprehending of Mr. *Wiſhart*, or that the Government was only ſuſpicious of new Troubles from *England*, I offer not to gueſs: But upon

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(a) Records of Parliament.

(b) *Ibid.*

(c) The *Brief Account*, at the End of *Sadler*'s Letters, makes but 35 Members to be preſent in this Parliament; whereas there are 38 marked in the Rolls. I ſuppoſe the Author obſerved this, to ſhew the ſmall Number of Members preſent in the Parliament, at this Time; but certainly, whoever ſhall inſpect the Rolls of Parliament, will not find the Difference to be very great, conſidering alſo, that there muſt have been ſome Lords with the Queen at *Stirling*.

(d) Records of Parliament, and *Epiſt. Reg. Scot.* Vol. 2d, p. 316.

pon peruſal of the publick Records, I find the Parliament, on the 4th Day of February preceeding the Murder, to be adjourned in the following particular Manner, *viz.* 1546.

The quhilk Day, forſamekle as it is underſtand to my Lord Governour and three Eſtatis of Parliament, that thair is divers gret Materis occurrand and may occur, and the Deciſioun thairof cannot be guidlie tretit bot in Face of Parliament, becauſe it is uncertane quhen ſic Beſynes ſall happin: Thairfore it is thought expedient, be my ſaid Lord Governour and three Eſtatis forſaid, that this preſent Parliament ryn ſtill oure, but ony particular Contineuation, ay and quhil the ſamyn be diſſolvit be my ſaid Lord Governour, conform to the Actis maid yairapoun of befor.

The Parliament is adjourned, *ſine die.*

Some Perſons have affirmed to me, that there are Papers to be ſeen in the Tower of *London*, which can ſerve to inſtruct, that ſome of thoſe concerned in this Murder, were ſet on and bribed to it by the Court of *England:* And the Prefacer to the Hiſtory of the Campaigns 1548 and 1549 ſays, that this is made out by two original Letters yet extant. It is much to be wiſh'd he had informed us where to find them; or that ſuch Perſons as are ſaid to have recovered Copies of them, would afford the World the Satisfaction of ſeeing ſo remarkable a Piece of Hiſtory cleared up. Perhaps indeed ſeveral Perſons may be ready enough to give into the Belief of ſuch Management by King *Henry*, who was not reckoned to have been over nice in Matters of Conſcience; and eſpecially when he was in ſuch a Chaff at the miſ-giving of his Projects upon this Kingdom by Means of the Cardinal, that he advertiſed Mr. *Sadler* to attempt the getting into his Hands, and ſending Priſoners into *England*, the Cardinal, the Lord Governor and the young Queen. But tho' we can ſay nothing particularly as to the Matter in hand, yet of this we are certain, that no ſooner was the Murder committed, but a cloſe Correſpondence was ſettled betwixt that Court and the Murderers; notwithſtanding that in a Treaty of Peace betwixt the Kings of *France* and *England*, concluded the 7th of *June* that Year, in the open Field near the Village of *Campenſton* in the Neighbourhood of the Town of *Ardres* in *Picardy*, the *Scottiſh* Nation is comprehended *(a)*; the King of *England* obliging himſelf, not to wage War againſt us, unleſs new Occaſion be given him. Thirty Days were allowed to the King of *France* to make Notification of this Peace and Comprehenſion, to the Government of *Scotland*. And on the 14th of *Auguſt* thereafter, there is an Act of our Parliament, accepting of the ſaid Comprehenſion: And the Peace betwixt the two Nations was proclaimed thro' all the Borders of this Realm. But it ſeems the King of *England* altered *(b)* his Mind, after his hearing of the Cardinal's Death: For the ſame Day that the Act of Acceptance was paſt in our Parliament, we find in the Regiſters, Inſtructions to be ſent to the Ambaſſador of *France*, then at the Court of *England*, deſiring him to complain that the Wardens for that Crown upon the Borders, had made Proclamation of an Abſtinence from War during the King of *England*'s Pleaſure only; as alſo, that even after the ſaid Proclamation, divers Incurſions had been made within this Realm by *Engliſh* Men. Likewiſe the foreſaid *French* Ambaſſa-

Peace concluded betwixt *France* and *England*, in which *Scotland* is comprehended:

(*a*) *Fœdera Angliæ.*

(*b*) Or rather it is certain, that King *Henry* had never any real Will to grant any ſuch Comprehenſion, tho' it ſeems the Neceſſity of his Affairs, and the Peremptorineſs of the Court of *France*, obliged him to accept of it as an Article of the Peace. For in a Letter to his Ambaſſadors, ſometime before the concluding of the Peace, we find him expreſſing himſelf in the following Manner, "And touching the Comprehenſion of the *Scots*, our Pleaſure is, that you ſhall travell as earneſtly as you may, to have this Truex "concluded, without any Comprehenſion of them; whom we wold moſt gladely, and think it neceſſary, to be left out; for "without that, this Truex, ſerving the *French* King to many Purpoſes, ſhould be to us every Way overmuch prejudicial; and "therfor, lykas we for our Parte, can be pleaſed to conclude this Truex generally with them, without Comprehenſion of any "States or Princes; ſo we think it Reaſon, that they ſhall conclude with us after the like Sorte: For it hath not ben ſeen in any "Treaty of Truex, that we have made with any Prince in all our Tyme, that any other Prince hath byn comprehended.

"And further, you may alſo declare to th' Ambaſſadors, as wel *French*, as of the *Proteſtants*, how that by ſuch Treaties of A"mitie, as be betwene us and our good Brother th' Emperor, we may not in any wiſe comprehend the *Scots*, in this, or any o"ther Treaty of Truex or Peace." *Fœdera Angliæ.* An Original.

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dor is requeſted to deſire the King of *England*, that he will not ſuffer any Traitors of the Realm of *Scotland*, and eſpecially the Murderers of Cardinal *Beton*, to be received, maintained, helped nor ſupplied within his Realm. Inſtructions to the ſame Purpoſe were drawn up, and given to our Ambaſſadors who were to be ſent ſometime after this to the King of *France*. And becauſe our Government had certain Advertiſement that the King of *England* intended to ſend an Army into *Scotland* in the Month of *February* following, our ſaid Ambaſſadors had it in their Inſtructions, to preſs the King of *France* to ſend us Aſſiſtance of Men, Money, Arms and Engines, before the 15th of that Month. I lay theſe Things together, only to ſhew by authentick Documents, what the Behaviour of the King of *England* was towards our Nation in a Time of Peace, then in much Perplexity by the Murder of Cardinal *Beton*, who tho' he was not the Governor of the Kingdom, yet undoubtedly had in his Hands the Direction of all our principal Affairs. And becauſe his Death did bring upon the State much Diſturbance, both from the Abettors of it at home, and from the King and Government of *England*; it will be neceſſary here to narrate diſtinctly what fell out in this Kingdom after the Commiſſion of that inhumane Barbarity.

But King *Henry* not intending to keep the Peace, the Governor preſſes for Aſſiſtance from *France*.

Proceedings of the Government, after the Murder of Cardinal *Beton.*

Immediately after the Murder, the Perpetrators thereof ſhut up the Gates of the Caſtle of St. *Andrew*'s, being reſolved to make the beſt of it againſt the Government: And that odious Fact being noiſed abroad, ſeveral of thoſe that affected a different Way of Worſhip from the Cardinal, repaired thither, and entred the Caſtle, to the Number of about 140 Perſons, being determined to venture their Lives in the Quarrel. The firſt Thing the Court ſet about, was to make a new Chancellor in place of the Deceaſt: And the Choice fell upon the Earl of *Huntly*, *quha*, (as the Regiſter of Council bears) *acceptit (a) the ſaid Office, in and apoun him.* And the ſame Day being the 10th of *June*, the great Seal was appended by the new Chancellor at *Stirling*, to a Summons of Treaſon ſerved againſt the Murderers, *(b)* citing them to compear before the Parliament on the 30th of *July*, within the City of *Edinburgh*. Next Day, the Council iſſued out an Order, diſcharging all Perſons to correſpond with the Murderers of the Cardinal, or furniſh them with Eatables or Implements of War, under the Pain of Death, Forfeiture, &c. On the 29th of *July* the Parliament met, and continued the Summons of Treaſon, until the 4th of *Auguſt* following. Upon Peruſal of the Regiſters it appears, that *Norman Leſly*, *James Kircaldy*, *Peter Carmichael* and *John Leſly*, had offered to the Government and Eſtates of Parliament, a Confeſſion of all Things relating to the Murder, and to deliver up the Governor's eldeſt Son, whom they had found in the Caſtle of St. *Andrew*'s; as alſo the ſaid Caſtle, upon Condition that they have granted them a Remiſſion under the Great Seal. To theſe Offers the Governor and Eſtates gave Ear; but the Archbiſhop of *Glaſgow* proteſted, that no Remiſſion ſhould be allowed them, unleſs they firſt obtained an Abſolution from the Pope, for the Murder committed by them. The Chancellor likewiſe proteſted, that in caſe the ſaid *Norman Leſly* and his Collegues, fulfilled not the Articles promiſed by them, the Remiſſion ſhould be null in itſelf, and of no Avail. It appears likewiſe from the Regiſters, that the foreſaid Perſons began very early to flinch from theſe their Propoſals, notwithſtanding that their Remiſſion

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(a) By this, the Reader will obſerve a Miſtake in the formerly mentioned Author of the *Brief Account, &c.* who, p. 451, tells us, " That Cardinal *Beton* came into the Chancellor's Office, in a very haughty Manner; for both before and ſince that Time, " when any Alteration was made in that high Office, the Records bear ſuch a Perſon to have been made *Chancellor*. But ſuch " was the Pride and Ambition of the Cardinal, that 'tis entred in the Records of Parliament, *That he accepted the Office upon him,* " *at the Deſire of the Governour and the Eſtates.*" I hope this hath been only a Miſtake, and that this Author had no ſiniſter Intention therein.

(b) The Perſons contained in the Summons were theſe, *viz. Normane Leſlie* Fear of *Rothes*, *Petir Carmichael* of *Balmadie*, *James Kirkcaldie* of the *Grange*, *William Kirkcaldie* his eldeſt Son, *David Kirkcaldie* his Brother, *Jhonne Kirkcaldie*, *Patrick Kirkcaldie*, *George Kirkcaldie* Brothir to the ſaid *James Kirkcaldie* of the *Grange*, *Thomas Kirkcaldie* his Son, *Jhonne Leſlie* of *Parkhill*, *Alexander Inglis*, *James Malvil* elder, *Jhonne Malvil* Baſtard Son to the Lard of *Raith*, *Alexander Malvile*, *David Carmichael*, *Gilbert Geddes* Zounger, *Robert Muncrief* Brothir to the Lard of *Tibbermello*, *William Symſoun*, *Alexander Anderſoun*, *David Balfour* Son to the Lard of *Monquhany*, *Thomas Conygham*, *Nicholl Hart*, *William Guthre*, *Jhonne Sibbald* Brothir to the Lard of *Cuikſtoun*, *Petir Carmichael*, *Walter Malvil* Zoungar, Sir *Jhonne Auchinlek* Chaplane, *Nicholl Lermonth*, Sir *Jhonne Zoung* Chaplane, *David Kirkcaldie* Cuik, *Ninian Cockburn*, *Jhonne Poll* Gunnar, *William Orock*, *Jhonne Rollok* and *Andro Tanzon*.

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Remiſſion was agreed to by the Governor and Eſtates: And therefore when the Parliament met again on the 14th of *Auguſt*, the Remiſſion is ordered to be deſtroyed, and all the Articles relating to that Affair, if inſerted in the Books of Parliament, to be *revin and tane furth thairof, ſwa that na Memoir be of the ſamyn in Tyme tocum.* Alſo the ſame 14th Day, the Parliament paſt another Act, excluding the Governor's eldeſt Son [*the Cardinal, 'tis ſaid, had detained this Gentleman as a Pledge of his Father's good Inclinations*] from all Right of Succeſſion, either publick or private; and ſubſtituting his other Sons to the ſaid Succeſſion, according to their Age, ſo long as his eldeſt Son ſhall be detained Priſoner. The ſame Day alſo the Summons of Treaſon againſt the Murderers (after ſeveral Continuations) being called, and none of the Perſons therein mentioned appearing; they were all declared guilty of High Treaſon, and their Lands and Goods forfeited, except *Norman Leſly*, whoſe Doom was delayed till the 16th Day of the Month, (perhaps ſome Compliance having been expected from him) but was then pronounced againſt him. On the 11th *June*, the Earl of *Angus* (who had already fought very valiantly againſt the *Engliſh* at *Ancrum-moor)* and the Earl of *Caſſils*, the Lord *Maxwel* and Sir *George Douglas*, approved in Council the Act of Parliament *December* 1543, for Diſſolution of the Treaties made with *England*; and diſcharged all Bonds made by them to that King. On the 21ſt *Auguſt*, the Council ordains all tencible Men, of whatſoever Rank, within the Sheriffdoms of *Lothian*, *Haddington*, *Linlithgow*, *Stirling*, *Perth*, *Strathern* and *Monteith*, to be at St. *Andrew's*, *weil bodin in Feir of Weir*, on the 29th of the ſame Month of *Auguſt*, for commencing the Siege of the Caſtle thereof.

The Caſtle of St. *Andrew's* is beſieged,

The Governor aſſiſted at the Siege in Perſon, and lay before the Caſtle till towards the End of *December*, but with very ſmall Succeſs, the Caſtle being ſtrong, and the Paſſage to it open by Sea; by which Means the Beſieged received Victuals and Supply from the King of *England*, to whom they had obliged their Faith for defending the Caſtle, maintaining the Contract of Marriage betwixt our Queen and his Son, and for detaining the Governor's Son their Priſoner *(a)*. Therefore the Governor perceiving the Improbability of gaining the Caſtle, even by way of Famine, and the Beſieged ſhewing ſome Deſire of being reſtored to the Peace; the Council took under their Conſideration the bad Conſequences that might accrue, if the Beſieged ſhould yield up the Caſtle and the Governor's Son to the *Engliſh*; and ſo conſented to an Act, on the 17th *December*, impowering the Governor to treat with the Beſieged, and to give and receive Hoſtages for the mutual Performance of what ſhall be ſtipulated in the future Appointment. It was about a Month after this, according to ſome of our Hiſtorians, that the following Articles were condeſcended upon, *viz.*

and the Siege is raiſed on certain Terms.

I. That the Government ſhould procure unto the Beſieged, a ſufficient Abſolution from the Pope, for the Slaughter of the Cardinal; and that they ſhould not be purſued by Force until the ſaid Abſolution be obtained.

II. That the Beſieged, nor any belonging to them, ſhall never be proſecuted at Law for the Slaughter aforeſaid; and that they ſhall enjoy all Commodities, ſpiritual or temporal, as freely as if it had never been committed.

III. That the Beſieged ſhall give Pledges, for ſurrendring the Caſtle how ſoon the Abſolution is brought from *Rome*, and delivered unto them; and that for Surety of thoſe Pledges, the Beſieged ſhall in the mean Time retain in their Cuſtody the Governor's Son.

It is confidently reported, and indeed ſeems to be true, that neither Party had any real Deſign to implement theſe Articles; but that they rather entred into them merely to protract Time, until they ſhould receive Succours from their reſpective Friends in *France* and *England*.

(*a*) *Fœdera Angliæ.*

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As the Beſieged, notwithſtanding their Pretences to a more pure Worſhip, had during the Siege lived in much Debauchery within the Caſtle; ſo now after they had got this Reſpite, and were out of all Fear of an Enemy, they did not only make frequent Excurſions into the neighbouring Parts, and commit Depredations with Fire and Sword; but, as if the Liberty got by their Arms, were to be ſpent in Whoredoms, Adulteries, and ſuch like Vices, they ran into all the Wickedneſs which idle Perſons are ſubject to; and they meaſured *Right* and *Wrong* by no other Rule than their own Luſt. But much of their expected Supply from *England* was fruſtrated, by the Deceaſe of King *Henry* VIII. who died the 28th of *January* 1546-7: And *Francis* King of *France* died likewiſe on the 30th Day of *March* thereafter.

The Death of both the Kings of *England* and *France*.

About the Beginning of the Month of *June*, the Abſolution ſtipulated to thoſe within the Caſtle arrived from *Rome*; whereupon they were required to fulfil the Capitulation. But they excepted againſt it, becauſe of thoſe Words contained in it, *viz. Remittimus crimen irremiſſibile*, i. e. *We pardon this unpardonable Crime*: For, ſaid they, if our Crime is unpardonable, then we have no Security by this Abſolution; ſince it is in it ſelf null, if the Crime committed by us cannot be pardoned. It was anſwered, That the Clauſe was inſerted only for aggravating the Crime; and that the Abſolution notwithſtanding thereof was ſufficiently valid. However, the Beſieged would not be ſatisfied; but complaining that Promiſe was not kept to them, they reſolved to ſtand to their Defence; in hopes, no doubt, that the Succours, which they knew were preparing in *England*, would arrive in time for their Support: For King *Henry* at his Death had recommended the Proſecution of the War with *Scotland*, and the Counſellors of the young King *Edward* VI. were making vigorous Preparations for it.

Proclamations in *Scotland* for conveening all the fencible Men to oppoſe the *Engliſh*, and for ſetting up Fires to advertiſe their Coming, *&c.*

Of theſe Tranſactions in *England*, and of their Intention to invade this Kingdom both by Sea and Land, and as the Regiſter bears, *to do na leſs nor thai may to ſubdew the ſamin*, our Government was fully appriſed; and therefore, on the 19th *March*, the Council cauſed to be proclaimed thro' all the Kingdom, That all the Lieges be in Readineſs, on forty Days Warning, to come, with Victuals for one Month, to whatever Place ſhall be aſſigned for the Rendezvous. And on the 25th of *May*, another Order was emitted, for ſetting up Fires, as Beacons, on all the high Hills from the Coaſt towards *Stirling*, where the Court lay, how ſoon any Fleet from *England* ſhould appear; and if the Fleet happened firſt to be ſeen in the Day-time, that Poſt-horſes ſhould be in Readineſs for advertiſing the Governor: And that all fencible Men, betwixt ſixty and ſixteen, be charged, at the Market-croſſes of the Towns of *Dunbar*, *North-berwick*, *Haddington*, *Edinburgh*, *Linlithgow*, *Stirling*, *Lawder*, *Selkirk* and *Peebles*, to repair to the City of *Edinburgh*, *weil boddin in Feir of Weir*, at the firſt Notice of the *Engliſh* Ships, to aſſiſt the Governor in the Defence of the Realm, who on his Part declares, *That he will wair his Life thairupoun, with the Help of God, the Noblemen and Subjectis of the ſamin*. And that I may not be obliged to reaſſume the Conſideration of this Affair, but give the Reader at once a View of the Care of our Government, againſt the Preparations made by the *Engliſh*; on the firſt Day of *July*, the Privy Council and moſt part of the Nobility being aſſembled, a Proclamation was ordered out, commanding all the Lieges throughout the Kingdom, betwixt ſixty and ſixteen, to conveen on the firſt of *Auguſt*, as they ſhall be charged and advertiſed at eight Days Warning.

A Navy arrives before St. *Andrew's* from *France*.

All our Hiſtorians agree, that the Governor had gone to the Borders with a competent Army, to drive the *Engliſh* from out the Caſtle of *Langhope*, pertaining to the Lord *Maxwel*, and from other Places which they had formerly ſeized upon; and that while he was there, Advertiſement was brought him, in the End of *June*, that a *French* Navy was arrived on the Coaſt. The Governor haſted to St. *Andrew's*, where the Navy had landed, conſiſting

1547.

ing of ſixteen Gallies, commanded by *Leon* (*a*) *Strozzi*, Knight of *Malta*, Prior of *Capua*, and Captain General of the Gallies of *France*. There, by their joint Advice, the Caſtle was beſieged. Mr. *Knox*, who was in the Caſtle, informs us that the Siege was not fully formed, both by Sea and Land, till the 23d of *July*, tho' immediately upon Arrival of the Ships they began to fire againſt it by Sea; and for the firſt three Weeks, he ſays thoſe within the Caſtle had many proſperous Chances. But their Hopes and Succeſs ſoon dwindled into nothing, how ſoon the great Battery began to play, which was early in the Morning the 30th of that Month, when ſuch a Breach was made in the Wall that ſame Day being *Saturday*, as encouraged the Beſiegers to prepare for an Aſſault: Which when the Beſieged perceived, they offered to treat; and rendred the Caſtle to the Prior of *Capua*, becauſe they would not acknowledge any lawful Magiſtrate within the Kingdom being a Native. What theſe Men, or Mr. *Knox* who relates it, could mean by their knowing *no lawful Magiſtrates then in* Scotland, is no eaſy Matter to gueſs; unleſs it be, that a lawful Magiſtrate falls from his Office and Right, whenever they are diſpleaſed with him. The Conditions of Surrender were theſe, *viz.*

which recovers that Caſtle from the Murderers upon certain Conditions.

I. THAT the Lives of all within the Caſtle ſhall be ſaved.

II. THAT their Perſons ſhall be tranſported into *France*.

III. THAT if they like not the Entertainment they ſhall meet with in *France*, in that Caſe they ſhall be conveyed, at the Expence of that King, into any other Country they pleaſe, *Scotland* only excepted.

By this Surrender of the Caſtle of St. *Andrew*'s, the Governor received his Son: And the *French* Gallies having got much Spoil within the Caſtle, where all the late Cardinal's Treaſure was lying, put to Sea again four or five Days after; and the Caſtle was by Act of Council demoliſhed. Some of the Priſoners were kept all the Winter following in the Gallies; of which Number was Mr. *John Knox*, who tells us, that in *July* 1550 all the Priſoners were releaſed by the Intervention of the Queen Dowager.

In the Beginning of *September*, the Duke of *Somerſet*, Treaſurer, Earl Marſhal, Lieutenant General, and Lord Protector of *England* in the Minority of *Edward* VI. and that King's Uncle, entred *Scotland* with a well appointed Army of about 18000 Men, whilſt a Fleet of about ſixty Sail of Ships arrived alſo on our Coaſt about the ſame Time, one Half of which were Ships of War, the reſt were filled with Stores, Ammunition and Victuals. At his Advance he found the *Scottiſh* Army very numerous, and well prepared to receive him: Upon which Account, we are told, that before the enſuing unhappy Battle was fought, he (*b*) wrote a Letter to the Governor of *Scotland*, in which he declared his earneſt Deſire to have Matters amicably accommodated; and for that End conſented that our Queen ſhould remain within *Scotland* until ſhe were fit for Marriage; and further declared, that provided the *Scots* would agree to this, he would preſently withdraw his Forces, and compenſate all the Damages he had done ſince he came into *Scotland*, as they ſhould be valued by indifferent Perſons. But the Governor (as 'tis ſaid) communicated theſe Letters only to his Brother (formerly Abbot of *Paiſly*, but now Archbiſhop of St. *Andrew*'s) and two or three other Favourites; who all adviſed him to ſuppreſs the ſame, and to give out that they contained only Threatnings from the *Engliſh* to take away the Queen by Force, and to reduce the Country by Arms to their own

Engliſh Army enters *Scotland*.

(*a*) Tho' *Leſly* calls him *Peter*, yet his *Chriſtian* Name was certainly *Leon*; for I have ſeen an old *French* Copy of the Circumnavigation of the Coaſts and Iſles of our Kingdom, performed by King *James* V. which was publiſhed firſt at *Paris*, in *French*, about the Year, as I remember, 1586, by one *Arfeville*, chief Coſmographer to the *French* King: And in his Preface, he tells how, that he ſailed in this Fleet commanded by *Leon Strozzi* Prior of *Capua*, and Captain General of the Gallies of *France*. The Fleet, he ſays, conſiſted of 16 Gallies, and other Forces: And he adds, that the Beſieged beat a Parly, immediately after a Breach was made in the Wall, and before the Aſſault was given. There was another *Peter Strozzi* in the Army commanded by *Monſ. de Deſſé*, 1548 and 9.

(*b*) He refuſed to decide the Quarrel by a ſingle Combat offered him by the Earl of *Huntly* at this Time.

1547. Subjection. The two Armies did for ſome Time ly facing one another; the *Engliſh* near to the Town of *Preſton-pans*, (otherwiſe called *Salt-preſton)* ſix Miles Eaſt of *Edinburgh*; and the *Scots* about *Muſſelburgh*, *Inveresk* and *Monkton-hall*, four Miles diſtant from that City. At which laſt Place, on the 8th of *September*, an Act of Parliament was made, which provides the neareſt of Kin of any Kirk-man that ſhall happen to die in the publick Cauſe at that Time, to have Liberty of conferring the Benefice of the Deceaſt, upon his neareſt Relation that ſhall be found moſt qualified to diſcharge the Office. It was then alſo enacted, That the Heirs of any Perſons that ſhall happen to die in Defence of their Country, ſhall have their *Ward (a)*, *Non-entreſſe*, *Relief* and *Marriage*, free. As alſo, That the Heirs of any Perſons whatſoever ſo dying, ſhall have their own *Ward*, &c. free; and that their Wives, Bairns, &c. ſhall bruik (*i. e.* enjoy) their Tacks, Poſſeſſions, &c. as well of Kirk-lands as of Temporal Mens Lands, for five Years, without any Gratification to the Landlord, except the Mails and Duties uſed and wont.

and gains the the Battle of *Pinky*.

After ſeveral Skirmiſhings for a Day or two with various Succeſs, the *Scots* perceiving a Movement in the *Engliſh* Army, (whoſe Hiſtorians affirm that they were only advancing to a more commodious Piece of Ground, whereas ours ſay that they deſign'd to retire home for want of Proviſions) moſt unfortunately croſſed the Water of *Esk*; and after ſome ſmall Succeſs, too inconſiderately following the Purſuit, engaged unawares with the whole Body of the *Engliſh* Army, and were utterly routed on the riſing Ground on the Eaſt Side of that River, toward *Preſton*, oppoſite to *Muſſelburgh*, the *Engliſh* Ships doing them much Miſchief all along on their Flank, as they marched to the Field of Battle. This Battle of *Pinky* (ſo called from a fine Country Seat on the Eaſt Side of *Esk)* was fought on *Saturday* the 10th of *September*; in which the *Scots* loſt above 8000 Men, (ſome ſay near double that Number) and among thoſe *(b)* ſundry of the Nobility and Gentry. Many Priſoners were alſo taken, of which Number was the Earl of *Huntly*, Chancellor of the Kingdom, who commanded the Rear of the Army. After the Battle was over, the *Engliſh* advanced, and took the Town of *Leith*; which they pillaged and burnt: And they made an Attempt on *Edinburgh*; but in vain. Their Fleet likewiſe ſeized upon ſome ſmall Iſlands, or rather Rocks, in the River *Forth*; and on the Caſtle of *Broughty* at the Mouth of the River *Tay*; and on what Shipping they could meet with in the ſeveral Creeks and Harbours. They alſo ſet Fire to *Kinghorn*, and ſome other Towns and Villages on the Coaſt of the Frith. However, they made no long Stay in the Country, but departed homeward about the 18th of the ſame Month.

A Reſolution is taken, to ſend the young Queen into *France*: But ſhe is preſently ſent to the Caſtle of *Dunbarton* for ſafe Preſervation.

The Governor, and ſuch of the *Scottiſh* Nobility as had eſcaped ſafe from the Battle, went ſoon after to wait upon the two Queens at *Stirling*; where the Governor, in a very elegant and bold Speech, declared his Mind for continuing the War, rather than ſurrender the young Queen their Sovereign, their Rights and Privileges, to the ambitious Deſires of their haughty Enemies. The reſt of the Nobility that were preſent, applauded what he had ſaid; and talk'd of nothing but of Means for proſecuting the War. They determined to ſend the young Queen ſpeedily to the Caſtle of *Dunbarton*, under the Cuſtody of the Lords *Erskine* and *Livingſton*; and in the mean Time, to advertiſe *Henry* King of *France* how Matters went in *Scotland*; and to intreat of him a timeous Supply, both of Men and Money. Our Ambaſſadors had it alſo in Commiſſion, to ſignify to that King, the Deſire of the Eſtates, that their young Queen might retire into *France* till Time ſhould ripen her for a Husband; with plain Inſinuations, that his Son the Dauphin ſhould be the Bridegroom.

Succours arrive from *France*.

This was no doubt a Piece of welcome News to the King of *France*; who ſent over *Monſ. de Deſſé*, with 5, or as others ſay, 6000 Men under his Command:

(*a*) Theſe are certain Duties payable to the King, or other Superiors of Lands, by the Law of *Scotland*.

(*b*) The noble Perſons that were killed in this Battle, were the Lord *Fleming*, the Maſter of *Montroſe*, the Maſter of *Erskine*, the Maſter of *Methven*, the Maſter of *Ogilvy*, the Maſter of *Livingſton*, the Maſter of *Roſs*, &c.

1548.

mand: They arrived about the Middle of *June* 1548. This General, and his Succeſſor *Monſ. de Thermes*, performed many brave Actions during their Stay here: But becauſe it is not our Deſign to enter far into the Detail of theſe Things, we therefore refer the Reader to the Book, intituled, *The Hiſtory of the Campagnes* 1548 *and* 1549; I only beg Leave to deſire the Reader, to obſerve the Difference betwixt that Author's Narrative of the unfortunate Accident wherein the Provoſt *(a)* of *Edinburgh* was killed, and the Accounts thereof as publiſhed by Mr. *Knox* and Mr. *Buchanan*; as alſo, how differently the Story is told even by theſe two Gentlemen themſelves; and he will ſoon be able to judge, whether there is any Partiality in theſe Hiſtorians.

The *Engliſh* enter *Scotland* again.

The Protector of *England*, and the Privy Council of that Kingdom, finding they could not, by the Force of War, bring the *Scots* to yield their young Queen in Marriage to their King *Edward*, reſolved to alter their Manner of wooing *(b)*; and for that Purpoſe, a long Declaration was emitted *(c)*, dated the 5th *February* 1547-8, wherein they would try, if by fair Means they could gain a Conſent to the Match. But that alſo not taking Effect, the Lord *Grey* of *England* entred *Scotland* the 18th of *April* following, where he took and fortified the Town of *Haddington* with a ſtrong Garriſon. This the Governor, with the Aſſiſtance of the *French* Troops, immediately after their Arrival endeavoured to recover. And becauſe a great many of the Nobility, &c. were there preſent with the Governor, he then, in the Abbay of *Haddington*, held a Parliament *(d)*, the 7th Day of *July* 1548; and therein renewed the Conſultation concerning the Courſe to be taken with the Perſon of the young Queen. The Queen Dowager, the *French* Ambaſſador and General *(e)*, (who were both there to adviſe) gave their Opinion for ſending the Queen into *France*, and marrying her to the Dauphin. But the Noblemen were not all of the ſame Mind; for ſuch of them as favoured a Reformation of Religion, as it was called, were for accepting the Terms offered by the Court of *England*; while the Governor and the reſt, who were the more numerous, gave their Voices for the Match with *France*.

The Queen by Conſent of Parliament, is ſent to *France*.

Monſ. de Villegagnon had then four Gallies lying in the Harbour of *Leith*: With theſe he made a Feint as if he would have ſailed into *France*; but how ſoon he got out of Sight of Land, he tack'd about to the North Seas, and ſailed round the Iſles till he came to *Dunbarton*. There the young Queen was delivered over to *Monſ. de Breze*, who had been ſent by the *French* King to receive her; and with her went the Lords *Erskine* and *Livingſton*, and, as *Buchanan* writes, her natural Brother *James* Prior of St. *Andrew*'s, together with ſeveral young Noblemen and Gentlemen, her natural Aunt by the Father the Lady *Fleming*, and four young Virgins, all of the Name of *Mary*, *viz. Livingſton*, *Fleming*, *Seton* and *Beton*.

1549.

Peace concluded betwixt *England*, *France* and *Scotland*.

Mean time the War was carried on with *England* for the Space of two Years, the Advantage for the moſt Part inclining to the *Scots* Side, till at laſt a general Peace was concluded in the Fields near *Bologne* in *Picardy*, on the 24th Day of *March* 1549-50, betwixt *France* and *England*; at which Congreſs, 'tis ſaid *Panter* Biſhop of *Roſs* was Plenipotentiary for the Crown of *Scotland*; but there is no mention of him in the Copy of the Treaty in *Rymer*. By this Peace it is agreed,

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(a) This was *James Hamilton* of *Stenhouſe*, Captain alſo of the Caſtle of *Edinburgh*, whoſe Father or Grandfather, was a Baſtard of the Family of *Hamilton*. *vide* Regiſters of Charters.

(b) The Earl of Huntly having been asked after he was made Priſoner, what he thought of the Match betwixt our Queen and the King of *England*, or ſome ſuch Queſtion to that Purpoſe; made anſwer, that however he might like the Match, he did not like the Manner of wooing.

(c) This Paper is to be ſeen at full Length in *Grafton*'s Chronicle of *England*. It contains only a Perſuaſive to the *Scots* to accompliſh the Marriage, as a Thing moſt conducive to them.

(d) It is expreſly named a Parliament in the Acts of Parliament 1558.

(e) The firſt was the *Sieur d' Oyſel*, (ſo I find his Name written in the *French* King's Letters, which are recorded among the Regiſters of the Parliament 1558) and the ſecond was *Andrew de Montalamberi Sieur d' Eſſé*: So alſo is he deſigned in the ſame Letters. And it is from theſe Letters, and other Papers in the ſame Regiſters, that I clearly perceive theſe two Gentlemen were preſent in this Parliament holden in the Convent near *Haddington*.

1550. THAT the Fort of *Douglas* [*I ſuppoſe it ought to be* Dunglaſs] and *Lauder*, built by the *Engliſh*, with all the Cannon, *&c.* be delivered to the *Scots*; except the Cannon that were brought from *Haddington*: But if theſe two Forts be not in the Hands of the *Engliſh*, in that Event the King of *England* ſhall be obliged to demoliſh the Towns and Caſtles of *Roxburgh* and *Eymouth*; nor ſhall it be lawful to the *Engliſh*, *French* or *Scots*, to rebuild them.

Item, THO' the King of *England* ſhall reſtore *Douglas* and *Lauder*, yet he ſhall demoliſh *Roxburgh* and *Eymouth*, provided the Queen of *Scotland* do the ſame with the Caſtles of *Douglas* and *Lauder*; in which Caſe, it ſhall not be lawful to the Sovereigns of *France*, *Scotland* nor *England*, nor their Succeſſors, ever to rebuild *Roxburgh* or *Eymouth*.

Item, THE Kingdom of *Scotland* ſhall be comprehended in this Peace; and the *Engliſh* muſt not invade *Scotland* without a new and juſt Offence given. And the Queen of *Scotland* is obliged, within forty Days after the Date of this Treaty, to certify the King of *England*, under her Great Seal, that ſhe accepts the ſaid Comprehenſion (*a*).

Queen Dowager goes to *France*,

and communicates to that King her Deſire to be Regent of the Kingdom of *Scotland*.

In conſequence of this Treaty, the Queen grants a Commiſſion, on the 19th of *April*, to *Thomas* Lord *Erſkine*, to repair into *England*; and there *vivâ voce* (*b*) to accept and ratify the ſaid Comprehenſion. The Peace was proclaimed at *Edinburgh* the Beginning of *April*; and in conſequence of it, the *French* Soldiers were tranſported back into their own Country. Howbeit the *French* General *Monſ. de Thermes*, and other *French* Officers, remained ſome Months longer in *Scotland*; and went about viſiting ſeveral Places for their Diverſion, as was given out; tho' indeed it would appear, they tarried here for other Ends: For in the *September* following, *Leo Strozzi* arriving at *Leith* with ſome Ships from *France*, the Queen Dowager imbarked aboard him, and ſet Sail from thence for that Kingdom, accompanied with the above ſaid *French* Gentlemen, and ſeveral of the *Scots* Nobility and Gentry; of whom the Principal were the Earls of *Huntly*, *Sutherland*, (or according as *Knox* calls him, *Glencairn*) *Mariſchal* and *Caſſils*; the Lords *Maxwel*, *Fleming*, Biſhop of *Galloway*, *&c.* The Queen Dowager landed at *Diep* in *Normandy* after the Middle of *October*, from whence ſhe went to *Rouen*, where the *French* King then was; and after ſome Time ſpent there in Jollity and Mirth, the Court ſet forward to *Paris*, and thence to *Chartres*; in which City they reſided the remaining Part of the Winter. And here it was that the Queen Dowager opened her Mind to the *French* King, concerning the Buſineſs which had brought her into *France*, namely, That he would be pleaſed to uſe his Intereſt, to obtain for her the Regency of the Kingdom of *Scotland*, and the Adminiſtration of publick Affairs there. The King was well enough ſatisfied with the Motion, but on this expreſs Condition, that the Earl of *Arran* do voluntarily demit the Government; and in order to diſpoſe him thereto, the *French* King was adviſed to beſtow Honours and Profits upon him, and upon ſuch other Perſons as might be ſerviceable to the Queen's Deſign. The King of *France*, alſo by Advice of the Queen Dowager, calls for *Robert Carnegie* of *Kinnaird*, one of the Governor's Council, who had been ſometime before ſent over by him into *France*, to give that King Thanks for the Aſſiſtance he had given to the *Scots* againſt the *Engliſh*: He alſo called for *David Panter* Biſhop of *Roſs*, who had for ſome Years paſt been Ambaſſador in *France* from *Scotland*; and alſo for *Gawin Hamilton* Commendator of *Kilwinning*; all three firm Men to the Earl of *Arran*. To them the King declared, how agreeable it would be to him, would the Governor freely demit the Government of *Scotland* in favours of the Queen Dowager: And as the

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(*a*) *Fœdera Angliæ*. (*b*) *Ibid.*

1551.

the Requeſt was both juſt and equitable, ſo if the Governor would comply with it, the King ſhould take care that his Intereſts ſhould no way ſuffer thereby. He further willed them to ſignify to the Governor, that he had already confirmed him in his Title of Duke of *Chaſtelherault*, and had actually made his Son Captain of all the *Scots* Soldiers in *France*, and had beſtowed other Marks of his Royal Favour upon his other Sons and Relations.

In which ſhe prevails:

On this Meſſage was *Robert Carnegie* diſpatched into *Scotland*, and within a few Days the Biſhop of *Roſs*, as being a Man of great Parts, and of much Intereſt at Court; who, by his Management ſoon after his Return home, did ſo deal with the Governor, that he conſented (tho' not without ſome Difficulty) to reſign the Government into the Hands of the Queen Dowager: For which Diligence and faithful Service, the King of *France* preſented him with an Abbay in *Poictou*.

And thereupon ſhe returns by the Way of *England*.

Matters being thus far tranſacted to the Satisfaction of the Queen Dowager, ſhe left *France* in the End of Harveſt, or Beginning of Winter 1551; but made choice to paſs thro' *England* in her Return home (*a*). She landed at *Portſmouth*; and the 2d of *November* ſhe came from *Hampton*-Court by Water to the City of *London*, and lodged that Night and the next Day in the Biſhop's Palace near St. *Paul*'s Church: And on the 4th Day ſhe rode in her Chariot to the Palace of *Whitehall*, where ſhe was received by King *Edward* (*b*). After that King had very kindly entertained the Queen Dowager, we are told that he took Occaſion to demand her Daughter in Marriage, as (he ſaid) had been formerly agreed to by the *Scottiſh* Nobility; adding, that this Match would be moſt beneficial to the *Scots*, whereas the Match with *France* would be moſt detrimental; and that he would entertain conſtant Enmity againſt any other Man that ſhould marry her. To this the Queen wiſely anſwered, That the Cauſe of her Daughter's deſigned Marriage with the Dauphin of *France*, was chiefly owing to the Protector of *England* his entring *Scotland* with armed Force: For, ſaid ſhe, it was unadviſedly done of him, to ſeek to compell by Force of Arms a Woman, who ought rather to be allured with fair Promiſes, than forced by open Violence: Therefore, added ſhe, the *Scots* being ſo vehemently preſſed by the Protector, were in Self-Defence neceſſitated to demand Help from *France*; and for the more ſpeedy obtaining thereof, they were obliged to ſend their Queen into *France*, as a Pledge. She likewiſe ſaid, that ſhe was ſorry this Buſineſs was come ſo near an Iſſue, contrary to what he deſired and wiſhed; but that ſhe would uſe her Endeavours with the *French* King in Behalf of him the King of *England*. Two Days after, *viz.* the 6th of *November*, the Queen left *London*, and entred the Borders of *Scotland* towards the latter End of *December*; and how ſoon ſhe came to *Edinburgh*, ſhe was moſt kindly welcomed by the Governor and others of the Nobility.

(*a*) The Licence granted her by King *Edward*, at the Requeſt of the *French* King, for returning thro' *England*, is dated at *Weſtminſter*, 12th *May*, and 17th *September*, 1551.

(*b*) Mr. *Stow* and *Holinſhed* tell us, that ſhe came to *Whitehall* accompanied with the Lady *Margaret Douglas* Counteſs of *Lennox*, the Dutcheſſes of *Suffolk*, *Richmond* and *Northumberland*, and divers other Ladies, both *Scottiſh* and *Engliſh*. At the Gate of the Court, the Dukes of *Northumberland* and *Suffolk*, and the Lord Treaſurer, were ready to receive her: And at her entring into the Hall, the King ſtood in the upper End thereof, the Earl of *Warwick* holding the Sword of State before him. As ſhe advanced to the King, theſe Hiſtorians ſay, ſhe kneeled down; but I ſuppoſe, they mean no more, than that ſhe obſerved the common Forms of Decency, obſerved among Princes of her Rank, at that Time. They add, that he took her up, kiſled her, and taking her by the Hand, led her into his own Chamber of Preſence, and afterwards into that of the Queen, where he kiſſed all the *Scottiſh* Ladies; and ſo departed for a while. Her Majeſty dined that Day in the Queen's Appartment with the King; our Queen ſitting by the King apart by his Cloth of State: And all the Ladies both of *Scotland* and *England* dined in the Queen's great Chamber. After Dinner the King ſhewed her his Gallery and Gardens, *&c.* and about 4 Afternoon, he brought her down again by the Hand into the Hall where he firſt received her; and there kiſſing her, ſhe took her Leave, and returned to the Biſhop's Palace from whence ſhe came. The 6th Day of the Month ſhe departed for *Scotland*, paſſing forth of the City at *Biſhopſgate*. The Duke of *Northumberland*, the Earl of *Pembroke* and the Lord Treaſurer conducted her to *Shore-ditch* Church, and there took leave of her. The Duke of *Northumberland* had 100 Men on Horſeback with Javelins, whereof 40 were Gentlemen clad in black Velvet Coats garded with White, and Hats of black Velvet with white Feathers, and Chains of Gold about their Necks. The Earl of *Pembroke* had 120 Men, well appointed alſo, with black Javelins, and Hats with Feathers: And the Lord Treaſurer had 100 Gentlemen and Yeomen, with Javelins, in like Manner well apparelled: Which three Companies of Horſemen furniſhed the Streets on either Side, from the Croſs in *Cheapſide*, to *Birchenlane* End. The Sheriffs of *London* conducted her to the Town of *Waltham*, where ſhe lodged that Night. And in every Shire thro' which ſhe paſſed, the Sheriff with the Gentlemen gave her Majeſty Attendance, till ſhe came to enter into the next Shire. And that Order was obſerved, until ſhe came to the Borders of *Scotland*: All her Charges for Meat and Drink to herſelf and all her Train, and Proviſion for their Horſes being born and allowed by the King, ſays *Holinſhed*, but *Stow* ſays, at the Charges of the Shires thro' which ſhe paſſed.

1551.

1552.

The Regent goes in Circuit thro' the Kingdom, and holds Courts.

1553.

His Friends adviſe him to demit the Government to the Queen Dowager, upon Conditions.

This Journey of the Queen Dowager into *France*, her Negociation there, and her Return thence, have been all laid together on purpoſe not to break the Thread of that Adventure; but now we muſt caſt our Eye back to other Affairs which were a-tranſacting in *Scotland* during that Time. In conſequence of the Comprehenſion of *Scotland*, in the laſt Treaty of Peace betwixt *France* and *England*, there was a formal Peace concluded betwixt the two Nations of *Scotland* and *England*, at *Norham*, on the South Side of the River *Tweed*, the 10th *June* 1551. The Commiſſioners on the Part of *Scotland* were *Robert* Biſhop of *Orkney*, *Robert* Lord *Maxwel*, *Thomas* Maſter of *Erſkine*, *Ludovick de Sancto Gelaſio* Knight, (a *Frenchman*) and *Robert Carnegie* of *Kinnaird*, Clerk to the Treaſurer: Thoſe for *England* were *Thomas* Biſhop of *Norwich*, *Robert Bowes*, *Leonard Beckwith* and *Thomas Chalonar*, Knights. The 1ſt *July* 1552, a Commiſſion was granted to Sir *James Douglas* of *Drumlanrig*, and *Richard Maitland* of *Lethington*, to meet with Commiſſioners from *England*, for making a Diviſion of the debateable Ground on the Borders: Which Diviſion was ratified on the 9th *November* following *(a)*. While the War was hot in the Country, Men had ſcarcely Leiſure to think of other Buſineſs; and this gave Occaſion to ſeveral looſe Perſons to commit many Irregularities; which the Governor now reſolved to put a Stop to. In the Summer 1552, the Governor, accompanied by the Queen Dowager, went in Circuit as far North as *Inverneſs*, holding Juſtice Courts in the ſeveral Towns during that Seaſon. And in the Harveſt and Winter he paſſed in Circuit thro' the Weſt and South Parts of the Kingdom: But it was much noticed, as a Thing not formerly practiſed in *Scotland*, that in all theſe Circuits, moſt of the Criminals were diſcharged for the Payment of a Fine in Money. This was not generally approved of, as ſavouring too much of Covetouſneſs; ſo that the Governor, it was ſaid, gained ſtill little Reputation by theſe Circuits. But, on the other hand, the Queen Dowager made it her Buſineſs, in all Places where ſhe came, to gain to herſelf the Favour and Good-liking of the Nobility and Gentry; and was ſecretly well enough pleaſed to foment their Diſlike at the Governor's Proceedings, as being aſſured, whatever Degree of Favour he loſt, returned upon her: So at laſt ſhe having, partly by Fear, and partly by Hope, won over to her the Nobility, ſhe gave Commiſſion to the Biſhop of *Roſs*, to deal with the Governor that he would reſign to her the Government according to Paction. Much Time ſeems to have been trifled away in this Negociation, even all the Year 1553; tho' indeed it muſt be acknowledged, that 'tis no eaſy Matter for a Man to diveſt himſelf of a ſupreme Juriſdiction and Command, when once he is clothed therewith. Several Inſolences were likewiſe committed during this uncertain State of Government. At laſt the Governor's Friends perceiving, that even then Things were managed by *French* Counſels; and that if he ſhould continue refractory, he would not be able to make Account for his Intromiſſions, when the young Queen ſhould be of Age: They adviſed him to embrace, and he ſeemed willing to acquieſce in the Queen Dowager's Propoſal, on the following Terms.

I. THAT the *French* King ſhould ſee him indemnified for what Goods he had made uſe of belonging to the late King, and of all Accounts during his Regency.

II. THAT an Act of Parliament ſhould be paſt, declaring that if the Queen died without Iſſue, he ſhould be the next Heir.

Theſe Conditions of the Surrender were ſent into *France*, in order to be confirmed by the Queen and her Curators, whom by the Advice of her Mother ſhe had choſen, *viz. Henry* King of *France*, *Francis* Duke of *Guiſe*, and his Brother the Cardinal of *Lorrain*, both her Uncles. But notwithſtanding the Gover-

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(a) *Fœdera. Angliæ.*

Governor's Promiſe, the Queen obſerving, that as the Time drew near, he began to reſile; as deeming it a ſhocking Thing for him, to deſcend from the ſupreme Magiſtracy to a private Life: She therefore retired to *Stirling*, waiting the Expiration of the few Months which remained for the Governor to deliver up his Charge. The Earls of *Athole*, *Huntly*, *Argile*, *Angus* and *Caſſils*, followed the Queen to *Stirling*; and, by their Advice no doubt, ſhe ſometime after appointed a general Council of the Nobility to meet her there, in the Spring *anno* 1554: In which Council ſhe claimed the Government of the Kingdom, by virtue of a Power granted her thereto from her Daughter, being then above twelve Years of Age; the Laws of the Land allowing the Prince to reckon up, as a Part of his Age, what Space of Time he lived in his Mother's Belly.

He makes ſome Difficulty to perform it.

The Governor ſeemed to refuſe this Privilege to Female Princes: But perceiving that the Nobles, who were fully conveened at *Stirling*, did all incline to give their Suffrages for the Queen; and that not one of them had remained at *Edinburgh* with him, except his own natural Brother the Archbiſhop of St. *Andrew*'s, and the Lord *Livingſton* his near Kinſman; and having been adviſed, by a Letter from the Earl of *Huntly*, to lay down the Government, unleſs he had a mind to incur the Anger and Hatred of the Nobility in general; he went to *Stirling*, and there made a ſolemn Promiſe to the Queen Dowager, to reſign into her Hands the publick Adminiſtration, at the next Parliament, which was indicted to be held at *Edinburgh*, the 10th of *April* 1554, for that Effect, and for ratifying the Conditions upon which the Governor was to demit. Which Conditions appear to have been the ſame as thoſe two already mentioned, with the Addition of a third, *viz. That the Governor be actually inveſted in the Right of the Dukedom of* Chaſtelherault *in* France. But becauſe the Records of this Parliament are loſt, we can affirm nothing but as we gather from Hiſtorians.

But he acquieſces, and Queen Dowager is proclaimed Regent.

At laſt, the Day for the meeting of the Parliament being come, the Articles made betwixt the Queen Dowager and the Governor were read, as confirmed by the young Queen herſelf in *France*, with Conſent of the King of *France*, the Duke of *Guiſe* and the Cardinal of *Lorrain*, her Curators choſen, as before. And to theſe Articles the Eſtates in Parliament aſſembled gave their Conſent, ratifying and confirming them by their Subſcriptions and Seals: Which being done, the Governor aroſe, and publickly gave up the Royal Crown, Sword and Sceptre, the Enſigns of Government, to *Monſ. d' Oyſel* the *French* Ambaſſador; who received them in Name of the Queen in *France*: And by a Mandate from her, with Conſent alſo of her Curators, which was preſently ſhewed, delivered them to the Queen Dowager: Who, as appears by the Regiſters of Council, was proclaimed Regent of the Kingdom on the 12th of *April*. Mr. *Buchanan* tells us, that the Lord *Erſkine* was at this Time made Governor of the Caſtle of *Edinburgh*, and that he received Orders from the Parliament, to deliver it up to no Perſon without an expreſs Warrant from the Eſtates. The ſame Author likewiſe informs, that there was a ſeparate Article ſtipulated by the Queen Regent in favours of the Earl of *Arran*, namely, That in conſideration of his ſurrendring the Government, his Lordſhip ſhould be allowed to have the Command of the Caſtle of *Dunbarton*: And I am much miſtaken, if I have not ſeen authentick Writs to confirm this; tho' I am not able at preſent to recall where they are to be ſeen. Biſhop *Leſly* likewiſe takes notice that the Caſtle of *Edinburgh* was committed to the Lord *Erſkine*, but with this Difference in the Narration, *viz.* That the Eſtates of the Kingdom, fearing the Governor might repent him of his ſurrendring the Management of publick Affairs, and thereupon endeavour ſome Diſturbance, which he might the more eaſily bring about by having the Caſtle of *Edinburgh* in Cuſtody; they therefore appointed him to deliver it up to the forenamed Lord; who, in ſuch an Event, had Orders given him to ſurrender it immediately to the Queen. I ſhall not pretend to judge which of theſe Accounts is the juſteſt; only we know, that in the After-diſturbances which

1554. fell out about Matters of Religion, the Lord *Erſkine* kept ſtill the Caſtle of *Edinburgh*, and would deliver it to neither Party.

N. B. Whereas I have ſaid, Page 49, that a cloſe Correſpondence was ſettled betwixt *Henry* King of *England*, and the Murderers of Cardinal *Beton*, immediately after the ſaid Murder; I perceive that the Correſpondence which was there meant, and which is inſtructed by publick Contracts and Obligations *hinc inde*, was not until the Month of *March* 1546-7, betwixt King *Edward* and the Murderers. *Vide Fœdera Angliæ*. However, tho' I have not ſeen authentick Records to aſcertain the Correſpondence with King *Henry*, yet I ſuppoſe the Conſent of our Hiſtorians is ſufficient to verify the Thing. Even Biſhop *Burnet* tells us, *Hiſt. Reform.* Vol. 1. p. 322, That the Murderers ſent a Meſſenger to King *Henry* for his Aſſiſtance, and that they declared for him. And, Vol. 2. p. 7, he tells, That in *February* 1546-7, Mr. *Henry Balnaves*, one of thoſe who entred the Caſtle of St. *Andrew*'s to take one Lot with the Murderers, and was then their Agent at the Court of *England*, received *L.* 1180, for one half Year's Pay to the Soldiers of that Caſtle. He informs us alſo, that *Norman Leſly* had *L.* 280, Sir *James Kircaldy L.* 200, and many others ſmaller Penſions allowed them, *for their Amity*, as it is expreſt in the Council-books. *Patrick* Lord *Gray* of *Scotland* contracts alſo with King *Edward*, at the Caſtle of St. *Andrew*'s, 11th *March* 1546-7, to deliver up to him his Caſtle of *Broughty*, together with the Fiſhing and Pertinents, worth 200 Merks *Scots* Money, in conſideration that that King ſhall aſſiſt him in recovering the Town of *Perth* into his keeping: Which being obtained, he agrees alſo, that his Majeſty ſhall take into his Hands the principal Strength of the Town, called the *Spey-tower*. I obſerve likewiſe in the *Fœdera Angliæ*, that the Earl of *Bothwel* receives a Penſion of 3000 Crowns a-year from *England*, and 100 Horſe maintained for a Guard to his Perſon in the Year 1549. I had almoſt forgot to take notice, that our Hiſtorians obſerve, that none of thoſe who embrewed their Hands in the Cardinal's Blood, died a natural Death, without ſome Violence or other.

CHAP. VI.

Containing an Account of Church-Affairs, from the Murder of Cardinal Beton Anno 1546, *till the ſetting up of the* Congregation Anno 1558.

1546. IMMEDIATELY after the Death of Cardinal *Beton*, *John Hamilton* Abbot of *Paiſly*, and now Biſhop Elect of *Dunkeld* (of whom frequently before) was by the Governor nominated, and by the Chapter elected Archbiſhop of St. *Andrew*'s, and had his Election afterwards confirmed by the Pope; who, together with his Bull to that Effect, wrote both to the Governor and the new Archbiſhop, exhorting them to make their Zeal appear, in vindicating the Injuries done to the State Eccleſiaſtick.

John Hamilton is made Archbiſhop of St. *Andrew*'s.

'Tis not to be doubted, but the Loſs of ſo great a Man as the Cardinal at the Head of the *Church*, and I may ſay of the *State* alſo, did mightily affect the whole Clergy of the Kingdom: Nor did the brutal and odious Manner of his Murder, leſs inſtigate their Revenge on the Perpetrators thereof, ſo far as their Power or Intereſt could go. Our moſt reverend Hiſtorian Archbiſhop *Spottiſwood* tells us, that the inferior Clergy exclaimed much againſt the Murder, as the moſt odious which in any Memory had been committed; and that the

1547.

the Biſhops did inceſſantly importune the Governor, that a ſpeedy Courſe might be taken for effectually apprehending and puniſhing the Authors of ſo black a Crime; and that the Eccleſiaſtick Judges did in a ſolemn Manner anathematize them, and all that ſhould ſuccour or receive them. And probably it has been upon a Petition from the Clergy, that the following Act of Council was emitted, on the 11th Day of *June*, being the ſecond Day the Council ſat after the aforeſaid Murder.

Act againſt invading, deſtroying or with-holding of Abbays, &c. 11. June 1546. Regiſt. Counc.

The quhilk Day my Lord Governour, with Auiſe of the Quenis Grace and Lordis of Counſale, underſtandand that throw the Occaſioun of this trublous Tyme, and grete Inobedience maid baith to God and Man, in the committing of diuers enormis and exhorbitant Crymis, it is drede and ferit, that evil diſponit perſonis will invaid, diſtroy, caſt doun and with-hald Abbays, Abbay Places, Kirkis, alſwele Paroche Kirks as utheris religious Places, Freris of all Ordouris, Nuneries, Chapellis and utheris ſpirituale Mennis Houſes, aganis the Lawis of God and Man, and in contrair the Liberte and Fredome of halie Kirk, and Actis of Parliament maid thairupoun, obſeruit and kepit in all Tymes bigane. And for eſchewing and ſtopping of all ſik Inconvenientis, it is deuiſit, ſtatute and ordanit, that Letteris be directit oure all Partis of this Realme, to all Sherriffis, Stewartis, Ballies and thair Deputis, and to the Proveſtis, Aldermen and Ballies of Burrowis, and to utheris Officiaris of the Quenis Shereffis in that Part, chargeing thame to pas to the Mercat Croces of all Burrowis within this Realme; and thair, be oppin Proclamatioun, command and charge all and ſundrie our Souerane Ladyis Liegis, that nane of thame tak upoun hand to caſt down or diſtroy ony of the ſaidis Kirkis, religious Places, and utheris Kirkis and Kirk-mennis Houſes forſaidis; or to with-hald, intromett or tak the ſamin at thair awine Hand, be way of Deid, in ony Tymes cuming; or to ſpulze the Jewellis or Ornamentis of the Kirk, ordanit for Goddis Seruice, and dedicate to the ſamyn, under the Pane of Tinſell of Lyff, Landis and Gudis: And giff ony ſik Kirk-mennis Houſſes or Places be ellis takin be quhatſomeuir Perſonis, ordanis the Takaris and With-haldaris of the ſamyn, to reſtor and deliuer the ſamyn agane to the Awneris thairof and thair Factoris, under the ſaid Pane; and ordanis this Act to be ratifiit in Parliament.

Thereafter, when the Parliament was deliberating how to regain the Archbiſhop's Caſtle of St. *Andrew*'s out of the Hands of the Murderers, the Clergy, on the 14th of *Auguſt*, agreed to a Taxation of *L.* 3000 monthly, for the Space of four Months, towards defraying the Charge of beſieging the ſaid Caſtle; and conſented to the further Payment thereof during the Continuation of the Siege. And it was from this Supply that the Siege was firſt undertaken, and afterwards carried on.

The Clergy grant a Subſidy for beſieging the Caſtle of St. *Andrew's.*

But however much the *Romiſh* Party were damped by the Slaughter of the Cardinal, thoſe who affected a Manner of Worſhip contrary to his, were no leſs elevated. The Enterprize was applauded, and the Actors highly commended: Even Mr. *Knox* calls it a *Godly Deed.* Many of their Friends went to the Caſtle to congratulate them upon the Fact; and Mr. *John Rough*, a Preacher of the new Doctrines, entred there, and took one Lot with them. The Reader will remember, that this *Rough* had formerly attended the Governor, while that Nobleman followed that Party. He is ſaid to have been a pious Man; but 'tis much to be wiſh'd, he had not ſo far betrayed an erro-

1547. neous Judgment, as to have aſſociated himſelf with the Perpetrators of a Deed ſo highly contrary to, and deſtructive of the Principles of the Chriſtian Religion. However, after he had remained with that debauched Crew within the Caſtle, until the firſt Pacification was made, exhorting them all the Time to forbear their godleſs Courſe of Life; and perceiving that he prevailed nothing, he then left them, and began to preach in the Town of St. *Andrew*'s. But to make amends for his Deſertion, Mr. *John Knox* very ſoon thereafter, *viz.* at *Eaſter* 1547, entred the Caſtle: He ſays himſelf, for Protection and Safety of his Perſon; but his former Words ſhew that he did not diſapprove of the Deed of that Company. During the Time that interveened betwixt this and the ſecond Siege of the Caſtle, Mr. *Rough* and Mr. *Knox* continued to preach in the Town of St. *Andrew*'s, and to diſpute with the eſtabliſhed Clergy. Nay a Congregation was formed in the Town, conſiſting partly of thoſe within the Caſtle, and partly of the Inhabitants; who, by the Mouth of Mr. *Rough*, made choice of Mr. *Knox* to be their Preacher; which was all the *Call*, or lawful Vocation to the Miniſtry, that Mr. *Knox* ſought after, as himſelf informs us: But when the Caſtle was beſieged the ſecond Time, Mr. *Rough* departed into *England*, and Mr. *Knox* ſhut himſelf up with the reſt. By theſe and the like open Proceedings about that Time, the Clergy were much alarmed; and thereupon preſented to the Governor and Council the following Supplication, the 19th *March* 1546-7.

Supplication of the Clergy.

My Lord Governour, and Lordis of the Greit Counſale, unto zour Grace and L. humlie menis and ſchewis, we zour Oratouris, the Biſchopis, Prelatis and Kirk-men, now preſent in this Town, for ourſelfis, and in Name of the remanent of the Kirkmen of this Realme, how that it is nocht unknawin to zour Grace and L. that ſundrie Partes of this Realme, quhilk hes bene evir Catholic ſen the Begyning of the Faith to thir Dayis, now infectit with the peſtilentious Hereſeis of Luther his Sect and Followaris; and ſa perſeweris unpuneiſt, quhill divers of thame ar becumin Sacramentaris, and ſpecialie aganis the bliſſit Sacrament of the Altar; utheris of thame abiurit and relapſis, baneiſt of auld, now cummis pertlie without ony Dredour, nocht alanerlie in the far Partis of the Realme, but als to the Court and Preſenſe of zour L. and ſumtyme prechis oppinlie, and inſtructis utheris in the ſaidis dampnable Hereſeis; quhilkis and the ſamin be nocht remedit be zour Grace and L. be zour Help and Aſſiſtance to the Juriſdictioun ſpirituale, it will ſpred, increſs and ryſs dalie mair and mair, and ay the langer, the mair difficull to remeid: Quhairfor we humlie beſeik zour Grace and noble L. for zour princelie Honour and Nobiliteis, to gif zour haiſtlie Help and Remeid in thir Behaluis. to the Pleaſure of God, Manteinance of the Criſtin Faith, and zour awin Honour, with zour Anſſer.

The Anſwer.

My Lord Governour, and Lordis temporale, ordanis and deſiris the Kirkmen, to gif to his Grace the Names of the Heretikis that ar Relapſis, or haldis Opinionis aganis the Sacramentis of the Altar, or that techis Hereſyis; and his Grace, and the Lordis temporale, ſall tak thame, and cauſs the Lawis of the Realme to be execute on thame, ay as he is requirit thairto, conform to the Lawis of haly Kirk: And ordanis this Supplicatioun, and Deliverance paſt thairuppoun, to be putt in the Bukis of Counſale.

The War continuing with *England*, as it did for two Years after, had ſo poſſeſſed Mens Minds, that little or no Attention was given to other Buſineſs: And perhaps the Clergy thought it no proper Time to exerciſe Severity againſt thoſe

1550.

thoſe that diſſented from them, till they ſhould ſee what Turn Matters might take in the State. The King of *England* was a profeſſed *Proteſtant*, and the Iſſue of the War was uncertain; wherefore it was judged beſt for them, to wink at many things, until they ſhould ſee farther about them. This Relaxation brought many Perſons over to the new Doctrines, and Diſſenters increaſed daily. Upon which Account, when the War was ended, the Clergy began to look more narrowly into their own Affairs.

Adam Wallace burnt.

There was one *Adam Wallace*, a ſimple, but very zealous Man for the new Doctrines; who, together with his Wife *Beatrix Livingſton*, uſed to be much in Company with the Lady *Ormiſton*, and to inſtruct that Lady's Children, during the Abſence of her Husband (a). 'Tis likely enough, that the catechiſing of theſe, and perhaps alſo of other Children, in the new Forms, had made the Man to be more taken notice of, than otherwiſe he would have been. So he was taken at *Winton* in Eaſt *Lothian*, by the Lord Primate's Direction, and brought upon his Trial in the Church of the *Black Friars* in *Edinburgh*: Where, in Preſence of the Governor, the Earl of *Argile* Great Juſtice of the Realm, the Earls of *Angus*, *Huntly* and *Glencairn*, and divers others of the Nobility and Prelates, he was accuſed by Mr. *John Lauder* (b), of ſeveral Articles, which may be ſeen in *Knox*'s and *Spottiſwood*'s Hiſtories, and in *Fox*'s Martyrology; and, being found guilty, was the next Day (c) burnt on the Caſtle-hill of *Edinburgh*. They ſay he was inhibited to ſpeak to the People at his Execution; yet they tell us that he intreated them not to be offended at the Truth becauſe of his Suffering, ſaying, *The Diſciple is not above his Maſter*; and in a few Words more, commending his Soul to God, he took his Death moſt patiently.

Archbiſhop of St. *Andrew*'s publiſheth a Catechiſm.

Sometime after this, *viz.* the 26th of *January* 1551-2, there was a provincial Synod of the Clergy kept at *Edinburgh*, in which was agitated the merry Story concerning the *Pater noſter*, related by Archbiſhop *Spottiſwood*; who tells us likewiſe, that at the ſame Convention, Order was taken for publiſhing a Catechiſm in our Mother-tongue, containing a ſhort Explanation of the *Commands*, *Belief* and *Lord's Prayer*; and the Curates were enjoined to read a Part thereof every *Sunday* and *Holiday* to the People, when there was no Sermon, and until fit Preachers ſhould be provided by the Biſhops (d). The next Year, which was 1552, another provincial Synod was kept at *Linlithgow*; in which the Maintainers of any Opinion contrary to the Church of *Rome* were accuſed, and the Decrees of the Council of *Trent*, made in the Time of Pope *Paul* III. received. Some Acts alſo were made for reforming the corrupt Lives of the Clergy; but little or no Execution followed, ſays the foreſaid Author: But Biſhop *Leſly* ſpeaks in another Strain concerning that Matter.

Edward King of *England* dies.

On *Thurſday* the 6th of *July* 1553, died *Edward* VI. King of *England*: To whom ſucceeded *Mary* his eldeſt Siſter, a Woman of a ſtrict and ſevere Life, conſtant at her Devotions; but violently addicted to the Intereſts and Humours of the *Romiſh* Church. This Alteration in *England*, together with

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(a) *John Cockburn* Laird of *Ormiſton*, was forfeited 14th *December* 1548, for going into *England*, and bringing the Lord *Grey* of that Nation into *Scotland*, in the Spring of the Year 1547-8.

(b) He was Arch-dean of *Teviotdale*, and a Notar Publick, and probably was Brother to Mr. *Henry Lauder* Queen's Advocate for the Time.

(c) *Fox* in his Kalendar, places this Execution on the 12th of *October* 1551: Yet in the Body of his Hiſtory he tells, that he had his Accounts thereof, *ex teſtimoniis et literis è Scotia petitis, anno* 1550. There muſt be an Error in the Print.

(d) This Catechiſm, as it is indeed called on the Title Page, conſiſts of 205 Leaves in a ſmall *4to*. It is printed at St. *Andrew*'s the 29th of *Auguſt* 1552, by the Command and at the Expence of Archbiſhop *Hamilton*, whoſe Compoſition it is commonly reckoned to be. The Preface bears his Name, and is directed principally to all the Clergy, who are appointed to read it in place of Sermon, if there be none at the Time. It is a judicious Commentary upon the *Commands*, *Belief*, *Lord's Prayer*, *Magnificat*, *Ave Maria*; and the Author ſhews both his Wiſdom and Moderation, in handſomely eviting to enter upon the controverted Points. In a Word, no Divine at this Day need be aſhamed of ſuch a Work. Therefore ſince it was commonly ſold for two Pence, and called in Deriſion *The Twopenny Faith*, as Archbiſhop *Spottiſwood* and other of our Hiſtorians inform us; I readily aſſent to Dr. *Mackenzie*, who thinks, that Archbiſhop *Hamilton* having been at the Charges of the Printing, allowed the Pedlars to take only two Pence (not Shillings) *Scots*, for each Copy of it from the People, as a Fee for their Pains in diſtributing it. It appears, that whoever ſlighted this Book, have been reſolved, to ſlight every Thing that ſhould come from ſuch a Hand. And this Compoſure, tho' there were none elſe, ſhews that all the Clergy in thoſe Days, have not been ſuch Dunces as ſome People would make us apprehend. The Book is yet extant, and ſpeaks for it ſelf. Mr. *Knox* and Mr. *Buchanan* mention a *Twopenny Faith* in 1558. Perhaps Biſhop *Spottiſwood* takes one Thing for another: If ſo, that reconciles the Difficulty concerning the Value of the Catechiſm.

1554.

the Advancement of our Queen Dowager the Year following, to be Regent of this Kingdom, ſeemed to daſh all Hopes of a Reformation of Religion in *Scotland.* And yet the quite contrary of what was expected, fell out: The Preachers and Favourers of the new Doctrines, found themſelves neceſſitated to fly out of *England*, whitherſoever they could meet with Shelter. One of theſe, *William Harlaw (a)*, a *Scottiſhman* by Nation, but who had preached ſometime in *England*, returned at that Time to his native Country, and preached to ſuch as favoured the reformed Opinions and Principles. After him came hither *John Willocks*, who had formerly been a *Franciſcan* Friar in the Town of *Air*: He likewiſe had remained in *England*; but upon Queen *Mary*'s Perſecution, had fled over into *Friſeland*, where he profeſſed Medicine; and was ſent by the Counteſs of *Friſeland* with ſome Commiſſion or other to our Queen-Regent, in the Year 1554. Again he returned the very next Year, with another Commiſſion from the ſame Perſon; after which Time he abode in *Scotland*, and preached to as many as reſorted to him, who, 'tis ſaid, were neither few, nor of the meaner Sort. But that which gave the greateſt Life to the ſucceeding Alteration in Religion, was the Arrival of Mr. *John Knox (b)* in the End of the Harveſt 1555; to whom many of good Note repaired, and heard his Diſcourſes; in which he chiefly inſiſted upon the Unlawfulneſs of being preſent at the *Maſs*, which he ſaid was an idolatrous Worſhip. He ſucceeded ſo well in theſe his Exhortations, that a great many Perſons withdrew from the Churches, and began to make an open Separation: Which being obſerved by the Clergy, Mr. *Knox* was ſummoned to appear before the Eccleſiaſtick Judicatory, on the 15th Day of *May* 1556, in the Church of the *Black Friars* in *Edinburgh*. But when the Day came, the Cauſe was dropt upon ſome Informality in the Summons, as was pretended; tho' 'tis more likely, that the Arrival of a great Number of his Friends in Town, might make ſome Uproar to be dreaded. Hereupon his Sermons were ſtill more publickly frequented: And 'tis certain that Mr. *Knox* preached to a greater Auditory the very Day he ſhould have made his Appearance, than ever he had had before; and he continued doing ſo for ſeveral Days thereafter. The Earl of *Glencairn* did at that Time take along with him the Earl *Mariſchal*, to hear one of Mr. *Knox*'s Diſcourſes; who was ſo well pleaſed therewith, that it was thought adviſeable Mr. *Knox* ſhould write a Letter to the Queen-Regent, intreating for a Reformation in the Church. Which he accordingly did; and the Letter was delivered to her by the Earl of *Glencairn*. But the Queen calling it a Paſquil, put it into the Hands of the Archbiſhop of *Glaſgow*: And this gave Occaſion to Mr. *Knox* to make ſome Additions to his Letter, two Years after; both which he cauſed to be then printed at *Geneva*, and which the Reader will find at the End of the latter Editions of his Hiſtory of the Church of *Scotland*.

William Harly,

John Willocks,

and *John Knox* Preachers, return Home.

Not long after this, Letters were brought to Mr. *Knox* from an *Engliſh* Congregation in *Geneva*, beſeeching him to repair unto them to be their Paſtor. In Compliance with which, he departed in the Month of *July* 1556. But he was ſcarce gone, as himſelf tells us, when the Clergy cited him a-new to appear before them: And becauſe he appeared not, he was condemned as an Heretick, and burnt *in effigie* at the Croſs of *Edinburgh*. The Copy of his Sentence having been tranſmitted to him at *Geneva*, he publiſhed a ſort of Apology, which he intituled, *The Appellation of* John Knox, *from the cruel and moſt unjuſt Sentence pronounced againſt him by the falſe Biſhops and Clergy of* Scotland, *&c.* and this Paper alſo may be ſeen printed with his Hiſtory.

Mr. *Knox* departs again to *Geneva*; and is burnt in *effigie*.

In the Year following, *viz.* 1557, the new Doctrines were mightily ſupported by the Teachings of ſundry Perſons in different Parts of the Country: *William Harlaw* and *John Willocks* in *Edinburgh* and *Leith*; *Paul Methven*,

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(*a*) Or *Harly*. He had been by Occupation a Taylor in the *Canongate* of *Edinburgh*, before he took up that of Preaching. *Calderwood*'s large MS. and Biſhop *Leſly*.

(*b*) He had been carried Priſoner to *France* at the Time the Caſtle of St. *Andrew*'s was taken, and after his Eſcape from that Kingdom had remained in *England* till the Death of King *Edward*, from whence he went to *Geneva*, from that to *Francfort*; again to *Geneva*; and from thence to *Scotland*.

1556.

a Baxter, in *Dundee*; other Perſons in *Angus* and *Merns*: And eſpecially Mr. *John Douglas*, a *Carmelite* Friar, became Chaplain to the Earl of *Argile*, and ſpoke openly at Court (where that Earl then reſided) againſt the prevailing Superſtitions of the Times. And it was obſervable, that from that Time forward, the Eſtimation of the Clergy daily diminiſhed; and even divers of that Order, both Secular and Regular, but eſpecially of the latter Sort, began publickly to eſpouſe the Party of the Reformation, and to declaim againſt the Corruptions of the Church of *Rome*. And now the Biſhops, perceiving their Oppoſites to increaſe daily, and that they were a-forming of ſtated Meetings and Conventions among themſelves, moved the Queen-Regent to call the Preachers before her Council, and arraign them for raiſing of Mutinies, and conveening together the Lieges without Authority: But the Day appointed for their Appearance being come, ſuch Numbers of People did flock together, and the Queen was ſo menaced, that ſhe was forced to declare ſhe meant no Harm to their Preachers, and that the preſent Diet ſhould be diſcharged. And now it ſeems theſe Gentlemen, judging their Affairs to be in a pretty good Poſture, thought fit to ſend the following Letter to Mr. *Knox*, requeſting him to return into theſe Parts.

Many Perſons reſort to the Preachers,

and ſend for Mr. *Knox*;

Dearly beloved in the Lord, the Faithful that are of your Acquaintance in theſe Parts (Thanks be unto God) are ſtedfaſt in the Belief wherein ye left them, and have a godly Thirſt and Deſire, Day by Day, of your Preſence again; which if the Spirit of God will ſo move, and permit Time unto you, we will hartelie deſire you, in the Name of the Lord, that ye will return again into theſe Partes, where you ſhall find all faithful that ye left behind you, not only glad to hear your Doctrine, but will be ready to jeopard Lives and Goods for the ſetting forward of the Glory of God, as he will permit Time. And albeit the Magiſtrates in this Countrie be as yet but in the State ye left them, yet at the making hereof, we have no Experience of any more cruelty to be uſed, than was before; but rather we have Belief, that God will augment his Flock, becauſe we ſee daylie the Frears, Enemies to Chriſt's *Goſpel, in leſs Eſtimation, both with the Queen's Grace, and the reſt of the Nobility of our Realm. This, in few Words, is the Mind of the Faithful being preſent, and others abſent. The reſt of our Minds this faithful Bearer will ſhew you at length. Thus fare ye well in the Lord. At* Stirling, 10. March 1556. GLENCARNE. LORN. ERSKINE *(a)*. JAMES STEWART *(b)*.

Mr. *Knox*, upon Receipt of this Letter, did at their Deſire, and by Advice of Mr. *Calvin*, *&c.* begin his Journey homeward: But when he was come as far as *Diep* in *France*, in the End of *October*, he there received other Letters, adviſing him not to continue his Journey; for that all things were at a Stand in *Scotland*. And it ſeems that the Favourers of a Reformation, being uncertain what Turn Matters might take, began to reckon it more ſecure to be allowed the Worſhip of God after their own Manner in private Aſſemblies, (which was connived at) than to drive at greater Enlargements, and perhaps fail in the Attempt; and ſo come to loſe all. Mr. *Knox* being therewith vexed at the Heart, wrote, in Return to his Friends, a very pathetical Letter; in which he tells them how much he was confounded to find them ſo unſtable in their Conſultations; and that if any perſuaded them, for Fear of the Danger which might follow, to faint in their intended Purpoſe, and to prefer their worldly Reſt to God's Praiſe and Glory; ſuch a one was to be accounted their mortal Enemy: That they ought to hazard their own Lives, be it againſt Kings or Emperors, for the Deliverance of the People from ſpiritual Bondage. And finally, having laid before them many ſtrong Inducements to quicken them unto the Work, he ends with telling them, That the Reformation of Religion, and

but ſoon after they countermand his coming.

They are encouraged by him,

(*a*) I ſuppoſe this has been *John Erskine* of *Dun*; for the Lord *Erskine* had not yet joined himſelf to that Party.

(*b*) This was the Prior of St. *Andrew's*, natural Son to King *James* V. by a Daughter of the Lord *Erskine*; he was afterwards commonly called *the Lord James*.

1557.

and of publick Enormities, doth appertain to more Perſons than either the Clergy, or the chief Rulers called *Kings*.

This Letter, written from *Diep* the 27th of *October* 1557, and which may be ſeen at large in Mr. *Knox*'s own Hiſtory, had a wonderful Influence upon the Minds of thoſe to whom it was directed; ſo that they reſolved ſpeedily to proſecute their now intended Purpoſe, and to enter into Meaſures for proſecuting the ſame. In order to which, and that every one ſhould be the more aſſured of other, as Mr. *Knox* ſays, a Bond was drawn up and ſubſcribed by ſome principal Perſons; the Tenor whereof followeth.

and thereupon ſubſcribed a Bond called by ſome the *Firſt Covenant*.

WE, perceiving how Sathan, in his Members the Antichriſts of our Time, cruelly do rage, ſeeking to overthrow and to deſtroy the Goſpel of Chriſt *and his Congregation, ought, according to our bounden Duty, to ſtrive, in our Maſter's Cauſe, even unto the Death, being certain of the Victory in him. The which our Duty being well conſidered, we do promiſe, before the Majeſtie of God, and his Congregation, that we (by his Grace) ſhall with all Diligence continually apply our whole Power, Subſtance, and our very Lives, to maintain, ſet forward and eſtabliſh, the moſt bleſſed Word of God, and his Congregation; and ſhall labour, at our Poſſibility, to have faithful Miniſters, truly and purely to miniſter* Chriſt*'s Goſpel and Sacraments to his People: We ſhall maintain them, nouriſh them, and defend them, the whole Congregation of* Chriſt, *and every Member thereof, at our whole Powers, and waging of our Lives, againſt Sathan and all wicked Power that doth intend Tyrrany or Trouble againſt the forſaid Congregation. Unto the which holy Word and Congregation we do joyne us; and ſo do forſake and renounce the Congregation of Sathan, with all the ſuperſtitious Abomination and Idolatry thereof; and moreover ſhall declare our ſelves manifeſtly Enemies thereto, by this our faithful Promiſe before God, teſtified to his Congregation, by our Subſcription at theſe Preſents. At* Edinburgh, *the* 3d *Day of* December 1557 *Tears. God called to witneſs.* A. *Earl of* Argyle. GLENCARNE. MORTOUN. ARCHIBALD *Lord of* Lorne. JOHN ERSKINE *of* Dun, &c.

Immediately after the Subſcription of the foreſaid Bond, the Lords and others that concurred with them conveened together; and after Deliberation on what was fitteſt to be done, they concluded upon the following Articles, *viz.*

Heads of a Reformation,

I. IT is thought expedient, adviſed and ordained, that in all Pariſhes of this Realm *(a)*, the *Common Prayer* be read weekly, on *Sunday* and other *Feſtival* Days, publickly in the Pariſh-Churches, with the Leſſons of the *Old* and *New Teſtament*, conform to the Order of the Book of *Common Prayer (b)*: And if the Curates of the Pariſhes be qualified, to cauſe them to read the ſame; and if they be not, or if they refuſe, that the moſt qualified in the Pariſh uſe and read the ſame.

II. IT is thought neceſſary, that Doctrine, Preaching, and Interpretation of Scriptures, be had and uſed privately in quiet Houſes, without great Conventions of the People thereto, while afterward that God move the Prince to grant publick Preaching, by faithful and true Miniſters.

In

(*a*) Obſerve how theſe Men give Orders to the whole Realm. Such an Act would be juſtly adjudged high Treaſon now, I know not what it might be then.

(*b*) It hath been much controverted, what is meant by this Book of *Common Prayer*; ſome Perſons ſtrenuouſly affirming it to have been the Liturgy of the Church of *England*, and others as pertinaciouſly denying it. For my own Part, I humbly think the *Affirmers* need not be very ſolicitous to gain their Point. However, I muſt take Notice, that the firſt Liturgy printed at *Geneva* 1558, with a Preface dated 10th *February* 1556-7, is commonly called the Book of *Common Order*, and ſometimes only that of *Common Prayer*; that in it there is no Mention of Leſſons taken out of the *Old* and *New Teſtaments*; and that there is Mention only of conveening once a-Week, to hear ſome Portion or Place of the Scripture orderly expounded. What Weight theſe Obſervations may have, joined to the Publication of that Book, which was poſterior to this Regulation in *Scotland*, I ſubmit to the Judgment of theReader.

1558.

In Purſuance of the above Reſolve, we are told that this Regulation was in Fact obſerved in ſuch Places where theſe Lords and Gentlemen had any Intereſt; particularly, that the Earl of *Argile* made Mr. *Douglas* preach publickly in his Houſe. This new Practice, as it could not but give great Diſpleaſure to the eſtabliſhed Clergy, ſo we are told that they made very preſſing Complaints againſt it to the Regent; who anſwered, it was not then a fit Time to enter upon theſe Matters, but ere long ſhe would find Occaſion to take Order about them. And the Truth is, ſhe behoved then to manage very warily the Lords and others concerned in that Affair; becauſe tho' the Marriage of the young Queen her Daughter with the Dauphin of *France*, was in a manner already conſented to in Parliament, it was not yet accompliſhed; and ſhe knew well enough how imprudent and unſafe it was for her, to imbitter the Minds of any againſt her at that critical Conjuncture, and before every thing was got accommodated that related to the Marriage of her Daughter.

against which, the Archbiſhop of St. *Andrew*'s writes to the Earl of *Argile*.

On the 25th of *March* 1558, the Archbiſhop of St. *Andrew*'s wrote a very civil Letter to the Earl of *Argile*; and with the Bearer of it Sir *David Hamilton*, ſent a very artful Commiſſion, conſiſting of ſeveral Heads, all tending to draw off that Earl from perſiſting in the Practice of their new Regulations, and to perſuade him to diſcharge Mr. *Douglas* from any farther Attendance upon him; promiſing at the ſame Time, that if his Lordſhip was deſirous of a Preacher to inſtruct him, he (the Archbiſhop) would provide him with a learned Man, that ſhould teach nothing but true Doctrine according to the Catholick Faith: And in end the Archbiſhop gave the Earl to underſtand, that he lay under a high Reproach, not only from the Queen, but from Perſons of all Ranks and Degrees, for being too remiſs in his Office; and inſinuated as if he ſhould be forced to take a more narrow Inſpection into the prevailing Practices, and bring the Perſons principally concerned to a condign Puniſhment. To this Letter and Commiſſion, the Earl wrote a large, and reſpectful Anſwer; but ſuch as ſhewed plainly, he had neither a mind to comply with the Archbiſhop's Requeſt, nor ſtood afraid of his Threats. It is well known that this Prelate was a wiſe and judicious Man, and no doubt he perceived the impetuous Current that then began to poſſeſs the Minds of the People; whereupon he has thought it the wiſeſt Courſe, to try to regain them by gentle, rather than ſtubborn Means. 'Tis likewiſe acknowledged, even by Mr. *Buchanan*, that he was not at all a Man of Blood: And therefore I muſt incline to think, that what fell out a very little after, was given Way to by him, either to make a Trial of the Effects it might produce, or merely to ſatisfy the Importunity of thoſe who clamoured againſt him. The Matter was this: One *Walter Mill*, who in his younger Years had travelled into *Germany*, and upon his Return had been inſtalled Prieſt of the Church of *Lunan* in *Angus*, upon an Information of Hereſy, in the Time of Cardinal *Beton*, had been forced to abandon his Charge, and had abſconded ever ſince; was now taken in the Town of *Dyſert* in *Fife*, and carried to St. *Andrew*'s in order to his Examination, before the Archbiſhop and ſeveral of his Suffragans there conveened; by whom he was condemned to be burnt. He was a decrepit Man, of eighty two Years of Age: But 'tis reported, that tho' it was hardly expected his Voice could be heard, yet he delivered his Mind with that Courage and Compoſure as amazed his Enemies; and that when he was brought to the Stake in order to be burned, he ſpoke thus to the By-ſtanders; *The Cauſe why I ſuffer this Day, is not for any Crime, (tho' I acknowledge my ſelf a miſerable Sinner) but only for the Defence of the Truth of* Jeſus Chriſt; *and I praiſe God who hath called me by his Mercy to ſeal the Truth with my Life: Which as I have received of him, ſo I willingly offer it to his Glory. Therefore, as ye would eſcape eternal Death, be no more ſeduced with the Lies of the Seat of Antichriſt, but depend only on* Jeſus Chriſt *and his Mercy, that you may be delivered from Condemnation.* And 'tis reported likewiſe that he ſhould have ſaid, he truſted to be the laſt who ſhould ſuffer Death in this Land upon ſuch an Account. The Spectators,

Walter Mill is burnt.

1558. 'tis ſaid, were much moved with his Words; and they took his Death ſo grievouſly, that, as a Monument of it to future Times, they made a great Heap of Stones in the Place where his Body was burnt: And this they renewed ſeveral Times, after it had been thrown down by Order from the Clergy, until at laſt they ſet a Watch for apprehending any Perſons that ſhould be found carrying Stones to that Place. This plain good Man was put to Death in the Month of *April*, with this remarkable Circumſtance, as is recorded, that the *Baillie* of the *Regality* having refuſed to pronounce Sentence againſt him, no other Perſon could be found to ſupply his Place as a Judge; nor in the whole City could they purchaſe a Cord for Money to tie him with, after he ſhould be condemned: And that for this Reaſon his Condemnation was prolonged for a Day, till the next Morning, that one of the Archbiſhop's Domeſticks took upon him to officiate as a temporal Judge, and condemned him to the Fire; when the Ropes of the Archbiſhop's Pavilion, for want of others, were taken thence to bind him. What preciſe Truth is in this, cannot be determined, unleſs there were more certain Documents to inſtruct the ſame. However, 'tis remarked, that this Man's Death prov'd the Death of Popery it ſelf in this Realm: And the Truth is, it appears the Clergy were ſo ſenſible of their Affairs falling now into Decay, that they never after had Courage to proceed to a Capital Puniſhment upon account of Religion; inſomuch that in the Synod holden at *Edinburgh* in *July* this Year, ſome Perſons that had been delated for Hereſy, were only condemned, upon their Non-compearance, to make a publick Recantation at the Market-croſs of that City, on the firſt of *September* following, being St. *Giles*'s Day, the *Tutelar Saint* of that City.

A merry Story concerning St. *Giles*'s Proceſſion.

Mean time the Feaſt of St. *Giles* approaching, the Cuſtom was, to carry the Image of that Saint in Proceſſion thro' the Town; and the Queen-Regent was to honour the Solemnity with her Preſence. But when the Time of it was come, the Image was a-miſſing; having been ſtoln from its Station by ſome who were too wiſe to favour it with their Devotion. This cauſed a Halt to be made, till another little Image was borrowed from the *Gray-friars*; with which they ſet forward: And after the Queen had accompanied them a good Way, ſhe withdrew into the Lodging where ſhe was to dine. But ſhe was no ſooner gone, than ſome Perſons appointed on Purpoſe, pluck'd the Picture from the Shoulders of thoſe who carried it, threw it down into the Dirt, broke it to Pieces, and ſpoiled the Glory of the whole Pageantry. The People hereupon fell a ſhouting, the Prieſts betook themſelves to their Heels, and a great Stir was in the Streets for ſome Hours after; till at laſt the Magiſtrates having quelled the Mob, and the Clergymen underſtanding there was more Fear than Danger, crept again out of their Lurking-holes: And being re-aſſembled, they judged it beſt to put on a Face of Confidence, hoping thereby to ſtrick a Terror into their Enemies; and for this Purpoſe, they indicted a ſolemn Meeting to be held at *Edinburgh*, the 7th or 8th Day of *November* following. To this Diet *Paul Methven* was ſummoned: But he not appearing, Baniſhment was pronounced againſt him; and a ſevere Puniſhment denounced againſt thoſe who ſhould preſume to receive or harbour him in their Houſes, or ſupply him with any Neceſſaries to ſupport his Life. Nevertheleſs, the Inhabitants of *Dundee*, where he moſtly reſided, were not at all terrified by that Commination; for they ſtill continued to entertain him; nay and even dealt with the Regent, by ſome who were in Favour at Court, that his Baniſhment might be reverſed: However, the Intereſt of the Clergy prevailed with the Queen, ſo that the former did not ſucceed.

Subſcriptions are taken in for mutual Defence in the Work of Reformation.

Whilſt theſe Things were acting, (that is, during the Courſe of this Summer) ſome Perſons travelled thro' all Parts of the Kingdom, ſoliciting Subſcriptions from the People, to join in the Work of Reformation, and not ſuffer themſelves or their Friends to be oppreſſed by a Party not ſuperior to them in Number, and far inferior to them if Juſtice and Truth be conſidered. And theſe ſucceeded ſo well in their Circuits, that ſome being moved with Zeal to Religion, others

1558.

The *Congregation* is ſet up.

others out of a Deſire of Change, and the greater Part longing to be relieved from the Oppreſſion of the Clergy; were eaſily moved to conſent to what was propoſed; by which Means, the chief Leaders perceiving their Party was become conſiderable, and their Numbers not inferior to their Adverſaries; they then, ſays Mr. *Buchanan*, firſt aſſumed the Name and Title of the *CONGREGATION*, which became much more famous afterwards, by the Multitudes of thoſe who joined them. Perhaps indeed this might be the firſt Time that the Word *Congregation* was taken up, to denote the united Body of thoſe who pretended to ſet forward a Reformation in Religion, in Contra-diſtinction to thoſe who were then the eſtabliſhed Church: But that this was not the firſt Time theſe Men had aſſumed the Name of *Congregation*, is evident from their own Bond of the 3d of *December* the preceeding Year, lately mentioned, and inſerted in theſe Papers; in which, tho' it be very conciſe, the Reader may obſerve, that they ſtile themſelves no leſs than ſeven Times the *Congregation*; and that alſo with this ſingular Speciality, as being *The Congregation of the Lord*, in Oppoſition to thoſe of the Church, whom they are there pleaſed to call, *The Congregation of Sathan*.

CHAP. VII.

Containing an Account of State-Affairs, from the Beginning of the Queen Dowager's Regency Anno 1554, *until the laſt Parliament thereof in the End of the Year* 1558.

1554.

Queen-Regent formeth a Court of too many *Frenchmen*.

HOW ſoon *Mary* of *Lorrain*, the Dowager Queen, was veſted with the Regency *anno* 1554, ſhe began to form to herſelf a new Court, to which ſhe preferred a greater Number of *Frenchmen*, than was agreeable to the native Subjects of the Realm. One *Vilmort* was made Comptroller of the Royal Revenues; *Rubay* got the keeping of the Great Seal, and was conſtituted Vice-Chancellor of the Kingdom; which was in effect to ſhuffle out the Earl of *Huntly* from his Office of High Chancellor: And one *Bonot* was made Governor of the Iſles of *Orkney*, a Place of great Profit. Theſe Preferments of the *French* to ſuch conſiderable Poſts in the State and in the Royal Council, joined with a viſible Neglect of the Nobility of the Kingdom, filled the Minds of the People with Indignation and Diſcontent; which ſoon after broke forth in Remonſtrances and Rebellion. Much about this Time, *Mary* Queen of *England* and our Queen-Regent being united in Matters of Religion, reſolved likewiſe to cement the two Nations in a firm and laſting Bond of Peace. For this End Commiſſioners were appointed to meet together from both Sides, *viz.* Sir *Robert Carnegie* of *Kinnaird*, and Sir *John Ballenden* of *Auchnoul*, on the Part of *Scotland*; and Sir *Thomas Cornwal*, and Sir *Robert Bowes*, on the Part of *England*. But what were the Articles agreed upon by theſe Commiſſioners, we know not, except theſe two, *viz.* 1mo. *That if any Perſon of the one Kingdom, ſhould forcibly take from another Perſon of the other Kingdom, any one Fiſh or Fiſhes* (a) *that had been caught by that other Perſon; in that Caſe, the injuring Perſon ſhould pay twenty Pence* Sterling, *over and above any Mulct that might be forfeitd by former Laws.* And 2do. *That if any of either's Subjects ſhall happen to come, by Streſs of Weather or otherwiſe, into any Part of either's Kingdom; ſuch Perſons ſhall be allowed to depart without any Interruption, provided that he obtain a Certificate of his Arrival from the Magiſtrate of the*

Peace with *England*.

(a) This reſpected chiefly the fiſhing on the Borders about *Solway*, either in the Sea or the Rivers. See *Leſly*.

1555. *next adjacent Port or Town; and that during his Abode he hath acted nothing contrary to the Laws of the Kingdom whither it hath been his Lot to arrive.*

Great Improvement of the Laws.

A Project for a regular Tax,

much oppoſed by the Gentry,

The Queen-Regent alſo applied herſelf very much, in the Beginning of her Regency, towards rectifying the Diſorders of the State. The Laws relating to the Adminiſtration of Civil Juſtice before the *Seſſion*, were much improved by the good and prudent Advice of Mr. *Henry Sinclair*, Dean of *Glaſgow*, and Vice-Preſident of that Court. And in the Month of *July* 1555 ſhe called a Parliament; wherein likewiſe ſeveral good Laws were made for the Peace of the Country. And ſometime thereafter ſhe undertook a Journey into the Southern Parts of the Kingdom, in order to keep Juſticiary Courts, and ſettle the Country. She had the laſt Year ſent the Earl of *Huntly* into *Muydard*, and the Weſtern Countries and Iſles thereabout, to ſuppreſs the Inſolences of the Highlanders. But he not anſwering her Expectation, fell under her Diſpleaſure; for which he was committed Priſoner, and was ſentenced to be baniſhed into *France* for five Years; but the Sentence was afterwards changed into a Fine, and his Lordſhip was received again into Favour. But the Earl of *Argile* together with the Earl of *Athole*, were ſent this Year to take the Charge of that Commiſſion, which theſe Noblemen performed to the Queen's great Satisfaction. Nevertheleſs, the Highland Clans having ſoon after broke out of Priſon to which they had been confined, the Queen found herſelf under a Neceſſity to go North likewiſe, in order to chaſtiſe theſe diſorderly Rebels. In the Summer 1556, the Parliament ſat again, when the Regent granted Pardon to ſeveral Perſons that had been forfeited upon account of the Murder of Cardinal *Beton*. This probably was deſigned, to gain the Minds of the adverſe Party to a Compliance with a Bill that was quickly brought into the Parliament; by which it was propoſed, that the Eſtates of all the Subjects ſhould be entred into Regiſters, and that a certain Portion ſhould be paid out of them into a Treaſury, ſet apart to ſerve as a Fund for raiſing of mercenary Soldiers; by which Means the Nobility and Gentry might remain quiet at home; except at ſome extraordinary Emergent, which an ordinary Force could not reſiſt. But this new Project of an eſtabliſhed Tax, and a ſtanding Force, (for hitherto there was no ſuch Thing known in this Country) was not at all acceptable to the People. The Nobility ſtormed at it, yet ſuppreſſed their Diſpleaſure; every one fearing, that if he ſhould firſt oppoſe it, the whole Envy of the Refuſal would fall upon him alone. But the Gentry were more fierce and open; for about 300 Barons met together at *Edinburgh*, and ſent Sir *James Sandilands* of *Calder*, and *John Wemyſs* of that Ilk, Men of great Prudence and Eſtimation, to the Queen, to repreſent to her "the Novelty and Ignominy of this Taxation: That their Anceſtors had not only defended themſelves and their Eſtates againſt the *Engliſh*, when much more powerful than now they are, but alſo had made often Inroads into *England*; and that themſelves had not ſo far degenerated from their Anceſtors, but that they were willing to lay down their Lives and Fortunes for the Good of their Country, when Need required; yea and that they were even obliged, by the Tenure of their Lands from the Crown, to be preſent themſelves in the Wars, and not to commit the Management of the ſame to any other Perſons whatſoever; and that they could not innovate any thing in this Matter, eſpecially at this Time when their Sovereign was under Age." They repreſented likewiſe, "That mercenary Soldiers, who had nothing to loſe, would never fight ſo heartily and couragiouſly, as thoſe who had their own Lives, their Families and Eſtates at Stake. And laſtly, That by this new Management, the Minds of the Nobility and Gentry of the Kingdom would become ſo enervated, that they would eaſily become a Prey to the firſt Invaders."

and dropt by the Queen.

After this Remonſtrance, the Queen-Regent fearing leſt that tumultuous Inſurrections might enſue, did very wiſely and readily give up any further Proſecution of that Deſign; and frankly owned, after being ripely adviſed, that theſe who had firſt put her upon it, were no Friends to the Commonwealth.

'Tis

1556.

'Tis related, even by Mr. *Buchanan*, that ſhe was often heard to ſay, "No "obſcure Men of the Country were the Authors and Architects of that Pro- "ject *(a)*." By which it plainly appears, the Queen's Penetration and Judgment were no leſs conſpicuous, in diſcovering and declining the dangerous Conſequences of ſuch a Mean of Support to her Government, however much approved of ſince; than the Equity and Juſtice of her Mind were eminent, in publickly confeſſing That to be hazardous to the *Subject*, which muſt infallibly have rendred her State more firm, and her Adminiſtration more ſecure, againſt the mutinous Caprice of a turbulent People. The ſame Author, and Biſhop *Leſly*, do both of them declare, that this Project was ſet on foot at firſt by the Courtiers, as well *Scottiſh* as *French*. This was the firſt Time that the Reſentment againſt the *French* Miniſters did publickly appear.

A new Treaty with *England*.

During the Months of *July*, *Auguſt*, *September* and *October* this Year, Commiſſioners *(b)* from *Scotland* and *England* repaired to the Village of *Duns* in the County of the *Mers*; and drew up a Treaty of Peace betwixt the two Nations. While this was a-tranſacting, the Queen went North to *Inverneſs*; where ſhe kept Courts, took Cogniſance of all Crimes and Miſdemeanors, and ſeverely puniſhed the Perpetrators of them. From thence ſhe came to the Towns of *Elgin*, *Banff*, *Aberdeen*, *Dundee* and *Perth*; in all which ſhe adminiſtred Juſtice, and left the Countries thro' which ſhe went, a great deal more peaceable.

The Regent is deſirous to declare War againſt *England*,

A freſh Opportunity for ſhewing Reſentments againſt the *French* Courtiers, was this: The Kings of *France* and *Spain* being at open War, the *French* King ſent to the Queen-Regent, deſiring her to declare War againſt *England*, according to the League ſubſiſting betwixt the two Crowns. The Occaſion of which Deſire was, that *Mary* Queen of *England* was preparing to ſend Forces into *Flanders*, to the Aſſiſtance of her Husband *Philip* II. King of *Spain*. The Queen-Regent being inclined to favour the *French* Intereſt, called together the Nobles of the Kingdom, at the Monaſtery of *Newbottle* in Mid-*Lothian*; and there requeſted them to concur in a Declaration of War againſt *England*. But the Nobles, perceiving that this War was merely intended for the Aſſiſtance of the *French*, and knowing very well that the *Engliſh* had invited Commiſſioners from *Scotland*, to treat about ſettling the Borders, and any Controverſies that remained unadjuſted in the laſt Year's Treaty; and that the Commiſſioners had actually met at *Carlile* in the Month of *July*, viz. *Robert Reid* Biſhop of *Orkney*, *Henry Sinclair* Dean of *Glaſgow*, and Sir *Robert Carnegie*, (both Senators of the College of Juſtice) and the Lord *Harris* Warden of the Weſtern Marches, on the Part of *Scotland*; and *Cuthbert Tonſtal* Biſhop of *Durham*, the Lords *Dacres* and *Wharton*, on the Part of *England*: I ſay, the *Scottiſh* Nobility perceiving the Drift of this projected War, did modeſtly enough decline it, by telling the Regent that they could not give their Suffrages for it, until they had more ripely conſidered the Matter.

but the Nobles are averſe.

Mean time the Queen-Regent, by the Advice of the *French* Miniſters, orders *Monſ. d' Oyſel* to build a Fort at *Aymouth*, which lyes near to *Berwick*; as reckoning the *Engliſh* would do their beſt, to hinder a Garriſon from being erected ſo near them. The Event anſwered the Expectation; and thereupon the Commiſſioners were recalled from *Carlile*: A Herauld is ſent to denounce War againſt the Queen of *England*, unleſs ſhe recalled her Forces out of *France*; and a Proclamation is emitted, by Conſent of the Nobility, for a general Rendezvous at *Edinburgh*. And accordingly a conſiderable Army did advance towards *Kelſo*, in the Month of *October*, under the Command of the Earl of *Arran*; the Earl of *Huntly* having before, with the Forces that had attended the Queen, made two or three proſperous Inroads into the *Engliſh* Borders, without meeting with any conſiderable Reſiſtance. But an Affair fell now out, which

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(*a*) He mentions the Earl of *Huntly* and *David Panter* Biſhop of *Roſs*.

(*b*) Theſe for *Scotland* were the Biſhop of *Dunblane*, *Richard Maitland* of *Lethington*, and *James Macgill* Clerk of Regiſter: Thoſe for *England* were the Biſhop of *Durham*, - - - - - - - -

1557. which made a very quick Turn in the Queen's Meaſures: For *Monſ. d' Oyſel*, of his own Motion, and without waiting an Order from Council, carried ſome *French* Troops and Ordnance over the River *Tweed*; which ſo incenſed the Nobility, now ready to catch at any thing that might give a Handle to their Return, that they very ſpeedily agreed in Council, (a) That they thought it not proper to invade *England*, and thereby venture the whole Strength of the Kingdom; but that the Army might continue on our own Borders, ſo long as it could be maintained. This was not what the Queen wanted; and therefore ſhe gave Orders for diſbanding the Army; and left only the *French* Soldiers at *Aymouth*, with ſome few of her own Forces.

Commiſſioners are nominated to paſs into *France* upon Account of the Queen's Marriage.

On the 14th of *December* 1557, a Parliament was holden at *Edinburgh*; in which the Queen-Regent ordered a Letter (b) from the King of *France*, directed to the Eſtates of *Scotland*, to be laid before them, requeſting, That ſome Perſons of the firſt Rank might be ſent into *France*, in order to witneſs the Marriage of our Queen with his Son the Dauphin, and to tranſact what might be proper for them on that Occaſion. In Compliance with which, I perceive by the Records, a Commiſſion to have been given the ſame Day to the following Perſons, to go over into *France* for that Effect; namely, *James Beton* Archbiſhop of *Glaſgow*; *David Panter* (c) Biſhop of *Roſs*, Principal Secretary of State; *Robert Reid* Biſhop of *Orkney*, Preſident of the Seſſion; *George Leſly* Earl of *Rothes*, a Privy Counſellor; *Gilbert Kennedy* Earl of *Caſſils*, Lord High Treaſurer; *James* Lord *Fleming*, High Chamberlain; *George* Lord *Seton*; *James Stewart* Prior of St. *Andrew*'s, natural Brother to the Queen, and *John Erskine* of *Dun* (d). I ſee alſo in the Records of Parliament, a Commiſſion by our Queen, dated at *Fountainbleau* 16th *March* 1557 (e), to the very ſame Perſons, and to *Antonia de Bourbon* Dutcheſs of *Guiſe*, to be her Majeſty's Procurators at the Treaty of her Marriage; and likewiſe a Procuratory, dated at *Riſleburgh* (f) the 4th *February* 1557, from our Queen-Regent, to the ſame Duthceſs Dowager of *Guiſe* her own Mother, to appear for her, and act in her Behalf in the ſame Affair. Tho' the Regiſters of this Parliament be loſt, yet I am enabled to give the Reader a pretty exact Account of the Inſtructions which were given to the Ambaſſadors, from the Records of the next Year's Parliament, (from whence alſo I had a Sight of the former Papers) when theſe Ambaſſadors preſented themſelves to give an Account of their Negociation. At which Time, they received a very honourable Approbation of their Management; in the Body whereof is ingroſſed the Subſtance, at leaſt of all their Inſtructions, and that at much greater Length than what is contained in the Parliament's Nomination of the Commiſſioners: Which Inſtruments, upon that

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(a) Thus the Matter is related by Mr. *Buchanan*, who likewiſe adds, (upon what Ground I know not) that the Nobles fortified their Reſolution of not invading *England* at this Time at the Humour of a private Perſon, upon this Ground, *viz.* "That they were never wont to obey their lawful Princes in that Caſe:" But Biſhop *Leſly* relates, that the Nobles being called, and having given it as their Opinion, that they ought not to invade *England* at this Time, the Queen thereupon diſbanded the Army. But he ſpeaks not a Word of *Monſ. de Oyſel*'s Attempt, tho' it is not unlikely but he may have induſtriouſly omitted that Affair. Howbeit he ſeems freely to own, that this Matter of the intended War with *England*, from firſt to laſt, did the Queen a great deal of Harm, every Body in a manner perceiving, that her Mind was wholly turned to ſerve the Intereſts of the *French* King; and that her Enemies the Abettors of the new Doctrines took Occaſion from thence, to infuſe into the People an Averſion againſt her Government and Religion.

(b) Mr. *Buchanan* ſeems never to have ſeen it, when he ſays it contains a prolix Enumeration of the ancient Leagues between the two Nations, and a long Chain of fair Promiſes from himſelf to this Nation. There is nothing in the Letter, but what every Perſon would have ſaid on the like Occaſion. See a Copy of it in the Appendix Numb. 9.

(c) This Prelate went not on this Commiſſion: It would appear by this Time he had turned ſickly, for he died 1ſt *October* next Year at *Stirling*. He was a Man of excellent Learning, and notably ſkilled in the *Latin* Tongue, as well appears by the Letters of State penned by him while he was Secretary to King *James* V. and the Governor the Earl of *Arran*, publiſhed lately under the Title of *Epiſt. Reg. Scot. &c.* Vol. 2d. He was at firſt Prior of St. *Mary* Iſle in *Galloway*, and was elected Biſhop of *Roſs* in the Year 1545; but before his Conſecration he was ſent Ambaſſador to the Emperor *Charles* V. *Mary* Queen of *Hungary* Governeſs of *Flanders*, *&c.* and to the Court of *France*, where he reſided in that Quality until his Return Home in the Year 1552, when he was ſolemnly conſecrated in the Preſence of a great Number of the Nobility at *Jedburgh*.

(d) It is a Miſtake of Mr. *Buchanan* to ſay, that only three of theſe Commiſſioners were of the Nobility, and two of the Order of Gentlemen, *viz. George Seton* and *John Erskine*: For it is certain, that *George Seton* not only was of the ſame Rank with *James Fleming*, *i. e.* they were both Lord Barons; but I am informed that *Seton* was the eldeſt Lord Baron in *Scotland* at the Time.

(e) Whether this and the next Inſtrument do not both belong to the Year 1557-8, as that of the 4th *February* certainly doth, I can't ſay: But the Reader may depend upon theſe Dates being exact.

(f) Or *Liſleburgh*, as I alſo ſee it written: But what Place it is, I know not.

1557.

Abſtract of the Inſtructions to the Commiſſioners.

that Account, the Reader will find in the Appendix *(a)*. The Inſtructions were in ſhort, 1mo. They have Orders to obtain from their Sovereign before her Marriage, by and with Advice of her Curators, and again after her Marriage, by and with the Advice of the King of *France*, and the Dauphin her Husband, a Ratification of the Act paſt in the Parliament holden in the Convent near *Haddington July* 7th 1548, touching the ſending her Majeſty into *France*. 2do. To obtain from the King of *France* a Ratification of his former Promiſes, made to the Duke of *Chaſtelherault*, for aiding and ſupporting him in his Succeſſion to the Crown of *Scotland*, if the Queen ſhould chance to die without Children of her own Body. *Item*, To obtain a Declaration to the ſame Purpoſe from her Majeſty and the Dauphin. *Item*, A Diſcharge to the ſaid Duke for all his Intromiſſions with the publick Money, *&c.* during his Government. 3tio. To obtain from the Queen and Dauphin a Promiſe, in ample Form, to obſerve and keep the Liberties and Privileges of the Realm of *Scotland*, and the Laws of the ſame, whole and entire, as in the Days of all her Royal Progenitors Kings of *Scotland*. 4to. That the Queen and her future Husband grant a Commiſſion for a *(b)* Regent to govern the Kingdom of *Scotland*.

Theſe I take to be the principal Heads of the Inſtructions given to the Ambaſſadors ere they went to *France*. They ſet Sail from *Leith* in the Month of *February* 1557-8; and in their Paſſage they met with a violent Storm, inſomuch that one of their Ships was loſt about St. *Abb's-head* ſoon after their Departure, and another near to *Bologne*; in which Port at laſt they all ſafely arrived, at leaſt as to their Perſons.

They arrive in *France*.

Upon their Arrival at the *French* Court, in the Month of *March*, they quickly ſet about the Performance of their Inſtructions; and eaſily obtained the *Ratifications*, *Declarations*, *&c.* which I have already mentioned; the true Originals of all which are to be ſeen bound up with the Regiſter of the Parliament 1558, according as they were preſented to that Parliament by the Ambaſſadors themſelves at their Return home. But it is choaking to hear of the Perfidiouſneſs of the *French* Court at that Time: For notwithſtanding all the ſolemn Declarations made by that King, his Son the Dauphin and our Queen; yet in one Day, *viz.* the 4th of *April*, they make the poor young Queen ſubſcribe the three following Papers, *viz. One*, Wherein ſhe makes over the Kingdom of *Scotland* in free Gift to the King of *France*, to be enjoyed by him and his Heirs, in caſe ſhe ſhall happen to die without Children. *Another*, In which (leſt, I ſuppoſe, that King might be diſappointed in the former) ſhe is made to aſſign to the King of *France*, the Poſſeſſion of the Kingdom of *Scotland*, after her Deceaſe without Children, until he ſhall be reimburſed of a Million of *Pieces d' Or*, or of any greater Sum that he ſhall be found to have expended on her Entertainment and Education during her Abode in *France*. And

The perfidious Dealing of that Court.

(*a*) Appendix Numb. 10.

(*b*) This Commiſſion was granted to the Queen-Mother anew, and the Original of it is to be ſeen in our Records. Both the *Requeſt* and the *Conceſſion* ſerve to diſcover the Partiality or unexactneſs of the Author of the Hiſtory of the Reformation in *England*, if he meant that no ſuch Regulation was now taken Care of, when he ſays thus, Vol. 3d. p. 280 Edit. 1715. "It was a great Piece of Foreſight (*viz.* in the Treaty with *England anno* 1543) to ſecure the Nation by having a Governor with full Powers ſtill reſiding amongſt them. In the ſubſequent Treaty with *France*, there was not that Care and Precaution uſed." If by *the ſubſequent Treaty with* France, he mean a Treaty of Marriage different from this preſent one; tho' he were yet alive, it would coſt him all his Skill to find it out, except it were by *Hear-ſay*. As to what this right reverend Author ſays, p. 279, "It ſeems they (the Parliament) intended that no Peers ſhould be created, but with the Concurrence of the Parliament; for the Lord Governor with the Advice and Conſent of the Eſtates of Parliament, made the Lord *Stewart* of *Ochiltree* a Peer, to have Vote and Place in Parliament." The Matter was this, *Andrew Stewart* Lord *Avandale*, did in the Year 1534 exchange that Lordſhip with Sir *James Hamilton* of *Finnart* for his Barony of *Ochiltree*; and the Alteration of the Title of Lord *Avandale* to that of *Ochiltree*, was ratified in the Parliament 1542-3 in theſe expreſs Words, **The quhilk Day my Lord Governour, with Aviſe and Conſent of the three Eſtatis of Parliament, hes create, maid, and ordanit ane nobil and mychty Man Andrew Lord Avandale Baroun and Baroun-rent, and Lord of our Souvrane Ladyis Parliament, and to be callit he and his Succeſſouris in Tyme to cume Lord Stewart of Ochiltre, and to haif Vote and Place in the Parliament, as utheris Lordis of the Realme aucht and ſould haif in the ſame, haifand all Honours and Digniteis efferand thairto.** This is all the Foundation the Biſhop has for his Obſervation. I ſuppoſe it is not unuſual to ratify in Parliament ſuch Excambions of Lands and new Titles at this Day, tho' no Body will thereupon infer, that the Sovereign cannot create a Peer without Conſent of Parliament. Beſides, I know not if a Governor or Regent of a Kingdom can create a Peer by his own Authority; perhaps not even by Conſent of Parliament. I omit to take Notice of ſome other Eſcapes in Dr. *Burnet* reſpecting the Dates of Papers, *&c.*

1558. a *third*, (the worſt of all) by which the Queen declares, That altho', both before her Marriage and after it, in Compliance with the Deſire of her Parliament, ſhe ſhall ſign a Declaration touching the lineal Succeſſion of her Crown; yet ſhe proteſts, that the genuine Senſe of her Mind is only contained in the two preceeding Papers *(a)*.

After the Ambaſſadors had obtained every thing that was contained in their Inſtructions previous to the Marriage, they afterwards, on the 19th Day of *April*, proceeded to the Marriage-Contract betwixt their Sovereign and *Francis* Dauphin of *France*. It was drawn up in the *French* Language. And becauſe ſome curious Perſons may perhaps deſire to ſee it *verbatim* according to the Original, I have put it in the Appendix *(b)*; but ſhall notwithſtanding give the *Engliſh* Reader a ſhort Account of its principal Contents. It is, as I have ſaid, dated the 19th Day of *April* 1558; and contains an Obligation to celebrate the intended Marriage on *Sunday* thereafter, being the 24th of that Month. The Jointure aſſigned by it to our Queen, is 60000 Livres, in caſe the Dauphin ſhall die King of *France*; or a greater Sum, if ſuch ſhall be found to have been ever given to a Queen of *France*: And it provides 30000 Livres, in caſe her Husband ſhall die being only Dauphin. The eldeſt Son of the Marriage to be King of *France* and *Scotland*: The eldeſt Daughter (in caſe there be no Sons) to be Queen of *Scotland* only, and to be given in Marriage by the Advice of the King of *France*, and the Eſtates of *Scotland*; and beſides her Inheritance of this Kingdom, to have, as a Daughter of *France*, 400000 Crowns in Portion; and each younger Daughter 300000 Crowns. After the Death of her Husband, the Queen to be at Liberty, either to remain within *France*, or return into *Scotland* at her Pleaſure; and to carry along with her, her Servants, Cloaths, Jewels, and ſuch other Things as belong to a Queen of *France*; and to have her Jointure duly paid her, in what Place ſoever ſhe ſhall chuſe to abide. The Commiſſioners from *Scotland* to give, preſently after the Marriage, in Name of the Eſtates of *Scotland*, an Oath of Fidelity to the Dauphin, during the ſubſiſting of the Marriage. And the Dauphin ſhall bear the Name and Title of King of *Scotland*, and have his Arms quartered with thoſe of *Scotland*: And when he comes to be King of *France*, ſhall bear the Titles and Arms of the two Kingdoms of *France* and *Scotland*, united under one Crown. And to this all Parties concerned did likewiſe promiſe and ſwear.

An Account of the Contract of Marriage betwixt the Dauphin and our Queen.

In conſequence of this Contract, the Marriage betwixt *Francis* Dauphin of *France*, and *Mary* Queen of *Scotland*, was ſolemnized at *Paris*, on *Sunday* the 24th of *April* 1558; the Ceremony being performed by the Cardinal of *Bourbon*, Archbiſhop of *Rouen*, in the Cathedral Church of *Noſtre Dame* or *Our Lady*. And upon the 28th of that Month, the Commiſſioners from *Scotland* took an Oath of Allegiance to the King-Dauphin and the Queen, in Name of the Eſtates of *Scotland*; a Copy whereof ſee in the Appendix *(c)*. Thus far we are led in a ſure Path by the Faith of publick Records; but now we muſt again have Recourſe to our Hiſtorians. After ſome Time was ſpent in nuptial Feaſting and Mirth, we are told by Mr. *Buchanan*, that the *Scottiſh* Commiſſioners were called into the Royal Council of *France*; where the Chancellor of that Kingdom recommended to them, to deal with the Parliament of *Scotland*, to deliver up to the Husband of their Queen, the Crown and other Enſigns of Royalty, and that he ſhould hereafter be ſtiled and declared King of *Scotland*. To which, that Author ſays, they made anſwer, That they had received no Commands concerning that Matter: And that when the Chancellor replied, no more was deſired of them at preſent than what was in their

The Marriage is ſolemnized.

(*a*) Copies of theſe three Inſtruments are to be ſeen in a fine large MS. in the Lawyers Library, containing all the Treaties, &c. betwixt our Kings and the Kings of *France*. 'Tis ſaid this was tranſcribed from the Regiſters of *France* by Order of the late King *Lewis* XIV. and given as a Preſent by that Monarch to *Graham* Viſcount of *Preſton*, Miniſter from our King *Charles* II. to the Court of *France*; who requeſted to have this in Place of a Gift in Gold.

(*b*) Appendix Numb. 11.

(*c*) Appendix Numb. 12.

their Power, *viz.* that when theſe Matters ſhould come to be propoſed in the Parliament of *Scotland*, they would give their Suffrages in the affirmative, and in the mean time give it under their Hands that they would do ſo; their Anſwer was, That their Embaſſy was limited by certain Inſtructions, which they neither could nor would tranſgreſs; but if they had been left free from all Reſtriction, yet it was not the Part of faithful Friends, to require that of them which they could not grant without certain Infamy and Treachery, tho' there were no Danger of Life in the Caſe: That they were willing to gratify the *French*, their old Allies, as far as the juſt Laws of Amity required; and therefore they deſired them to keep within the ſame Bounds of Moderation, in making their Demands. Thus far this Author, who ſeems to ſay, that ſoon after this the Ambaſſadors were diſmiſt from Court. 'Tis indeed certain, that there was ſuch a Motion as this made in *France*, as I ſhall ſoon have Occaſion to inform the Reader; but whether it underwent all theſe different Steps, I cannot ſay. Another of our Hiſtorians informs us, that during the Abode of our Commiſſioners in *France*, *James Stewart* Commendator of the Conventual Priory of St. *Andrew*'s, the Queen's natural Brother, being wearied of an Eccleſiaſtick Life, made ſuit to the Queen to be created Earl of *Murray*: But that the Queen being advertiſed of this Deſign by her Mother, exhorted him to continue in his ſacred Function, to which his Father had deſtin'd him; and the better to perſuade him to do ſo, ſhe gave him Hopes of Church-preferments both in *France* and *Scotland*: Which Refuſal he took in ſo ill Part, that ever thereafter he ſet himſelf to oppoſe the Queen-Mother.

Four of the Commiſſioners die about one Time.

After the Commiſſioners were come the length of *Diep*, there to imbark for *Scotland*, 'tis very remarkable, that no leſs than three of their Number died in that Place, *viz.* the Biſhop of *Orkney* on the 6th of *September*, the Earl of *Rothes* about two Days after, the Earl of *Caſſils (a)* on the 14th of the ſame Month; and the Lord *Fleming* having ſickned there, returned to *Paris*, where he died on the 18th of *December*. Several Perſons alſo of their Retinue having died, and all this falling out at a Time when there was no peſtilentious Diſeaſe in the Country, created in the Minds of Men a ſtrong Suſpicion of Poiſon, and did very much contribute to ſharpen the Hatred againſt the *French*: And even *Mezeray*, the *French* Hiſtorian, ſeems to aſſent to the Suſpicion of Poiſon, by the Contrivance of the Duke of *Guiſe* and his Brothers, leſt theſe Commiſſioners ſhould put a Bar to their intended Meaſures againſt this Kingdom. The other four Commiſſioners arrived at *Montroſe*, a Town lying on the North Side of the River *Southesk* in *Angus*, in the Month of *October*; and immediately after their Arrival, a Parliament was ſummoned to meet at *Edinburgh*, on the 29th of *November* 1558. And becauſe Biſhop *Leſly* tells us that this Parliament was fully conveened, in order no doubt to hear the Report of the Ambaſſadors, I ſhall here give the Number of the Members, as I find them in the Rolls. They are as follows, *viz.* ſeven Biſhops, ſixteen Abbots, thirteen Earls, fifteen Lords, two Maſters, ten for the Burrows; in all ſixty three *(b)*.

The Parliament approves of their Management.

On the firſt Day of the Parliament, the four Commiſſioners who had the good Fortune to return home ſafe, exhibited the ſeveral Papers which have been already named, as being the authentick Documents of the Succeſs of their Negociation; and together with theſe, an Act of Naturalization granted by the King of *France* to all *Scotſmen*, to enjoy all the Privileges and Immunities of the natural-born Subjects of his Kingdom *(c)*. Which Papers having been ſeen and read in the Parliament, an Act was paſt that ſame Day, declaring them to have faith-

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(*a*) Tho' Biſhop *Leſly* gives theſe Dates; yet 'tis very doubtful, whether they be exact as to the Death of the Earls of *Rothes* and *Caſſils*, ſince in the Regiſter of the Parliament holden the 29th of *November* 1558, Mention is made of theſe two Earls, as remaining yet in the Parts of *France*.

(*b*) The Reader is not to think, that I have here omitted the Repreſentation of the Shires in Parliament; for at that Time, the Earls, Lords and Maſters, are all marked in the Rolls under the Title of *pro Baronibus*: And yet ſometimes we meet with the Order of *Barones*, as well as thoſe of *Comites*, *Domini* and *Magiſtri*. Gentlemen came ſeldom to the Parliament.

(*c*) In Retaliation of the Act of Naturalization granted by the King of *France* to all *Scottiſhmen*, our Parliament at this Time paſſed a like Act of Naturalization of all *Frenchmen*, to enjoy the Privileges of home-born Subjects; Copies of both which Acts, are to be ſeen in our printed Acts of Parliament.

1558. faithfully and honeſtly diſcharged the Office and Truſt repoſed in them. Next I find in the Records of the ſame Date, an Account of the Project for honouring the Dauphin with our Crown, and the Title of *King*. I ſhall not pretend to give the Reader any Abſtract of it, but rather chuſe to ſatisfy his Curioſity, by inſerting here the Motion made by the Commiſſioners to that Effect in Face of Parliament, and the Act that immediately followed thereupon.

Act for ſending the Crown of *Scotland* into *France*.

ITem, The foreſaid Commiſſionaris, eftir the ſchawing and delivering of the Quiens Grace our Soveranes Writtingis, direct to the thrie Eſtatis in general, and als hir Hienes ſpecial particular Writtingis direct to ſeverale Perſonis of the ſaid Eſtatis, haifand the Credite referrit to thame, declarit that our ſaid Soverane deſyrit the thrie Eſtatis of her Realme ſuld finde it gude, and conſent thairto, That hir Hienes may honor hir Spous the King Dolphine with the Crowne matrimonial, be way of Gratificatioun during the Marriage, without ony manner of Prejudice to hir Hienes ſelf, the Succeſſioun of hir Body, or lauchful Succeſſioun of hir Blude quhatſomevir: And this Crowne to be ſend with two or thrie of the Lordis of hir Realme, to the Entent that the maiſt Criſtin King, and King Dolphine hir Husband, may underſtand with quhat Zele and Affectioun hir Subjectis are myndit to obſerve and recognos hir ſaid Spous. The Quenis Grace Dowriare and Regent, and thrie Eſtatis forſaid, hes thocht and declarit the ſaid Deſire gude and reſſonabill, and conſentis thairto, during the Mariage allanerlie, but Prejudice of our Soverane Ladie, the Succeſſioun of hir Bodie, or lauchful Succeſſioun of hir Blude quhatſumevir, and Liberteis of this Realme: And thairfore hes ordanit and ordanis A, B, C, or ony of thame ſick as pleſis the Quenis Grace to name, to paſs with the ſaid Crowne to the Effect foirſaid allanerlie.

ITem, The Quenis Grace Dowriar and Regent foirſaid, and thrie Eſtatis of parliament, ordanis the Commiſſioun or Commiſſiounis to be maid to the Commiſſionaris, depute to paſs with the Crowne matrimonial, conform to the Act maid thairupoun, to paſs in the haill Eſtatis Names, and to be ſeilit with ſex of the Principale of every Eſtate, and ſubſcrivit with thair Handis: Quhais Seillis and Subſcriptiounis ſall be als autentick and ſufficient, as and the ſamyn wer ſeillit and ſubſcrivit with every perticulare perſoun of the ſaid Eſtatis, havand Voit in parliament as ſaid is.

After this Act, there is to be ſeen in the ſame Records, a long Proteſtation entred in Parliament by the Earl of *Arran*; the Subſtance whereof is contained in the following Clauſe. "That notwithſtanding ony Counſale or Conſent "beis gevin in this rynnand Parliament, othir in generale be the thre Eſtatis, "or ony Parte thairof, to the Coronatioun of the ſade maiſt excellent and puiſſant King Daulphine; or quhat Contract or Conſent it ſall happin ony Perſoun or Perſonis that paſſis thairwith, or ſal be depute thairto be Commiſſioun, "to mak or giſe to the ſade Coronatioun; that the ſamyne na way prejuge "us, and the rychtius Blude forſade, anent the Succeſſioun and Titill that every ane of us may have to the ſade Croun; bot that wi may ſuccid thairto immediately, ilk ane in our awn Degre, giſe it ſall happin, as God forbid it do, "our ſade Soverane departe of this mortale Life, without Airis iſcheit of hir "Body, conform to Equitie, Reſſoun, and the ſade Chriſtin Kingis Promiſs, "with Ratificatioun bayth be his Hieneſs ſelf and the ſade King Delphine, befoir and eſtir the contracting of the ſade Marriage; the Lawis of this Realme, "and Articlis that wes directit and obtenit be the Commiſſionaris for completing of the ſaid Mariage."

Proteſtation by the Earl of *Arran*.

By

By this Account the Reader diſtinctly perceives all that paſt in Parliament, with reſpect to this whole Affair of the Marriage of our Queen. I ſhall only add, that whereas it hath been a very Current Report, that the laſt mentioned Act, concerning the Crown matrimonial, was brought to bear by the Art and Rhetorick of *French* Ambaſſadors, as related by Mr. *Buchanan*; I can aſſure the World, there is not one Syllable of an Ambaſſador from *France* to be met with; nor is there any mention made of the particular Perſons that were nominated by the Queen to paſs into *France*, to carry the Crown matrimonial thither; tho' I doubt not but her Majeſty did, according to the Power ſhe was inveſted with by the Parliament, nominate the Earl of *Argile* and the Prior of St. *Andrew*'s to go on that Errand, as the above mentioned Hiſtorian and Biſhop *Leſly* do both relate. But whatever be in this, certain it is, that our Crown was never ſent into *France*: Nor do theſe Hiſtorians ſay, that the two Perſons above mentioned went thither. On the contrary, they tell us, that being either not much inclin'd of themſelves to undertake the Journey, or being diſſuaded by thoſe of their own Party, (for they were both mighty Favourers of the projected Reformation) who were afraid, that during their Abſence they might ſtand in need of the great Power of the Earl of *Argile*, and the crafty Wit of the Prior of St. *Andrew*'s; they ſhow'd no great Inclination, but delayed from Day to Day to fit up their Equipage; and at laſt gave up all Thoughts of going upon that Embaſſy, by reaſon of ſome things which fell out about that Time, as ſhall be related in the next Chapter. There is nothing elſe material to be met with in the Records of this Parliament, which ſeems to have ſate only two Days, except that on the 5th of *December*, the Acts of Forfeiture paſt againſt *Crichton* of *Burneſton* and *Cockburn* of *Ormiſton*, on the 14th of *December* 1548, for aiding and aſſiſting the *Engliſh* in the Spring of that Year, were now reverſed.

Mary Queen of *England* dies; and *Mary* Queen of *Scots* is declared Heir of that Crown.

Mary Queen of *England* having died on the 17th Day of *November* in this Year, and Things having ſucceeded ſo favourably for the *French* Intereſt in our Parliament; this ſo buoyed up the leading Men at that Court, who were chiefly the Family of *Guiſe*, Uncles to our young Queen, that immediately upon hearing the Account of the Queen of *England*'s Death, they declared our Queen to be Queen of *England* by Right of Blood, in Excluſion of *Eliſabeth*, Daughter indeed to King *Henry* VIII. but born, as was alledged, of an unlawful Bed, whilſt that King's Wife, the Mother of the lately deceaſt Queen *Mary*, was yet alive. And in conſequence of this Recognition, the Arms of *England* were engraven and quartered with the Arms of *Scotland* and *France*, on all the Plate and Houſhold-furniture belonging to our Queen and her Husband the Dauphin. Whatever Right our Queen might claim to the Crown of *England*, yet there could not be a more improper Juncture, than the preſent, to make Declaration of that Right; ſeeing the Affairs of *Scotland* were in great Perplexity at this Time, by reaſon of the prevailing Force of the Favourers of the new Doctrines, and that *England* ſeem'd to be pretty unanimous in Defence of their new Queen; who, as ſhe was a Woman of quick natural Parts, and of a Religion contrary to that of our Queen, laid this Action of the *French* Court ſo much to Heart, that ſhe took all Methods thereafter to ſupport thoſe of her Perſuaſion within *Scotland*, and conſequently to humble our Queen's Authority; the Particulars whereof will beſt appear in all the ſubſequent Parts of this Hiſtory during her Reign.

N. B. Becauſe after this Period, *Matters Eccleſiaſtical* (if they can be ſo called) did entirely take up the whole Attention of the Regent and her Council; any Affairs relating to the State being altogether blended with, and loſt in theſe: Or perhaps, to ſpeak more properly, becauſe all *Church-Matters* were henceforth turned into a *State-Policy*; I ſhall not be able, at leaſt for ſome Time, to treat ſeparately of theſe Affairs, but ſhall be neceſſitated to lay them before my Readers under the general Title of *Publick Affairs*.

CHAP. VIII.

Containing an Account of Publick Affairs, from the Month of November 1558, *until the taking of the Town of* Perth *by the* Congregation, *in the End of* June 1559.

1558. HAVING already given an Account of the firſt Riſe of the *Congregation*, a Name that came afterwards to be much talk'd of in *Scotland*, as being the common Appellation by which thoſe Perſons did denominate themſelves, who entred into an Aſſociation to promote a Reformation (ſuch as it was) in Religion, and to ſet up a ſeparate *Form*, agreeable to their own Notions; and for that Purpoſe to defend each other mutually againſt all Opponents whatſoever: The Thing that comes naturally now before us, is, to follow forth the ſubſequent Steps made by thoſe of the *Congregation*, in order to accompliſh the Buſineſs for which they had formed their Aſſociation. But before we advance, it will not be amiſs to obſerve, that their Agents could not ſo privately travel into the ſeveral Counties, nor Subſcriptions ſo latently be obtained, but the Court muſt have Information thereof. And accordingly we find that the Queen-Regent did lay the Matter ſo to heart, (eſpecially now that *Mary* the *Popiſh* Queen of *England* was dead, and *Eliſabeth* a *Proteſtant* advanced to that Throne) that ſhe laboured what ſhe could to make up the Differences that had ariſen in point of Religion; tho' there is no doubt but ſhe would have laboured ſtill more, had ſhe ſuſpected what very quickly followed.

For the Sticklers for a Reformation underſtanding, by the numerous Subſcriptions that were returned, that the greater Part of the Populace were inclined for them; and foreſeeing by their Numbers, that Matters would ſoon come to an Extremity, it not being probable that their Adverſaries would join Party with them, and that they themſelves were reſolved not to be over-awed by a Party leſs conſiderable than themſelves: They therefore by joint Conſent, that they might not ſeem to contemn the legal Authority, determined to preſent their Demands to the Queen-Regent and her Council; to which they prefixed a pretty large Preamble, which I take the Freedom to preſent here to the Reader.

The firſt Step made by the *Congregation*.

The firſt Oration and Petition of the *Proteſtants* of *Scotland* to the Queen-Regent.

ALbeit we have of long Time contayned our ſelves in that Modeſtie, moſt noble Princeſſe, that neither by Exile of Body, Loſſe of Goods, nor periſhing of this mortall Life, was able to convene us, to aſke at your Grace Reformation, and Redreſſe of thoſe Wrongs, and of that ſore Griefe patiently borne of us, in Bodies and Minds, of long Time; yet are we nowe, of very Conſcience, and by the Feare of our God, compelled to crave, at your Grace's Feet, Remedy againſt the moſt unjuſt Tyrannie, uſed againſt your Grace's moſt obedient Subjects, by thoſe that be called the Eſtate Eccleſiaſtical. Your Grace cannot be ignorant, what Controverſie hath bin, and yet is, concerning the true Religion, and right worſhipping of God; and how the Clergie (as they will be termed) uſurpe to themſelues ſuch Empire above the Conſciences of Men, that whatſoever they commaund, muſt be obeyed; and whatſoever they forbid, muſt be avoyded, without farder Reſpect to God's Pleaſure, Commaundement, or Will revealed to us in his moſt holy Worde; or elſe there abideth nothing for us, but Fagot, Fire and Sword. By the which many of our Brethren, moſt cruelly and moſt unjuſtly have bin ſtricken of late Years within this Realme; which nowe we finde to trouble and wounde our

1558.

our Conſciences. For we acknowledge it to have bene our bounden Duties before God, either to have defended our Brethren from thoſe cruell Murtherers, (ſeeing we are a Parte of that Power which God hath eſtabliſhed in this Realme) or elſe to have given open Teſtification of our Fayth with them. Which now we offer our ſelves to doe, leſt that by our continuall Silence, we ſhall ſeeme to juſtifie their cruell Tyrannie: Which doth not only diſpleaſe us; but your Grace's Wiſdome moſt prudentlie doth foreſee, that for the quieting of this inteſtine Diſſention, a publike Reformation, as well in the Religion, as in the temporall Government, were moſt neceſſarie. And to the Performance thereof, moſt gravely and moſt godly (as we are informed) ye have exhorted, as well the Clergie as the Nobilitie, to employ their Studie, Diligence and Care. We therefore of Conſcience dare no longer diſſemble in ſo weighty a Matter, which concerneth the Glorie of God, and our Salvation: Neither now dare we withdrawe our Preſence, or Counſell, or Petitions, leſt that the Adverſaries hereafter ſhall object to us, that Place was graunted for Reformation, and yet no Man ſued for the ſame; and ſo ſhall our Silence be prejudiciall unto us in Time to come. And therefore we, knowing no other Order placed in this Realme, but your Grace and your grave Counſel ſet to amend, as well the Diſorder Eccleſiaſtical, as the Defaults in the temporal Regiment, moſt humblie proſtrate our ſelves before your Feete, asking Juſtice, and your gracious Help, againſt them that falſlie traduce and accuſe us, as that we were Heretikes and Schiſmatikes, under that Colour ſeeking our Deſtruction; for that we ſeeke the Amendment of their corrupted Lives, and Chriſtes *Religion to be reſtored to the originall Puritie. Farther, we crave of your Grace, with open and patent Eares to hear thoſe our ſubſequent Requeſts; and to the Joy and Satisfaction of our troubled Conſciences, mercifullie to graunt the ſame, vnleſſe by God's playne Word anie be able to prove, that juſtly they ought to be denied.*

Two remarkable Things in this Petition.

In this Petition the Reader will obſerve two Things that are not a little remarkable. One is, they declare, " That hitherto neither the Exile of Body, " Loſs of Goods, nor periſhing of this mortal Life, had been able to make " them ask Reformation at her Majeſty, and Redreſs of thoſe Wrongs; but " that now they are compelled to crave it, by very Conſcience and the Fear of " God." Now, tho' it is no eaſy Matter to judge of the Conſciences and Thoughts of others, yet one may, without Breach of Charity, be tempted to ſuſpect, that a Confidence in their Numbers, as much as any thing elſe, had ſo inſpired theſe *Congregationers* with Courage and Reſolution, to do *then* what they had not dared to do *before*. The other remarkable Paragraph in their Supplication is, " That they acknowledge it to have been their bounden Duties be- " fore God, either to have defended their Brethren from their cruel Murderers, " ſeeing (ſay they) we are a Part of that Power which God hath eſtabliſhed " in this Realm; or elſe, *&c.*" Compare this with theſe following Words, *viz.* " We knowing no Order placed in this Realm, but your Majeſty and " your grave Council, ſet to amend, as well the Diſorder Eccleſiaſtical, as the " Defaults in the temporal Regiment." Might not the Queen and Council, after comparing theſe Expreſſions together, be a little ſtartled at the Subtlety of the Doctrines of theſe Supplicants; and eaſily prognoſticate what would follow, according as their Power and Force encreaſed? And indeed Mr. *Buchanan* very honeſtly acquaints us with what they themſelves reckoned on as the Conſequence, ſhould the Queen-Regent refuſe her Conſent to their Supplication and Demands. For in that Event he tells us, it was the common Opinion, that the Multitude could not be reſtrained from an Inſurrection: Which in other Terms, was much the ſame as to declare, that in ſuch an Event, there certainly ſhall be an open Rebellion.

The Demands annexed to the Supplication were theſe.

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I. That it may be lawful to meet publickly or privately to Common Prayers in the vulgar Tongue, to the End they might grow in Knowledge, and be induced, in Severity of Prayer, to commend to God the holy univerſal Church, the Queen our Sovereign *(a)*, her honourable and gracious Husband, the Ability of their Succeſſion, her Grace the Regent, the Nobility and whole Eſtate of this Realm.

II. That it ſhall be lawful for any qualified Perſon in Knowledge, to interprete any hard Places of Scripture that ſhall happen to be read in the Meetings.

III. and IV. That Baptiſm and the Lord's Supper be adminiſtred in the vulgar Tongue; and this laſt in both Kinds, according to our Saviour's Inſtitution.

V. That the wicked and ſcandalous Lives of Churchmen be reformed, according to the Rules contained in the *New Teſtament*, the Writings of the ancient *Fathers*, and the Laws of *Juſtinian* the Emperor. Which three they are willing ſhall decide the Controverſy betwixt them and the preſent Clergy.

We underſtand by Mr. *Buchanan*, that theſe Demands and Supplication were preſented to the Queen-Regent by Sir *James Sandilands* of *Calder*, about the Time of the ſitting of the Eccleſiaſtick Convention at *Edinburgh*, in the Month of *November* 1558 *(b)*, mentioned in the foregoing Chapter of Church-Affairs. The ſame Author tells us likewiſe, that Demands to the ſame Purpoſe were preſented to that Convention by the Gentlemen of the *Congregation*; and that the Clergy were willing to have allowed Prayers, Baptiſm and the holy Communion, to be performed in the Language commonly uſed in the Country, provided that the Reformers would keep up the *Maſs*, and acknowledge a *Purgatory* after this Life, and Prayers to the *Saints* and for the *Dead*: But as to the Election of Pariſh-Miniſters, the Canons of Councils behoved to take Place. It is alſo related by the ſame Hand, that in this Eccleſiaſtick Aſſembly, the Biſhops were appointed to take Information, in their ſeveral Dioceſes, of ſuch Perſons as neglected to give Obedience to the Laws of the Church; and that when Mr. *Erskine* of *Dun* came to them from his Brethren of the *Congregation*, to ask a Toleration to worſhip God in their Mother-tongue; he was ſent back with nothing but Threats and Reproaches. With reſpect to the Reception which the Supplication met with from the Queen; tho' it be certain her Majeſty reliſhed it no better than did the Clergy, yet becauſe the Parliament was approaching, wherein the Commiſſioners that had been preſent at her Daughter's Marriage, of which Number Mr. *Erskine* of *Dun* was one, were to give an Account of their Reception, &c. in *France*; and in which Parliament, the Queen ſtill wanted ſome Acts to paſs in favours of her Son in law the Dauphin of *France*; ſhe thought it beſt to keep them in hope, telling them, That all they could lawfully deſire, ſhould be granted them in a proper Seaſon: And that for the preſent, they might uſe their Prayers, &c. in the vulgar Tongue; but with this Exception, that they ſhould not aſſemble publickly in *Edinburgh* or *Leith*, for preventing of Tumults. And Mr. *Knox* informeth us, that the *Congregation* departed from the Queen fully ſatisfied with her Anſwer: And he farther ſays, that they uſed themſelves ſo quietly, that for her Pleaſure they put to Silence Mr. *John Douglas*, who would have preached in the Town of *Leith*.

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I. THAT all Acts of Parliament, impowering Churchmen to proceed againſt them as Hereticks, may at leaſt be ſuſpended, until a general Council of the Church, lawfully aſſembled, ſhall decide the preſent Controverſies in Religion; and that in the Interim, Churchmen be only allowed to *accuſe*, but not to *judge*.

II. LEST this preceeding Demand ſhould ſeem to ſet all Men at Liberty to profeſs what Religion they pleaſed, therefore the Parliament are requeſted to enact, That Tranſgreſſors of this Kind be carried before a Temporal Judge, reſerving Power only to Churchmen to accuſe as above; with this ſpecial Proviſo alſo, that an authentick Copy of the Accuſation, Depoſitions, &c. be delivered to the Perſon accuſed; and that the Judge allow him a competent Time to anſwer the ſame, after having taken ſufficient Bail for his Appearance at the Day appointed.

III. THAT all Defences competent in Law be allowed to the Perſons accuſed; and they to be at Liberty to except againſt Witneſſes according to Law.

IV. THAT the Party accuſed be allowed to interprete his own Mind and Meaning, and that his Declaration be preferred to the Depoſition of any other Witneſs whatſoever; ſeeing no Perſon ought to ſuffer for Religion, that is not found to be obſtinate in his Opinions.

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This Petition, with the annex'd Demands, were firſt ſhown to the Queen-Regent; and it ſeems they expected her Aſſiſtance in getting them paſt into a Law, by publick Authority. But ſhe told them, "That *now* was not a proper Time for preferring their Requſts to the Parliament, where ſo many Churchmen did ſit; who would undoubtedly oppoſe her, not only in that, but in all her other Affairs, which at that Time were very great. But, ſaid ſhe, how ſoon Order can be taken with theſe things, which might now be hindred by the Churchmen, ye ſhall know my good Mind; and in the mean time, whatſoever I may grant unto you, ſhall gladly be granted." But this Anſwer of the Queen not ſatisfying the leading Men of the Party, and they knowing that their Demands could not be paſſed into a Law without her Majeſty's Conſent; ſaw themſelves brought under a Neceſſity of complying ſo far, as to forbear preſenting them to the Eſtates, and to reſt ſatisfied with offering a Proteſtation; which 'tis ſaid was read in Parliament, but when they deſired it might be inſerted in the Records thereof, that was denied them; only the Queen-Regent told them, that ſhe would remember their Proteſt, and ſhould put a good End to all things that were then in Controverſy among them. And indeed Biſhop *Leſly* acquaints us, how that the Queen took much Pains, to prevent the Diviſions that appeared to encreaſe in the Minds of the People, concerning religious Matters: And for that Purpoſe ſhe recommended mutual Entertainments and Banqueting among the Nobility, as being a prevalent Mean of cementing Differences and Animoſities. But her Majeſty's good Example and Advice was utterly ſlighted; and therefore ſhe went upon another Expedient, which was, to conveen at *Edinburgh* all the *Eccleſiaſticks* of the Kingdom, that were known to be Men of Learning and Capacity, that they might fall upon ſome Method to heal the preſent Sores, that had infected the Body of the Church. The ſame Author tells us, that this Synod ſate down on the 2d of *March* (a); and that thoſe of the *Congregation* then preſented to the Queen-Regent ſome Articles of Reformation in Matters of Religion, ſupplicating her Majeſty

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Majeſty for her Conſent to the ſame: Which Supplication the Queen delivered to the Synod, by the Hands of the Earl of *Huntly* Chancellor of the Kingdom. The Articles are much the ſame with theſe formerly preſented to her Majeſty: However, I ſhall here inſert them as they are recorded by that right reverend Writer.

to which ſhe preſents theſe Demands of the *Congregation.*

I. THAT publick Prayers be conceived, and the Sacraments adminiſtred in the vulgar Tongue.

II. THAT Biſhops be elected by the Conſent of the Gentry of the Dioceſs, and Pariſh-Prieſts by Conſent of the Pariſhioners.

III. THAT ſuch Incumbents as are inſufficient for diſcharging the Paſtoral Office, be deprived of their Benefices; and others put into their Offices, who ſhall be found qualified and willing to inſtruct the People by conſtant and daily preaching.

IV. THAT all ſuch Churchmen as are either immoral or unlearned, be excluded from the Adminiſtration of the Sacraments, and other Eccleſiaſtical Functions.

The Return of the Covocation to the Demands.

The forementioned Author informs us, that after a long Debate upon theſe Articles, the Synod returned the following Anſwers.

I. THAT they could not diſpenſe with the uſing of any other Language than the *Latin*, in the publick Prayers, *&c.* as being appointed by the Church under moſt ſevere Penalties, which cannot be infringed without violating the Majeſty of God.

II. THAT what is decreed by the Canon Law, concerning the Election of Biſhops and Paſtors, ought to be maintained entire. And moreover, ſeeing the Election of Prelates was a Privilege belonging to the Crown, which required only the Conſent of the Pope; to determine any thing in Oppoſition thereto, at a Time when the Queen was ſo young, would be a Piece of very high Indiſcretion and Inſolence, and a treaſonable Incroachment upon the Royal Prerogative.

III. and IV. THAT as to the other two Articles, they agreed, that the Decree of the Council of *Trent* ſhall take Place, whereby all Churchmen, of what Rank and Dignity ſoever, are obliged, within ſix Months, either to diſcharge their Offices in Perſon, or be deprived of their Benefices.

The Queen favours the Convocation,

The forementioned Gentleman informs us, that the Queen perceiving what was the Mind of the Synod, did put on a Reſolution to aſſiſt the Churchmen in every thing; upon account of which, and of ſome Words that had dropt from her Majeſty, as if ſhe intended by ſome eminent Example to reſtore the Royal Authority; thoſe of the *Congregation* apprehending a Storm to fall on them at that Time, gave Commiſſion to *Alexander* Earl of *Glencairn*, and Sir *Hugh Campbel* of *Loudon*, Sheriff of *Air*, to repair to the Queen, and to beg her, not to moleſt their Miniſters, unleſs they could be charged with preaching falſe Doctrines, or behaving themſelves diſorderly. To which the Queen is ſaid in Paſſion to have replied, "That maugre all they could do, theſe Miniſters "ſhould be baniſhed, tho' they preached as ſoundly as ever St. *Paul* did." The Earl and Sir *Hugh* marvelling to ſee her Majeſty ſo commoved, humbly beſought her, to call to mind the Promiſe ſhe had often made them. She anſwered, as they tell it, "That Promiſes of Princes were no farther to be urged "upon them for Performance, than it ſtood with their Conveniency." Whereupon they rejoined, "If this be the Reſolution you have formed, we cannot "any longer own your Authority; but will henceforth renounce all Allegiance "unto you:" And withal they adviſed her to conſider what Inconvenience

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and gives Orders to cite the Miniſters to appear before the Council.

They are declared Rebels.

was likely to enſue thereupon. This unexpected Anſwer calm'd the Queen a little, ſo that after a few Words more, ſhe ſaid, "She would think how to remedy thoſe Evils in the beſt and moſt quiet Manner." But ſoon after, Advertiſement being brought to her Majeſty, that one of their Miniſters had preached publickly in the Church of *Perth*, ſhe was much diſturbed at the News; and calling to her *Patrick* Lord *Ruthven*, then Provoſt of that City, ſhe commanded him to go thither, and ſuppreſs thoſe Tumults and Novations in Religion. His Anſwer was, "That he ſhould make their Bodies and Goods ſubject to her; "but as for their Minds and Conſciences, he had no Power over them." At which Anſwer ſhe was ſo diſpleaſed, that ſhe vowed to make both him and them repent what they had done. Then ſhe gave Orders to *James Haliburton* Provoſt of *Dundee*, to apprehend *Paul Methven*, and ſend him Priſoner to her: But he being before-hand advertiſed by the Provoſt, ſlipp'd out of the Town; and ſo eſcaped. The Queen being much affected with theſe different Occurrences, and likewiſe finding, that her Orders concerning the Obſervation of the *Eaſter*-Solemnities, had been totally diſobeyed by thoſe of the *Congregation*; ſhe cited all their Miniſters (*a*) throughout the Kingdom, to appear at *Stirling* on the 10th of *May* (*b*). The which Diet approaching, the Profeſſors of the new Doctrines, in all Parts of the Country, made Preparations to accompany their Preachers thither; but eſpecially throughout the Shires of *Angus* and *Merns*, their Zeal was ſo fervent, that few remained at home; but all would needs conduct their Miniſters. And having advanced as far as *Perth*, they deputed the Laird of *Dun* to the Queen-Regent, then at *Stirling*, to declare to her Majeſty, that the Cauſe of their coming thither, was, openly to make Confeſſion of their Faith with their Preachers, and to aſſiſt them in their juſt Defence. The Queen underſtanding ſufficiently what Intereſt that Gentleman had among thoſe of his Party, and apprehending the Conſequence of ſo numerous a Convocation of Men, tho' unarm'd; ſhe intreated him, to perſuade them to return to their own Houſes; and gave him a Promiſe, that the Diet ſhould be deſerted, and nothing done to the Prejudice of their Miniſters. Mr. *Erskine* ſeeming deſirous to do the Queen a Pleaſure, wrote to the principal Perſons aſſembled at *Perth*, adviſing them to ſend home the Multitude, ſhewing them what Promiſe and Hopes he had of the Queen's Favour. After ſome reaſoning at *Perth* upon the receipt of theſe Letters, many of the common Sort were ordered home; but moſt of the Gentlemen, with the Miniſters, remained in *Perth*. When the 10th of *May* came, and the Miniſters had not appeared, according to the Citation given them; they were all denounced Rebels, notwithſtanding the Promiſe given by the Queen-Regent; and every body inhibited, under the Pain of High Treaſon, to aſſiſt, comfort or receive them, or in any manner of way to maintain them. Certainly this was a very raſh Action, and much unbecoming the Majeſty of the Queen; which could not fail to rankle the Minds of her Adverſaries, and to create in them the utmoſt Diſtruſt in all her future Promiſes: Nor is it to be vindicated by any Rule of Policy, unleſs by ſo doing ſhe could have cruſh'd theſe Men, ſo as to have rendred them incapable ever after of making head againſt her; and thereby have perfectly ſecured herſelf and her Government.

The Laird of *Dun* being highly offended with this Procedure of the Queen, quickly withdrew from Court, leſt ſome Misfortune might have befaln himſelf (which perhaps he might have ſome Ground to ſuſpect, ſeeing the Maſter of *Maxwel* was that ſame Day committed to Ward, for ſaying, that he would not deſiſt from aſſiſting the *Congregation*, notwithſtanding any Sentence which already was, or afterwards ſhould be pronounced againſt them:) And being come to *Perth*, and finding the Gentlemen yet together in a Body; he firſt excuſed himſelf for the Advice he had given them, and next declared unto them, it was

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(*a*) *Leſly* mentions only *Willocks*, *Douglas*, and *Paul Methven*.

(*b*) This is the Series as related by Mr. *Buchanan*; but I rather ſuſpect, that the Summons to appear at *Stirling* has preceeded theſe *Reparties* betwixt the Queen and the *Congregation*, if any ſuch there were. Mr. *Knox* ſeems to favour this Order.

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his Judgment that the Queen was implacable towards them; and therefore they ought to provide for the worſt. The other Gentlemen, perceiving by this Diſcourſe, that Matters could no longer remain diſſembled, but that they ſoon muſt come to an Iſſue; without further Ceremony they prepared themſelves to act with open Force againſt the Queen; and the Multitude was ſo inraged, that they were then ready and eager to pull down and demoliſh the Convents, and even the Churches, which in thoſe Days they thought fit to diſtinguiſh as *Places of Idolatry:* To which Piece of religious Madneſs, they were much whetted and encouraged by a Sermon, preached to them that or the next Day by Mr. *Knox*, who was returned into the Kingdom, and had come very opportunely for them to *Perth* at that Nick of Time.

Mr. *Knox* at his Return Home whets the Minds of the People,

Mr. *Knox* had received Letters in the Month of *November* 1558, from the principal Lords and Gentlemen concerned in the Affairs of the *Congregation*, inviting him once more to return to *Scotland*; and leſt he ſhould be any way averſe or dilatory in undertaking the Journey, in conſideration of the Diſappointment he had met with from them the Year before, the ſame Perſons thought fit to write alſo to Mr. *Calvin*, that he would uſe his Authority with Mr. *Knox* to oblige him to comply with their Deſire. It was in conſequence of theſe Letters that Mr. *Knox* did now return. He arrived at *Edinburgh* the 2d Day of *May* 1559; and having ſtay'd there two Nights only, he went ſtraight to *Dundee*, where it ſeems many of the *Congregationers* and their Miniſters then were: Theſe he requeſted, that they would permit him to attend them to *Perth*; which, no doubt, they were as ready to grant, as he was to demand; no Man being more fit for their Purpoſe at that Juncture, than he was. On the 11th of that ſame Month, being the next Day after the Miniſters had been denounced Rebels *(a)*, he preached at *Perth* (as before mentioned) that thundring Sermon againſt Idolatry. And indeed, the adjuſting it ſo exactly to the Time, when the Laird of *Dun* had returned thither from *Stirling*, with an Account of the Proceedings there, and to the Ferment which that Gentleman's Account of Things had already wrought in the Minds of Men; it was juſtly to be ſuſpected, that ſomething more than ordinary was intended by that vehement Diſcourſe; which Suſpicion is put beyond doubt by the honeſt Manner in which Mr. *Buchanan* relates the Story: For he ſays, "That Mr. *Knox*, finding the "Multitude gathered together in that tickliſh Poſture of Affairs, (occaſioned "by the Diſcourſe of the Laird of *Dun)* made ſuch a pathetick Sermon to them, "that he ſet their Minds (which were already fir'd) all in a Flame." And accordingly we find that after the Sermon was ended, and the better Sort of the People had gone to Dinner, ſome *godly Men* (ſo Mr. *Knox* calls them) remained in the Church; whilſt a certain Prieſt was ſo imprudent as to open a Tabernacle or Caſe, in which was curiouſly ingraved the Hiſtory of a great many Saints; and ſo prepared himſelf to ſay *Maſs*. A young Boy ſtanding by among the reſt, called out, "This is intolerable, that when God, by his Word, hath "plainly condemned Idolatry, we ſhall ſtand and ſee it uſed in Deſpight." The Prieſt (Mr. *Knox* ſays) being offended thereat, gave the Child a Blow. This *Child*, if he muſt be ſo called, one would think has been wiſer than what fell to his Share; but ſure the Prieſt does not appear to have been ſo too: For that Blow help'd to throw him and all his Brethren, their Saints and Wealth, and which was the greateſt Loſs of all, many a fine Church, to the Ground. For the Child firſt threw a Stone, which broke one of the Pictures; and immediately the whole Multitude being in a Rage, ſome fell upon the poor Prieſt and his Frame, others upon the remanent Altars; ſo as in a Moment of Time, every thing in the Church that carried, in their Eyes, the leaſt Mark of idolatrous, prophane or ſuperſtitious Worſhip, was demoliſhed by them. This being noiſed abroad in the City, the reſt of the People gathered together in great Numbers, and ran furthwith to the Monaſteries of the *Gray* and *Black Friars*; both which

who ſoon after pull down the Altars, &c. at *Perth*.

(a) By the *Scottiſh* Law, when Perſons do not obey a Citation given by the ſupreme Judges requiring them to appear in the Courts, they are thereupon declared Rebels againſt the King, for Diſobedience to his Majeſty.

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which they gutted in a ſhort Time. The next Viſit they paid, was to the Houſe of the *Carthuſians*, a noble and coſtly Edifice, which they treated in the ſame Manner with the former: And then they threw down all theſe three Buildings, ſo that within two Days nothing remained of them but the naked Walls. Mr. *Knox* would fain perſuade us, that there was not a Gentleman, nor *an earneſt Profeſſor*, preſent in all this raſcally Multitude; yet he tells us, that this Mob was ſo ſelf-denied and upright, by the threatning of the Preachers, that they took none of the Spoil to themſelves; but gave it either to the Poor, or permitted the Monks to carry it off: "So beatten (ſays he) were Mens Conſciences with the Word, that they had no Reſpect to their own particular Profit; but only to aboliſh Idolatry, the Places and Monuments thereof." A rare Inſtance of a raſcally Multitude! This Precedent ſet by the Men of *Perth*, was quickly followed by thoſe of *Cowper* in *Fife*; which, Archbiſhop *Spottiſwood* ſays, the Curate took ſo heavily, that the Night following he put violent Hands in himſelf.

After this grand, but ſhameful Step towards a Reformation, was executed at *Perth*, ſeveral of the Country-people departed homeward; and Mr. *Knox* was left in that City, "to inſtruct the Flock, becauſe they were young and rude in *Chriſt*." But when the Report thereof was brought to the Queen-Regent at *Stirling*, ſhe was highly incenſed; and ('tis ſaid) vowed to expiate this nefarious Wickedneſs with the Blood of the Citizens. She immediately diſpatched Letters to the Earls of *Arran*, *Argile (a)* and *Athole*, deſiring them to come to her, with the Aſſiſtance of all their Friends and Followers. The *French* Soldiers were likewiſe ordered to come in. And ſhe thought to have ſurpriſed *Perth*, before theſe Incendiaries could put themſelves in a Poſture of Defence, or were provided to make any Reſiſtance. But notwithſtanding all the Haſte ſhe was able to make, it was a full Week before the Ordnance could be brought before the Place. In which Time the *Congregationers*, being advertiſed of the Queen's Deſigns, returned to that City about the 22d of *May*; where, after invoking the Name of God, they put themſelves in Condition to defend the Town. And becauſe they did not altogether deſpair of finding Grace from the Queen, whom they either knew to be of a mild Nature, or had not that bad Opinion of their own Actings which other Men might entertain, they drew up a Letter to her Majeſty; which, whether conceived in ſuch Terms as were likely to obtain her Pardon for ſuch a Riot, ſo committed by a raſcally Multitude, who could not be ſtayed from deſtroying the Places of Idolatry, neither by the Exhortation of the Preachers, nor the Commandment of the Magiſtrates, I leave the Reader to judge. The Letter is as followeth.

The Queen-Regent is highly incenſed by theſe Practices.

To the Queenes Grace Regent, all humble Obedience and Dutie promiſed.

AS heretofore, with Jeopard of our Lives, and yet with willing Harts, we have ſerved the Authority of Scotland, *and your Grace nowe Regent in this Realme in Service, to our Bodies dangerous and painfull; ſo now with moſt dolorous Mindes we are conſtrained, by unjuſt Tyranny purpoſed againſt us, to declare unto your Grace, that except this Cruelty be ſtaied by your Wiſdome, we ſhall be compelled to take the Sword of juſt Defence, againſt all that ſhall purſue us for the Matter of Religion, and for our Conſcience Sake; which ought not, nor may not be ſubject to mortall Creatures, farder than by God's Word, Man is able to prove that he hath Power to commaund us. We ſignifie moreover unto your Grace, that if by Rigor we be compelled to ſeeke the extreme Defence, that we will not only notifie our Innocencie and Petitions to the King of* France, *to our Miſtreſſe and to her Huſband; but alſo to the Princes and Counſell of every Chriſtian Realme; declaring unto them, that this cruell, injuſt and moſt tyrannicall Murder, intended againſt Townes and Multitudes, was, and is the only Cauſe of our Revolt from our accuſtomed Obedience;*

The *Congregation*'s Letter to her.

(a) This is the Son of the Earl formerly mentioned, who died in the Month of *Auguſt* the preceeding Year.

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Your Graces obedient Subjectes in all Thinges not repugnant to God,

The faithfull Congregation of Chriſt Jeſus *in* Scotland.

As alſo to the *French* Soldiers:

They wrote in like Manner to *Monſ. d' Oyſel* and other of the *French* Commanders in *Scotland*, and to all the *French* Captains and Soldiers in general, adviſing them, “ Not to uſe Violence againſt them, nor to provoke them to “ Enmity ; for that if they ſhould enter into War, the ſame ſhould remain longer “ than their own Lives, even as long as *Scottiſhmen* ſhould have Power to take “ Revenge.” And particularly they repreſented to *Monſ. d' Oyſel*, “ That he “ declared himſelf no faithful Servant to his Maſter the King of *France*, if for “ the Pleaſure of the Prieſts, he would perſecute them ; and ſo compel them to “ take the Sword of juſt Defence.”

But neither their Letters to the Queen, nor to the *French* Soldiery, had Weight enough to divert the Undertaking. For which Reaſon, they in *Perth* ſent out other Letters to their Friends in *Angus*, *Merns*, *Lothian* and other Counties, deſiring them to repair thither to their Aſſiſtance with all Speed : And the Number of thoſe that came was ſo great, that (ſays Mr. *Knox*) *the Work of God was evidently to be eſpied :* But he had forgot, it ſeems, that Multitudes may be gathered together, as well for evil as for good Ends ; and oftner perhaps for the one than for the other.

To the *Scottiſh* Nobility in the Queen's Army:

When they were all met, and had conſidered that moſt of the principal Nobility of the Kingdom were preſent with the Queen, they thought it adviſeable to ſend a long Letter to them alſo ; in which they take notice, “ That they “ ought not to be perſecuted upon account of Religion, until firſt their Cauſe “ be tried in an open Aſſembly : That what they had done at *Perth*, they “ had done at God's Commandment, who plainly commands Idolatry and all “ Monuments of the ſame to be deſtroyed and aboliſhed : That the Name of “ Authority under which they pretended to act againſt the Congregarion of

“ *Jeſus*

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“ *Jeſus Chriſt*, will not excuſe them in the Preſence of God; becauſe that tho' “ all Authority eſtabliſhed by God is good, and to be obeyed of all Men under “ Pain of Damnation; yet they ought to underſtand, that there is a great Difference betwixt the Authority, and the Perſons of thoſe who are placed in Authority.” Finally they addreſs themſelves to thoſe of the Queen's Army who had been formerly on their Side; and they tell them, “ That as they are reputed already Traitors by God, they ſhall likewiſe be excommunicated from “ their Society, and from the Participation of the Sacraments of the Church, “ which God by his mighty Power hath erected among them; whoſe Miniſters “ have the ſame Power which *Chriſt Jeſus* granted to his Apoſtles in theſe “ Words, *Whoſe Sins ye ſhall forgive, ſhall be forgiven; and whoſe Sins ye* “ *ſhall retain, ſhall be retained.*” Moreover, that no Party of Men might be ignorant of their Intentions, they ſent alſo the following Declaration to the Clergy of the Kingdom.

To the Generation of Antichriſt, the peſtilent Prelates and their Shavelinges within *Scotlande*, the Congregation of *Chriſt Jeſus* within the ſame ſayeth.

And to the Clergy of the Kingdom.

To the end that ye ſhall not be abuſed, thinking to eſcape juſt Puniſhment, after ye, in your blind Furie, have cauſed the Bloud of manie to be ſhedde, this we notifie and declare unto you, that if ye proceede in this your malitiouſe Crueltie, ye ſhall be intreated whereſoever ye ſhall be apprehended, as Murtherers and open Enemies to God and unto Mankinde: And therefore betimes ceaſſe from this blind Rage. Remove firſt from your ſelves your Bands of bloudie Men of Warre, and reforme your ſelves to a more quiet Life; and thereafter mitigate ye the Authoritie, which, without Crime committed uppon our Part, ye have enflamed againſt us: Or elſe be ye aſſured, that with the ſame Meaſure that ye have meaſured againſt us, and yet intend to meaſure to others, it ſhall be meaſured unto you; that is, as ye by Tyrannie intend not onely to deſtroy our Bodies, but alſo by the ſame to hold our Soules in Bondage of the Devill, ſubject to Idolatrie; ſo ſhall we, with all Force and Power which God ſhall graunt unto us, execute juſt Vengeance and Puniſhment upon you: Yea we ſhall begin that ſame Warre which God commaundeth Iſraell *to execute againſt the* Cananites; *that is, Contract of Peace ſhall never be made, til that ye deſiſt from your open Idolatrie, and cruell Perſecution of God's Children. And this we ſignifie unto you, in the Name of the eternall God, and of his Sonne* Chriſt Jeſus, *whoſe Veritie we profeſſe, and Goſpell we have preached, and holy Sacraments rightly miniſtred, ſo long as God will aſſiſt us to gainſtand your Idolatrie. Take this for Advertiſement, and be not deceaved.*

As the Reader will obſerve the peſtilent Spirit, and unmannerly Stile of this laſt Paper, far indeed from the Meekneſs that would have become the Reformers of Abuſes in Chriſtianity; ſo by the Tenor thereof, and of their other Letters to the Queen-Regent, &c. 'tis pretty evident, they had a moral Certainty of Victory ariſing from the Numbers that joined them; otherwiſe 'tis much to be doubted if they would have writ in ſuch a Strain. But ſtill none of their Paper-artillery had any Force on thoſe to whom they were diſpatched: For notwithſtanding all their Advertiſements and Expoſtulations, the other Army, conſiſting both of *Scots* and *French*, advanced, and formed a ſort of Camp at *Ochterarder*, about ten Miles from *Perth*: Againſt whom the Gentlemen of the Shires of *Fife*, *Angus* and *Merns*, with their Followers, marched out, and lay ſome more than a Mile without the City. Whilſt Matters ſtood thus, the Earl of *Argile*, the Prior of St. *Andrew*'s and the Lord *Sempil*, on the 24th of *May*, were directed from the Queen to *Perth*, to enquire the Cauſe of the Convocation of the Lieges there, and whether they deſigned to hold out the Town againſt her the Regent and the legal Authority? To which thoſe of the *Con-*

1559.

Several Meſſages betwixt the Queen and the *Congregation.*

gregation made anwſer, That they had conveened there, only to reſiſt the cruel Tyranny deviſed againſt the Town; and that if the Queen-Regent would ſuffer the Religion already begun to proceed, then they and all that belonged to them ſhould be at her Command. And farther, they beſought theſe Lords to report their Cauſe favourably to the Queen, and to become Interceſſors with her Majeſty in their Behalf: Which they promiſed to do. And the next Day Mr. *Knox* went in the Morning and waited on theſe Lords, when he made a Speech to them, and delivered them a Meſſage to be reported to the Queen in his Name; the Contents whereof were, That they whom her Majeſty in her blind Rage perſecuted, were God's Servants, and obedient Subjects to the Civil Authority: That her Religion was expreſly contrary to that of *Jeſus Chriſt*; which he offered to prove againſt all that within *Scotland* will maintain it. And laſtly, That her Majeſty was fighting, not againſt Man, but God; and therefore her Enterprize ſhould not proſper in the End. But the Queen was ſo little moved with this Meſſage, or ſo little ſatisfied with the Anſwers of the *Congregation* in general, that ſoon after ſhe ſent a Lion-herauld, with Letters, charging all who were not Inhabitants, to leave the Town of *Perth*, under the Pain of High Treaſon: Which Letters the Herauld proclaimed in the Town on *Sunday* the 28th of the Month (a). Of all the Perſons that came to *Perth* at this Time, none was ſo much talk'd of as the Earl of *Glencairn*; who tho' he lived at a great Diſtance, in the Shire of *Air*; yet, on Advertiſement given him, he travelled Night and Day over the Mountains, (the ordinary Paſſes being ſhut up by the Queen's Troops, and, by her Orders, the Bridges over the Rivers of *Forth*, *Gudy* and *Taith*, cut) until he arrived at *Perth*, with 1200 Horſe, and 1300 Foot. The Queen having certain Intelligence of the March of this Earl, (in whoſe Company were the Lords *Ochiltree* and *Boyd*, the Lairds of *Loudon*, *Cragie Wallace*, *Ceſnock*, and other Gentlemen of the Weſt) took particular Care that no Advertiſement of his coming might reach thoſe at *Perth*, on deſign that they, deſpairing of Force ſufficient to withſtand her, might be the more eaſily induced to condeſcend to ſuch Terms as ſhe had a mind to offer them. And to anticipate their Stubbornneſs, which ſhe knew would encreaſe upon *Glencairn*'s Arrival, ſhe ſent to *Perth*, demanding ſome Perſons to be ſent to her Camp, in order to talk with the Earl of *Arran* and *Monſ. d' Oyſel*, concerning ſome reaſonable Agreement. In obedience to which Deſire, *Erskine* of *Dun*, *Ogilvy* of *Invercarity*, and *Scott* of *Abbotſhall*, were ſent to *Ochterarder*. The Earl of *Arran* and *Monſ. d' Oyſel* required, that the Town of *Perth* ſhould be left patent to her Majeſty, and all other Matters referred to her Diſcretion. The Gentlemen replied, they had no Warrant to go in to ſuch Propoſals; but that if the Queen would promiſe no body ſhould be diſturbed for the laſt Commotion in *Perth*, and if ſhe would ſuffer the Religion begun, to go forward, and would leave the Town at her Departure free from *French* Soldiers; then they would deal with their Aſſociates, that the Queen ſhould be obeyed in all things: Nothing however was formally agreed to. The Gentlemen were courteouſly uſed and diſmiſt, with a Deſire that they would labour to perſuade theſe their Brethren to Peace and Concord; which at their going off they ſeem'd to be well ſatisfied with. But ſcarce were they returned, when the Queen was certified that the Earl of *Glencairn* had paſt by her Out-guards, was got ſafely thro' all Impediments, and was in a plain March to *Perth*: Upon which ſhe diſpatched thither a ſecond Time the Earl of *Argile*, the Prior of St. *Andrew*'s, (then commonly called *Lord James*) and *Gavin Hamilton* Abbot of *Kilwinning*. But the Earl of *Glencairn* was arrived at *Perth* before theſe three Commiſſioners could reach it, where they found the Multitude much more uppiſh than formerly. Mr. *Knox*, with Mr. *Willocks*, who was newly arrived in Company of the Earl of *Glencairn*, came to the Earl of *Argile* and Lord *James*, and bitterly accuſed them of Infidelity, in not taking Part with their Brethren; both of them being look'd upon as great

Favourers

(a) Mr. *Knox* ſays, Sunday the 27th Day; but if it was done on a Sunday, it muſt have been on the 28th.

1559.

Favourers of a Reformation. They anſwered, Their Hearts were ſtill conſtant with their Brethren; but becauſe they had promiſed the Queen to labour an Agreement, they could not falſify their Word: Adding, that if the Queen did violate the leaſt Jot of what ſhould now be agreed upon, they would, in that Caſe, join themſelves openly with the *Congregation* in all Time coming. This Promiſe being made, and theſe two Lords preſſing much an Agreement, Mr. *Knox* ſays, the Preachers, with much ado, perſuaded the Multitude to conſent thereto: But he likewiſe tells us, that in their Sermons they plainly and openly affirmed, that they were aſſuredly perſuaded the Queen meant no Truth. The Agreement was made on *Monday* the 29th of *May*; the Articles were,

Which end in an Agreement.

I. That both the Armies ſhould be disbanded; and the Town left open to the Queen.

II. That none of the Inhabitants ſhould be moleſted on account of the late Alteration in Religion.

III. That no *Frenchmen* ſhould enter the Town, nor come within three Miles of it: And that when the Queen retires, no *French* Garriſon ſhall be left in the Town.

IV. That all other Controverſies be referred to the next Parliament.

The next Day the *Congregation* departed from *Perth*, after that Mr. *Knox*, in a Sermon, at which were preſent many of the oppoſite Party, had exhorted them to thank God for ſtopping the Effuſion of Blood; but at the ſame time not to faint in ſupporting ſuch as ſhould afterwards be perſecuted: "For (ſaid he) "I am aſſured that no Part of this Promiſe made ſhall be longer kept, than the "Queen and her *Frenchmen* have the Upper-hand." This Exhortation had the intended Effect; for before that the Multitude of the *Congregation* left the City, they took care not to diſſolve themſelves, but to enter into a ſtraiter Confederacy, by entring under a new Bond, which was drawn up by the Perſons commiſſioned ſo to do, and ſubſcribed the next Day, the Tenor whereof followeth.

The *Congregation* frame a new Aſſociation, called *the ſecond Covenant.*

At Perth, *the laſt Day of* May, *the Year of God* 1559 *Years, the Congregations of the Weſt Country, with the Congregations of* Fyfe, Perth, Dundee, Angus, Mearns *and* Montroſe, *being conveened in the Town of* Perth, *in the Name of* Jeſus Chriſt, *for forth ſetting of his Glory, underſtanding nothing more neceſſary for the ſame, than to keep a conſtant Amity, Unity and Fellowſhip together, according as they are commaunded by God, are confederat, and become bounden and obliſt, in the Preſence of God, to concur and aſſiſt together, in doing all things required of God in his Scripture that may be to his Glory; and at their whole Powers to deſtroy and away put all things that doth Diſhonour to his Name; ſo that God may be trewly and purely worſhipped. And in caſe that any Trouble be intended againſt the ſaid Congregations, or any Part or Member thereof, the whole Congregation ſhall concur, aſſiſt and conveen together, to the Defence of the ſame Congregation or Perſon troubled; and ſhall not ſpare Labours, Goods, Subſtance, Bodies and Lives, in maintaining the Liberty of the whole Congregation, and every Member thereof, againſt whatſoever Power that ſhall intend the ſaid Trouble, for Cauſe of Religion, or any other Cauſe depending thereupon, or lay to their Charge under Pretence thereof, although it happen to be coloured with any other outward Cauſe (a). In witneſſing and Teſtimony of the which, the whole Congregations aforeſaid have ordained and appointed the Noblemen and Perſons underwritten to ſubſcribe thir Preſents.* Arch. Argyle. James Stewart. Glencarne. R. *Lord* Boid. Wchiltree. Matthew Campbell *of* Tarringannarr.

(a) This was no leſs than a downright Rebellion againſt the civil Authority in every Reſpect, ſince it was eaſy for theſe Men to explain all Acts proceeding therefrom, as injurious to their Religion.

1559.

Immediately after the Departure of the *Congregation*, on the 30th of *May*, the Queen entred the City of *Perth*, with ſome *French* Soldiers in her Retinue: One of which paſſing by the Houſe of *Patrick Murray*, a violent Man in the Cauſe of Religion, ſhot his Son, a young Boy, who, with the reſt of the Family, was leaning on a Balcony to behold the Queen's Entry and Cavalcade. Some ſay there were ſix or ſeven Shot diſcharged againſt the Houſe. The dead Corps was laid before the Queen's Lodging: And when ſhe was told of what had faln out, ſhe is ſaid to have replied, "That the Chance was to be "lamented, and ſo much the rather, becauſe it had lighted on the Son, and "not on the Father; but that ſhe could not prevent nor help ſuch caſual Acci-"dents." And which was ſtill worſe, three Days had not paſt, when all the Heads of the Capitulation were broke; ſome of the Citizens were exiled, and others fined; the old Magiſtrates were turned out, and new ones appointed in their Places. After which her Majeſty going for *Stirling*, ſhe left in the Town four (*a*) Companies of *Scottiſh* Soldiers for a Garriſon, with Orders to permit no other Worſhip there, but that of the *Roman* Church. Some Perſons about the Queen, who wiſh'd that Matters might not be carried ſo high, having repreſented to her, that tho' the Garriſon conſiſted of *Scotſmen*, yet they would be look'd upon as *French* Soldiers, ſince they received Pay from the *French* King; ſhe ſaid, "That Princes ought not to have their Promiſes too ſtrictly "urged upon them; nor were Promiſes to be kept with Hereticks: And that "for her Part, ſhe could freely kill and undo all that ſort of Men, if ſhe could "do it with as plauſible an Excuſe." Indeed her Majeſty ſeems to have been but ill adviſed in theſe Actings and Expreſſions, if ſo be they were real, and have received no Exaggeration in the narrating; which I very much ſuſpect: For tho' ſhe had good reaſon to ſecure the Town of *Perth*, as being highly convenient for the aſſembling of Forces from all Quarters of the Kingdom, and being the only walled Town in it, and the Inhabitants a warlike ſort of People, and at that Time, together with the Gentry about, greatly inclined to thoſe of the *Congregation*; yet the Advantage ſhe made thereby, was little or nothing, when compared with the Hatred ſhe incurred by her Breach of Promiſes. For if it be true that Mr. *Buchanan* relates, after this ſhe never ſaw a good Day; but was by moſt People deſpiſed, and publickly contemned (*b*).

The Queen-Regent breaks thro' the Agreement:

Whereupon, the Earl of *Argile* and Prior of St. *Andrew*'s deſert her.

The Earl of *Argile* and Lord *James* perceiving how Things went, did preſently withdraw to St. *Andrew*'s: And tho' by Letters ſhe charged them, upon their Allegiance, to return to *Perth*; yet they refuſed, excuſing themſelves becauſe of her Proceedings. After which they wrote to the neighbouring Nobility and Gentry of their Faction, to meet in that Town the 4th of *June*, in order to concert Meaſures for their mutual Defence; becauſe the Queen-Regent was at *Falkland* with her *French* Soldiers, deſigning to take Poſſeſſion of the Towns of *Cowper* and St. *Andrew*'s. Their Call was obeyed, and Mr. *Knox* came thither with the reſt. On the 9th of that Month, the Lords and others went to *Crail*, a Sea-town about ſix Miles South of St. *Andrew*'s: There Mr. *Knox*, in a Sermon he made them, put the *Congregation* in mind of what he had foretold them at *Perth*; exhorting them not to be any longer deluded with fair Promiſes; and wiſh'd them to prepare themſelves to die as Men, or to live victorious: By which Exhortation his Hearers were ſo moved, that they immediately proceeded to the pulling down of the Altars and Images. Next Day he preached in the Town of *Anſtruther*, another Sea-port three Miles Southweſt from *Crail*; where the like Havock was made; but ſtill we are told, with more *Anger* than *Avarice*. The Archbiſhop of St. *Andrew*'s, hearing that Mr. *Knox* intended on the Morrow, which was *Sunday* the 11th of *June*, to preach to the *Congregation* in his Cathedral Church of St. *Andrew*'s, came thither the *Saturday* before, accompanied with 100 armed Men, to ſtop him. And

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(*a*) *Leſly* ſays, 600 Men.

(*b*) I ſuppoſe the Contempt is to be meant by thoſe of a certain Party only. And as to her not ſeeing a good Day after this, 'tis certain, that ſome Time afterwards ſhe had ſo far reduced the *Congregation*, that unleſs the Queen of *England* had ſtept in to their Relief, ſhe had, in all humane Probability, cruſht them to Pieces.

1559.

And the Lords were ſo apprehenſive of the Miſchief that might follow, conſidering that *Falkland*, where the Queen and the *French* lay, was but twelve Miles diſtant from St. *Andrew's*; that they counſelled Mr. *Knox* to forbear preaching at that Time. But no Perſuaſion of his Friends, nor threatning of his Enemies, could prevail with him. He told them among other things, "That to delay to preach to Morrow, he could not in Conſcience, becauſe in that Town and Church, God firſt began to call him to the Dignity of a Preacher; from which tho' he had been reft by the Tyranny of *France*, and Procurement of the Biſhops; yet he had often foretold, that his aſſured Hope was, in open Audience to preach in St. *Andrew's*, before he departed this Life." Some perhaps may have Difficulty to find out, what Obligation lay upon the Conſcience, to have preached that particular Day at St. *Andrew's*, from the Reaſons here aſſigned. But the Archbiſhop having thought it expedient to depart to *Falkland* next Morning, becauſe he found the Affections of the Generality of the Citizens inclining to the *Congregation*, (which, no doubt, the Preacher had likewiſe perceived; and perhaps *that*, as much as any thing elſe, had rendred him ſo peremptory) Mr. *Knox* did preach that Day: And having taken for his Subject that Portion of holy Scripture which treats of our Saviour's driving the Buyers and Sellers out of the Temple, he from thence ſo incited the People, that after Sermon they went, in a moſt tumultuous Manner, and ſpoiled all the Churches in the City; pulling down and levelling the Monaſteries of the *Franciſcan* and *Dominican Friars* to the Ground. The News whereof being brought to the Queen, ſhe preſently gave Orders for the *French* Soldiers to march to St. *Andrew's*; directing Proclamations thro' all the adjacent Parts, ordering the fencible Men to meet her in Arms the next Morning at *Cowper*. The Lords at St. *Andrew's* getting Intelligence of this, reſolved to prevent her Majeſty; and accordingly came to *Cowper* on *Monday* Night, accompanied only with about 100 Horſe. And they alſo having called their Adherents to their Aſſiſtance, ſo readily was their Summons obeyed, that next Day before Noon, their Number was encreaſed to above 3000; and Mr. *Knox* tells us, "That God did ſo multiply them, that it appeared as Men had rained from the Clouds." On the 12th of the Month, before Sun-riſing, the Queen's Army departed from *Falkland*; and the *Congregation* encamped very early the ſame Day, on the Moor be-weſt *Cowper*. When it was perceived by the Queen's Party, that the other was the moſt numerous, and that they all appeared forward to fight, the Duke and the Earl *Mariſchal* had ſome private Conference with the Earl of *Argile* and Lord *James*, with deſign to divert an Engagement, which might prove fatal to both Parties. This Conference had the deſired Effect; for immediately the Lord *Lindſay*, with the Laird of *Waughton*, were ſent from the Earl of *Arran*, by Conſent of the Queen, and as Commander in Chief of the *Scots*, to hear Propoſals for Peace. But becauſe the Queen alledged, ſhe could not agree to the Demands of the *Congregation*, until ſhe had firſt adviſed with the *French* King, (*viz.* about ſending away the *French* Soldiers) a Truce only was made for eight Days. Biſhop *Leſly* tells us, that after this Agreement, the Duke and the Earl *Mariſchal* earneſtly beſought the Queen that ſhe would preſently go for *Edinburgh*, and call a Parliament to meet her there, as the beſt and only Mean for healing the Diſturbances that were then in the Kingdom. And that Author adds, that her Majeſty did ſeriouſly lay to heart the Advice of theſe Noblemen; but that whilſt ſhe was deliberating thereupon, ſhe got an Account of the March of the *Congregationers* towards *Perth*. The Hiſtorians of the oppoſite Party give a different Turn to their Account of theſe Affairs: And ſeeing the Account we have from them, is by much the largeſt, I muſt proceed with the Hiſtory as it is related by them; and this requires that a Copy of the Truce, as it was then concluded, be laid before the Reader; the Tenor whereof follows.

Great Deſtruction of Monaſteries, *&c.* in the Towns where Mr. *Knox* preacheth.

The Armies of the Queen and the *Congregation* face each other at *Cowper*.

1559. WE James *Duke of* Chattellerault, *Earl of* Arran, *Lord* Hamiltone, *and my Lord* d' Ozel *Lieutenant for the King in theſe Parts, for our ſelves, our Aſſiſtaries and Partakers, being preſently with us in Company; by the Tenor hereof promits, faithfully of Honour, to my Lords* Archbald *Earl of* Argyle, *and* James *Commendator of the Priorie of St.* Andreus, *to their Aſſiſtaries and Partakers, being preſently with them in Company, That we and our Company aforeſaid ſhall retire incontinent to* Falkland, *and ſhall with Diligence tranſport the* Frenchmen, *and our other Folks now preſently with us; and that no* Frenchmen, *or other Soldiers of ours, ſhall remain within the Bounds of* Fyfe, *but ſo many as before the raiſing of the laſt Army, lay in* Dyſert, Kirkaldie *and* Kinghorne; *and the ſame to lye in the ſame Places onlie, if we ſhall think good. And this to have Effect for the Space of eight Days following the Date hereof excluſive, that in the mean time certain Noblemen, by the Advice of the Queen's Grace, and the reſt of the Council, may convene, to talk of ſuch Things as may make good Order and Quyetnes amongſt the Queen's Lieges. And farther, we nor non of our Aſſiſtaries being preſent with us, ſhall invade, trouble or diſquyet the ſaid Lords nor their Aſſiſtaries, during the ſaid Space. And this we bind and oblige us, upon our loyal Fidelity and Honour, to obſerve and keep in every Point above written, without Fraud or Guile. In Witneſs whereof we have ſubſcribed theſe Preſents with our own Hands, at* Garle-banke, *the* 13. *Day of* June 1559. James. "The other Subſcription, ſays Mr. *Knox*, we could not "read; but the Similie is this, Meneits."

A Truce for eight Days.

This Aſſurance, ſubſcribed by the two Generals of the Queen's Army, having been delivered to the Lords of the *Congregation*; theſe firſt withdrew from the Field, and next, diſmiſſing the Multitude, they and the Gentlemen went ſtraight to St. *Andrew*'s. But when no body came thither from the Queen, to treat of ſuch Things as had been promiſed, and that Complaints were daily brought in to them of the Hardſhips uſed by the Laird of *Kinfawns*, whom the Queen had placed Provoſt in the Town of *Perth*; the Earl of *Argile*, and Lord *James* Prior of St. *Andrew*'s, the two Chiefs of the *Congregation*, wrote to the Queen, ſhewing, "how that at her ſpecial Deſire, they had dealt with "the *Congregation* at *Perth*, and had brought them to accept of the Conditions propoſed by her Majeſty; the Breach whereof, chiefly in one Point, "*viz.* the placing of a Garriſon in the Town of *Perth*, was no leſs diſhonourable to them, who had given their Promiſes to the contrary, than it was "grievous to the People. Therefore their Requeſt was, that the Garriſon "might be removed, and the Town reſtored to its former Liberty: Which "Thing, were it done, they doubted not but good Succeſs would follow "thereupon, to her Majeſty's Content." No Anſwer having been returned by the Queen-Regent to this Letter, the Lords and Gentlemen of the *Congregation* took a Reſolution to expel the Garriſon out of *Perth* by Force: And having warned their Friends of *Fife*, *Angus*, *Merns* and *Strathern*, to conveen thereabout on the 24th of *June*, they ſummoned the Magiſtrates and Garriſon to leave the City open to all her Majeſty's Lieges. But they anſwering, that they would maintain the City for the Queen-Regent; and the Earl of *Huntly* Chancellor of the Kingdom, together with the Lord *Erskine*, and *John Bannantine* Juſtice Clerk, having come from the Queen, to perſuade them to delay the Siege at leaſt for ſome Days; the Lords foreſaid declared, that they would not delay it for one Hour: And therefore they ſummoned the Town a ſecoud Time, certifying them in the ſame Manner as they had done before. And likewiſe they declared to the Chancellor, that if but one Perſon ſhould happen to be killed in the Aſſault, all their Lives ſhould pay for it. The Chancellor being much offended herewith, departed from before the Place, ſince he ſaw he could not bring about any good Accommodation for the Queen. Nevertheleſs the Garriſon

The *Congregation* form a Reſolution to retake *Perth*.

1559.

Which ſurrenders to them.

Garriſon perſiſted to anſwer as formerly. But when on *Saturday*, at ten in the Night, they perceived the Battery to begin, and that no Relief was like to come from the Queen, they beat a Parly, and agreed, that if againſt twelve a-clock on the Morrow, no Succours did arrive, then they ſhould be allowed to march out with Colours flying. Which accordingly they did on *Sunday* the 25th of *June:* And the Lord *Ruthven* was repoſſeſſed of his Office of Magiſtracy in the City. The next Day, ſome *zealous Men*, as Mr. *Knox* ſays, were of Opinion that ſome Courſe ſhould be taken with the Biſhop of *Murray (a)*, and the Palace and Abbey of *Scoon*, ſituated a Mile North of *Perth*; becauſe that from it he had threatned *Perth* with his Men that lay there: Upon which the Lords wrote to him, that unleſs he would come and aſſiſt them, they could not ſave his Palace. He promiſed to do ſo: But it ſeems his Anſwer was ſomewhat late a-coming; whereupon the Men of *Perth* and *Dundee* marched forward to demoliſh that ſtately Edifice. The Lords, ſome Gentlemen and Mr. *Knox* went after them, to diſſuade them from Violence; but nothing could prevail. When the Flames were aſcending, an old Woman, perceiving that many Perſons were offended thereat, ſaid, "Now I ſee and underſtand that God's Judgments are juſt, and that no Man is able to ſave where he will puniſh. Since my Remembrance this Place hath been nothing elſe but a Den of Whoremongers: It is incredible to believe, how many Wives have been adulterated, and Virgins deſloured, by the filthy Beaſts which have been foſtered in this Den; but eſpecially by that wicked Man who is called the Biſhop. If all Men knew as much as I, they would praiſe God, and no Man would be offended." At which Words, Mr. *Knox* ſays, "many were pacified, affirming with her that it was God's juſt Judgment." Tho' he adds, "That if the Labours or Travel of any Man could have ſaved that Place, it had not been at that Time deſtroyed; for Men of greateſt Eſtimation laboured with all Diligence for the Safety of it." This methinks might have made Mr. *Knox* aſhamed of his own Conduct, by which he inflamed the Paſſions of the Multitude, and even urged them forward to theſe diſorderly Proceedings, that are ſuch a Scandal to themſelves, and ſo contrary to the Spirit of true Chriſtianity. He ought to have blamed himſelf, when he ſaw the diſmal Conſequences which attended his fiery Counſels; ſince, as he himſelf relates, neither the principal Lords and Gentlemen, nor even he the Inſtigator, was able to put a Stop to that religious, or rather irreligious Fury. 'Tis an eaſy Matter to raiſe the *Devil*, but few know how to lay him again.

The Abbey of *Scoon* is burnt down.

CHAP. IX.

Containing an Account of Publick Affairs, from the taking of the Town of Perth *by the* Congregation, *in the End of* June 1559, *until the Act of Deprivation, made by the ſaid* Congregation, *againſt the Queen-Regent, in the End of* October *the ſame Year.*

AFTER the taking of *Perth*, and the Demolition of the fine Abbey of *Scoon*, the Place where our Kings were uſually crowned, the Queen-Regent juſtly ſuſpecting that thoſe of the *Congregation* would advance farther into the Country, and pay a Viſit of Reformation to the Counties ſituated on the South of the River *Forth*; and conſidering that the Town of *Stirling* was the only Paſs thither over Land, by means of its Bridge: Her Majeſty had determined to ſend thither ſome *French* Soldiers, in order to prevent

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(*a*) This was *Patrick Hepburn*, who was likewiſe Commendator of the Abbey of *Scoon*.

1559.

Monaſteries deſtroyed in and about *Stirling*,

Linlithgow,

and *Edinburgh*.

vent their Paſſage. Which being underſtood by the Friends and Spies of thoſe on the other Side of the Water; the Earl of *Argile* and the Lord *James Stewart* departed ſecretly from *Perth*, late the ſame Night they had been at *Scoon*; and entring *Stirling* early next Morning, their Preſence did ſo animate thoſe who were of a like Mind with them, that immediately they *(a)* pulled down all the Monaſteries to the Ground, in and about that City; and, among the reſt, the remarkable Abbey of *Cambuskeneth*, ſituated in the Midſt of the Valley a little below the Town, on the North Bank of the *Forth*. After three Days Abode at *Stirling*, in reforming, and in levelling the Churches, they ſet forward to *Edinburgh*, *for Reformation to be made there* likewiſe, as Mr. *Knox* is pleaſed to word it: But made a Halt at *Linlithgow*, which is a Town lying Half-way betwixt *Stirling* and *Edinburgh*, being twelve Miles diſtant from each. There they made the ſame Havock as at *Stirling*. And tho' they were not above 300 Men, they ſtruck ſuch a Terror wherever they came, that the Queen, who was then at *Edinburgh*, and ſufficiently informed by the Lord *Seton*, then Provoſt of that City, that the Inclinations of the People were moſt on the other Side, thought fit to remove thence to *Dunbar*, with all her *French* and *Scots* Soldiers.

Mean time the *Congregation* marched forward to *Edinburgh*, on the good Errand of Reformation; whither, ſays Mr. *Knox*, *we* arrived the 29th *June*. But before their coming, ſuch Havock was made in the Monaſteries, *that*, adds this Author, *we were the leſs troubled in putting Order (b) to ſuch Places*. In this Capital of the Kingdom, the *Congregation* determined to remain ſome Time, for putting their Affairs in Order, and for ſuppreſſing all Monuments of *Idolatry* within that City, and the Places next adjacent. And beſides cleanſing the Churches of every thing that, according to them, came under that Denomination, they appointed Preachers, of whom Mr. *Knox* was one, to expound the Scriptures to the People. They alſo took Poſſeſſion of the Coining-irons in the Mint; becauſe, as they pretended, the common Neceſſaries of Life were become exceeding dear, by the ſtamping of baſe Money.

The Queen being much perplexed by theſe Proceedings of the *Congregation*; and dreading, from ſuch Inſults, a total Overthrow of the Regal Authority; knowing herſelf in no Condition to repel Force by Force, ſhe determined to try a new Method for recalling the Minds of the People to their due and ſworn Allegiance, by repreſenting to them theſe their turbulent Seducers in a true and proper Light: For which Purpoſe ſhe emitted the following Proclamation.

Proclamation by the Queen-Regent againſt the *Congregation*.

FRancis **and** Marie **by the Grace of God King and Queen of** Scots, **Doulphin and Doulphineſſe of** Viennois: **To our Loved Lyon King of Arms, &c. our Sheriffs in that part, conjunctly and ſeverally, ſpecialy conſtitute, greeting. Foraſmuch as our deareſt Mother** Marie **Queen Dowager Regent of our Realme, and Lords of our ſecret Council, perceiving the ſeditious Tumult raiſed by one part of our Lieges, naming themſelves the** Congregation; **who, under Pretence of Religion, have put themſelves in Arms: And that her Grace, for ſatisfying of every Man's Conſcience, and pacifying of the ſaid Troubles, had offered unto them, to affix a Parliament to be holden in** January **next to come, or ſooner if they had pleaſed, for eſtabliſhing of a univerſal Order in Matters of Religion, by our Advice, and Eſtates of our Realme; and in the mean time, to ſuffer every Man to**

(*a*) So ſays *Buchanan*: But Mr. *Knox* ſays, the raſcally Multitude had done this before the coming of the Lords; but the Difference is not very material: Only 'tis ſtrange to find this laſt Author giving the Name of *raſcally Multitude*, to thoſe very Perſons, whom in the next Sentence, he very plainly looks upon to be *Reformers*. So that 'tis hard to know, what Difference there was betwixt the Company that followed the Lords and him, and the Multitude that was in each City; for they both wrought the ſame Work.

(*b*) It ſeems then, that the Rabble and the *Congregation* had one and the ſame Buſineſs to do. Biſhop *Leſly* ſays, that beſides the pulling down of the Monaſteries, they likewiſe beat down the Houſes belonging to the Prebends of the Collegiate Church dedicated to the *Trinity*, and the College it ſelf: [It is that Church which ſtands at the Foot of *Leith*-Wynd.] And laſt of all, they went and plundered the Abbey of *Holy-rood-houſe*.

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to live at Liberty of Conſcience, without Trouble, unto the Time that the ſaid Order was taken by Advice of our foreſaid Eſtates. And at laſt, becauſe it appeareth much to ſtand upon our Borough of Edinburgh, offered in like Manner to let the Inhabitants thereof chuſe what Manner of Religion they would ſet up and uſe for that Time; ſo that no Man might alledge that he was forced to do againſt his Conſcience. Which Offer the Queen's Grace, our ſaid deareſt Mother, was at all Times, and yet is ready to fulfill. Nevertheleſs the ſaid Congregation, being of mind to receive no reaſonable Offers, hath ſince by open Deed declared, that it is no Religion, nor any thing thereto pertaining, that they ſeek; but onlie the Subverſion of our Authority, and Uſurpation of our Crowne: In manifeſt witneſſing whereof, they daily receive Engliſhmen with Meſſages unto them, and ſendeth ſuch like into England: And laſt of all, have violently intromitted with, taken and yet with-hold the Irons of our Cunzie-houſe; which is one of the chief Points that concerneth our Crowne: And ſuch like have intrometted with our Palace of Holy-rood-houſe. Our Will is therefore, &c. that ye paſs to the Market Croſs of our ſaid Borough of Edinburgh, or any other publick Place within the ſame; and there, by open Proclamation, in our Name and Authority, commaund and charge all and ſundry Perſons of the ſaid Congregation, or yet being preſently within our ſaid Borough, other than the Inhabitants thereof, that they, within ſix Hours next after our ſaid Charge, depart furth of the ſame, under the Pain of Treaſon. And als, that ye commaund all and ſundry Perſons to leave their Company, and adhere to our Authority; with Certification to ſuch as do the contrary, that they ſhall be reputed and holden as manifeſt Traytors to our Crowne, &c.

Which is not without Effect.

This Proclamation was not without its Effect: For tho' the *Congregation* denied the Facts aſſerted in it, except that ſingle one of ſeizing the Irons of the Mint; yet it had ſuch Influence over the Minds of ſome Perſons engaged with them, that they began viſibly to ſhrink and fall away. For this Reaſon it was thought expedient by the leading Men among them, to purge themſelves, by a Letter directed to the Queen, of whatever falſe Aſperſions they judged to be fixed upon them; and which was delivered to her Majeſty by the Lords *Ruthven* and *Ochiltree*; a Copy whereof here followeth.

The *Congregation*'s Letter thereupon to the Queen-Regent.

PLeaſe your Grace to be advertiſed, it is come to our Knowledge, that your Grace hath ſett furth, by your Letters openlie proclaimed, That we, called by Name The Congregation, *under Pretence and Colour of Religion, convene together to no other Purpoſe but to uſurp our Soveraigns Authority, and to invade your Perſon repreſenting theirs at this preſent. Which Things appeareth to have proceeded of ſiniſter Information, made to your Grace by our Enemies, conſidering that we never minded ſuch Thing; but only our Mind and Purpoſe was, and is, to promote and ſet furth the Glorie of God, maintain and defend the true Preachers of his Word, and, according to the ſame, aboliſh and putt away Idolatry and falſe Abuſes, which may not ſtand with the ſaid Word of God; beſeeching your Grace to bear patiently therewith, and interpone your Authority to the Furtherance of the ſame, as is the Duty of every Chriſtian Prince and good Magiſtrate. For as to the Obedience of our Soveraigns Authority in all Civil and Politick Matters, we are, and ſhall be as obedient, as any other your Grace's Subjects within the Realme: And that our Convention is for no other Purpoſe, but to ſave our Preachers and their Auditors from the Injury and Violence of our Enemies, which ſhould be more amply declared by ſome of us in your Grace's Preſence, if ye were not accompanied with ſuch as have purſued our Lives and ſought our Blood. Thus we pray Almighty God to have your Highneſs in his eternall Tuition. Att* Edinburgh, *the 2d of* July 1559.

1559. The Queen taking hold of the laſt Clauſe of this Letter, did make offer of a ſafe Conduct to any that ſhould come unto her. Whereupon the Lairds of *Pitarrow* and *Cunninghamhead* were ſent to her Majeſty, with Commiſſion to declare their Deſires; 1. That they might enjoy a Liberty of Conſcience. 2. That inſufficient Miniſters be removed from Eccleſiaſtical Adminiſtrations. 3. That *Chriſt* be truly preached, and his Sacraments rightly adminiſtred. 4. That their Miniſters be diſcharged from the Proceſs of Treaſon, and be admitted to execute their Office without Moleſtation, until ſuch Time as, by a general Council lawfully conveen'd, or by a Parliament within the Realm, the Controverſies about Religion be decided. 5. That the *French* Soldiers be ſent home. Which Things being granted, they promiſe to her Majeſty Experience of their *accuſtomed* Obedience. What Reckoning her Majeſty could make of ſo qualified an Obedience, I ſhall not ſay: But we are told, that to theſe Propoſitions the Queen anſwered with ſeeming Favour, and deſired to talk with ſome Perſons of greater Authority; promiſing, that if they would aſſure her of their dutiful Obedience, ſhe would deny none of their Requeſts. In compliance with this, the Earl of *Glencairn*, the Lords *Ruthven* and *Ochiltree*, and the Laird of *Pitarrow*, were quickly diſpatched with the ſame Commiſſion as above, and came into her Majeſty's Preſence the 12th Day of *July*. But now, it ſeems, ſhe had become more ſenſible of the Differences that were ariſen among thoſe of the *Congregation*; and ſo was probably willing to ſpin out as much Time as poſſibly ſhe could, hoping their Numbers might divide or diſperſe, either upon account of their preſent Miſunderſtandings, or of their domeſtick Affairs. And therefore ſhe began with complaining that ſhe had not been ſought to in a becoming enough Manner, and talk'd of ſome other Matters which were but little to the Purpoſe; and in the End of her Diſcourſe, ſhe ſhewed a Deſire that the Earl of *Argile* and the Lord *James* might wait upon her. It appears likewiſe, that during this petty Negociation, and whilſt the two Parties lay in the Neighbourhood of one another, her Majeſty had not been wanting in promoting the Miſunderſtanding among the Leaders of the *Congregation*, upon very colourable Suſpicions and Repreſentations. For it was whiſpered about, that the grand Intention was, to deprive the young Queen of the Regal Authority, next to ſet aſide the Earl of *Arran* from his Right of Succeſſion to the Crown, and laſtly, to ſet up the Lord *James* in his Room. Which Inſinuation did not only ſerve to rivet, in the Queen-Regent's Intereſt, the Earl of *Arran*, his Dependents and Friends; but it likewiſe inflamed the Hearts of a great many other Perſons, and even of ſome of the *Congregation*, who diſliked ſuch rebellious Principles; inſomuch that, for this very Cauſe, ſeveral of them began in good Earneſt to murmure: So that in order to regain, or at leaſt to ſoften the Minds of ſuch as ſeemed to be alienated from them, thoſe that remained firm were forced to emit a Counter-declaration; in which they call God to witneſs, that ſuch Crimes as they were charged with, had never entred into their Hearts; and that their only Intention was, to baniſh Idolatry, and advance true Religion, and defend the Preachers thereof; promiſing to continue in all Duty towards their Sovereign, and her Mother the Regent, provided they might enjoy Liberty of Conſcience in Matters of Religion.

Conferences betwixt the Queen-Regent and the *Congregation*.

When the Queen's Deſire, concerning the Earl of *Argile* and Lord *James*'s waiting upon her, was notified to the *Congregation*, it was by no means thought expedient to hazard their Perſons in ſuch an Employment, becauſe the Queen had been heard to ſay, that if by any means ſhe could divide theſe two from the reſt, (the Truth is, they were the Heads of the Party) ſhe was ſure ſoon after to reach the whole of her Purpoſe. And likewiſe one of her chief Courtiers was ſaid to have boaſted, that before *Michaelmaſs* next both theſe Gentlemen ſhould loſe their Heads. However, that the Queen's Deſire might not be altogether rejected, it was propoſed, that the two above named Perſons ſhould meet, in any Place void of Suſpicion of Danger, with a certain Number in Company, which ſhould be equal on both Sides. To this the Queen agreed, and deputed

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the Earls of *Arran* and *Huntly*, the Lords *Erſkine* and *Somervel*, Mr. *Gavin Hamilton* Abbot of *Kilwinning*, and the Juſtice Clerk: And from the *Congregation* were deputed the Earls of *Argile* and *Glencairn*, the Lords *Ruthven*, *Boyd* and *Ochiltree*, the Prior of St. *Andrew*'s, and the Lairds of *Dun* and *Pitarrow*. A hundred Perſons on each Side did accompany theſe Commiſſioners to the Town of *Preſton* in Eaſt-*Lothian*, the Place of meeting nominated by the Queen-Regent. After a whole Day's Conference, there was little or nothing agreed upon: For the Queen, ſeeming to yield a free Exerciſe of Religion, would have it provided, That in what Place ſhe happened to come, the Preachers ſhould abſtain from preaching, and the *Maſs* only be uſed. But this the Commiſſioners from the *Congregation* rejected, alledging that this were to leave them no Church at all; for whenever the Queen pleaſed, ſhe might change the Place of her Reſidence; and ſo there could be no certain Exerciſe of Religion; which would be the ſame thing as to overthrow it altogether.

In theſe Terms they parted for that Night; yet the *Congregational* Lords, ſeeming unwilling to break off the Conference, ſaid, they would think more of the Buſineſs, and advertiſe what could be yielded unto. The Truth is, they were then deſirous enough to have ſome tolerable Accommodation made, becauſe ſundry of their Numbers had left them, and were returned to their Dwelling-houſes. After further Deliberation, the Lord *Ruthven* and the Laird of *Pitarrow* were ſent back with this Anſwer, *viz.* That as they could not hinder her Majeſty to uſe what Exerciſe of Religion ſhe pleaſed (a), ſo they could not agree that the Miniſters of *Chriſt* ſhould be ſilenced upon any Occaſion, much leſs that the true Service of God ſhould give place to Superſtition and Idolatry. Wherefore they humbly requeſted, (as they ſaid they had often done) Liberty to ſerve God according to their Conſciences; and did beſeech her Majeſty to remove the *French* Soldiers, otherwiſe there could be no firm nor ſolid Peace. And if her Majeſty would promiſe, on the Word of a Prince, to allow, that no other Foreigners ſhould be brought into the Country; they would not only furniſh Ships and Victuals for the Tranſportation of thoſe that were already here, but would pawn their Honours to protect her Perſon from Injury. And moreover that they would promiſe, in the Preſence of God and of the whole Realm, to ſerve their Sovereign her Daughter, and her as Regent, as ever they did any King within *Scotland*. They added alſo, that they ſhould cauſe their Preachers give an Account of their Doctrine, in her Majeſty's hearing, to any that pleaſed to impugn any thing they did or taught. Finally, that they were willing to ſubmit to a lawful Parliament, provided that the Biſhops, as the Party accuſed, and their plain Enemies, ſhould be removed from Judgment. The Queen, hearing all, replied only in the general, that ſhe wiſh'd there might be Peace; but to none of the Points proponed made ſhe any direct Anſwer: For ſhe had got certain Intelligence, that many of the *Congregation* were diſperſed; and therefore ſhe was not without Hopes of bringing them all quickly to her own Terms. On the other Side, the chief Men, perceiving ſufficiently what the Queen drove at, agreed among themſelves, that the Lords and Barons, with their Servants, ſhould remain in *Edinburgh* during the Winter; and that they would ſtill retain in their Hands the Mint-irons, leſt the Queen ſhould cauſe tranſport them privately to *Dunbar*, and impoveriſh the Country by the continual coining of baſe Money. The Queen, hearing of theſe Reſolves, was extremely diſpleaſed; and averr'd, that now they had openly declared what ſhe had long ſuſpected, namely, that they meant in good Earneſt to uſurp the Government: And ſhe further laid to their Charge, the riſling of the Mint-houſe of great Sums of Money. To theſe Complaints the Lords made anſwer, both by Letters to the Queen and Council, and by open (b) Proclamation to the

Conferences continued.

(a) The Reader will be able to judge hereafter, how long theſe Gentlemen continued to be of this Mind.

(b) This *Proclamation* is the ſame which I juſt now mentioned under the Name of a *Counter Declaration*; but becauſe I ſee no where a juſt and full Copy of it, therefore I cannot affirm for certain, whether it was emitted immediately after the Queen-Regent's Proclamation, or delayed till ſome Time after. Archbiſhop *Spottiſwood* who gives the beſt Abſtract of it, ſays, that the *Congregation*

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People, that they being born Counſellors of the Realm, and ſworn to procure the Profit thereof; when they underſtood the Subjects to be greatly hurt by the Baſeneſs of the Money, which increaſed the Dearth of all neceſſary Wares, they could do no leſs of their Duties, than ſtay the coining of more Lay-money, until the Nobility and Council had taken further Deliberation therein. And whereas it was given out, that they had ſpoiled the Mint-houſe of great Sums; in that Point they did remit themſelves to the Declaration of Mr. *Robert Richardſon* Maſter of the Mint, in whoſe Hands they delivered all the Gold, both coined and uncoined, which was found there.

The Queen's Army advanceth to *Edinburgh*,

and forceth the *Congregation* to an Accommodation.

The Queen being not only certified that the *Congregation* at *Edinburgh* was turn'd pretty thin, but likewiſe that thoſe that remained there kept no military Diſcipline, nor regular Watch; it was adviſed by thoſe about her Majeſty, not to let ſlip the Opportunity, but to march immediately to *Edinburgh*. And accordingly, on *Sunday* the 23d of *July*, in the Evening, they left *Dunbar*; and the next Morning, before the riſing of the Sun, they were within two Miles of *Edinburgh*. The Lords of the *Congregation* found themſelves now in much Perplexity: For tho' they could have ſaved themſelves by Flight, yet they neither liked to abandon the Citizens, who were generally in their Intereſt; nor cared they to ſee their Eccleſiaſtick Affairs defaced, which they had then brought into the Order of their own Model. Somewhat encouraged they were by the Inhabitants of *Edinburgh*, as well as by thoſe of *Leith*, who promiſed to ſupport them; as alſo, by the coming in of ſome few Gentlemen from the Shires of *Lothian* and *Fiſe*, whom they had writ for the *Saturday* before: Which in the End determined them to march out of *Edinburgh* towards *Leith*, in order to join their Adherents there. But before they could reach thither, that Town had ſurrendred it ſelf to the Queen's Army; ſo that the *Congregation* made a Turn, and retired to the Eaſt Side of the *Craigingate*, on purpoſe to receive the Enemy there. But the Queen's Party, being privately aſſured before-hand of the Friendſhip of the Lord *Erskine* Governor of the Caſtle of *Edinburgh*, which was little thought of by the other Party, they prepared to croſs the Water of *Leith*, in order to enter *Edinburgh* by the *Weſt-port*. The Lords of the *Congregation*, perceiving that it would be but the expoſing of a great many Lives, ſhould they offer to make Reſiſtance, ſince the Lord *Erskine* had ſent them a threatning Meſſage, declaring he would fire upon them ſhould they pretend to ſtop the Queen from entring the City, they judged it moſt expedient to accept of the following Terms of Accommodation, drawn up in the Links of *Leith* on *Monday* the 24th of *July*, and which had been offered them that ſame Day by the Queen.

I. THAT (*a*) the *Congregation* and their Adherents, other than the Inhabitants of the Town of *Edinburgh*, ſhall remove themſelves forth of the ſaid Town the Morrow at ten Hours before Noon, the 25th of *July*, and leave the ſame void and rid of them and their ſaid Company, conform to the Queen's Majeſty's Pleaſure and Deſire.

II. THE ſaid *Congregation* ſhall cauſe the Irons of the Coining-houſe, taken away by them, be rendred and delivered to Mr. *Robert Richeſon*: And likewiſe, the Queen's Majeſty's Palace of *Holy-rood-houſe* to be left, and rendred again to Mr. *John Balfour*, or any other having her Majeſty's ſufficient Power in the ſame Matter, as it was reſolved; and that betwixt the making of theſe Articles, and the Morn at ten of the Clock. For obſerving

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tion took no Notice therein of what the Regent laid to their Charge, concerning Intelligence with *England*, and the Deſign of expelling the *French* Soldiers by Force: Wherefore that Author ſuſpects that they knew themſelves to be guilty of that Charge, as certainly they were; which the Reader will perceive by original Letters in the Appendix Numb. 13.

(*a*) Becauſe Biſhop *Leſly* gives theſe Articles ſomewhat differently, I ſhall here ſet down ſuch of them as agree not with theſe. 1. The Inhabitants of *Edinburgh* (*i. e.* ſuch of them as were *Congregationers*) may either remain in it, or depart as they ſhall think fit. 2. That the *Congregation* do reſtore what Monies belonging to the Publick, they had privately or by Force taken. 5. That the *Congregation* ſhall at no Time hereafter violate any Church or religious Houſe. 6. That the City of *Edinburgh* ſhall enjoy hereafter Liberty of Conſcience. 7. The Queen ſhall take Care, that the Preachers be not moleſted by the Magiſtrates of the eſtabliſhed Religion; nor ſhall ſhe in any Manner vex them her ſelf.

ſerving and keeping of theſe two Articles above written, the Lord *Ruthven* and the Laird of *Pitarrow* have entred themſelves Pledges. 1559.

III. The ſaid Lords of the *Congregation*, and all the Members thereof, ſhall remain obedient Subjects to our Lord and Lady's Authority, and to the Queen-Regent in their Place; and ſhall obey all Laws and laudable Cuſtoms of this Realm, as they were uſed before the moving of this Tumult and Controverſy; excepting the Cauſe of Religion, which ſhall be hereafter ſpecified.

IV. The *Congregation*, nor any of them, ſhall not trouble or moleſt a Churchman by way of Deed; nor yet ſhall make them any Impediment in the peaceable brooking, enjoying and uptaking of their Rents, Profits and Duties of their Benefices; but that they may freely uſe and diſpoſe upon the ſame, according to the Laws and Cuſtoms of this Realm, to the 10th of *January* next to come.

V. The ſaid *Congregation*, nor none of them, ſhall uſe in noways from thenceforth any Force or Violence, in caſting down of Churches, religious Places or Apparel thereof; but the ſame ſhall ſtand harmleſs of them unto the 10th Day of *January*.

VI. The Town of *Edinburgh* ſhall, without Compulſion, uſe and chuſe what Religion, and Manner thereof they pleaſe, to the ſaid Day; ſo that every Man may have Freedom to uſe his own Conſcience, to the Day aforeſaid.

VII. The Queen ſhall not interpoſe her Authority, to moleſt and trouble the Preachers of the *Congregation*, nor their Miniſtry, (to them that pleaſe to uſe the ſame) nor no other of the ſaid *Congregation*, in their Bodies, Lands and Goods, or Poſſeſſions, Penſions, or whatſoever kind of Goods they poſſeſs; nor yet ſuffer the Clergy, or any other either ſpiritual or temporal Juriſdiction, to trouble them in any manner of Sort, privately or openly, for the Cauſe of Religion, or any other Action depending thereupon, to the ſaid 10th of *January* within written; and that every Man in particular live in the mean time according to his own Conſcience.

VIII. That no Men of War, *French* nor *Scots*, be laid in daily Garriſon within the Town of *Edinburgh*; but to repair thereto to do their lawful Buſineſs, and thereafter to retire them to their Garriſons.

The Death of the *French* King.

Before I proceed farther, 'tis fit to notice here the Death of *Henry* II. King of *France*, which happened on the 8th Day of this Month of *July*. Which Death, as it was much unlook'd for, ſo it could not but mightily influence the Affairs of this Kingdom. And if it is true what Sir *James Melvil* relates, (and I ſee no Reaſon to doubt of it) our Country ſuffered a great and irretrievable Loſs thereby. For that Gentleman informs us, how that King, having been ſufficiently appriſed of the Troubles which had ariſen in *Scotland* upon account of Religion, and that theſe Commotions were rather fomented than ſettled by the bad Counſel which the *French* Officers gave to the Queen-Regent, had taken a Reſolution, by the Advice of his Prime Miniſter the Duke of *Montmorency* Great Conſtable of *France*, to ſend over Mr. *Melvil* into *Scotland*, in order to inform himſelf, whether the Subjects thereof had taken up Arms merely for Conſcience Sake, and in Defence of their Religion? Or if the Prior of St. *Andrew*'s had any ſecret Hand in the Inſurrection, with a ſiniſter View of uſurping the Crown? Whether the *Congregation* in *Scotland* were rankled by the Falſification of any Promiſes that had been made them by the Queen-Regent? Or whether they deſired another Lieutenant ſhould be ſent into *Scotland* in Place of *Monſ. d' Oyſel*; who, his Majeſty had heard, was unaccept-

1559. able to that People? Mr. *Melvil* arrived at *Falkland*, where the Queen-Regent then was, the very Day on which her Army and that of the *Congregation* faced each other on *Cowper*-Moor. The chief Thing that he laid himſelf out for, was, to know the Intention of the Lord *James* Prior of St. *Andrew's*. To him he was introduced by Mr. *Henry Balnaves*: And the Prior (as who would doubt it) proteſted he had no bad Deſigns; and, for a Teſtimony of his Innocence and Integrity, declared, that he was willing to baniſh himſelf for ever out of *Scotland*, provided the Queen and the King of *France* would be pleaſed to allow to his Aſſociates a Liberty only, ſuch as ſhe had formerly granted them. Mr. *Melvil* ſatisfied himſelf with this Anſwer of the Prior, (one would think he had been a little too credulous) and, without more ado, returned with it into *France*; where, to his great Mortification, he found that King lying ſick unto Death. Immediately after which Event, the Duke of *Montmorency* was diſcharged from Court; and the Duke of *Guiſe* and his Brother the Cardinal of *Lorrain*, Brothers to our Regent, and Uncles to our native Queen, became the chief Favourites of the new King *Francis* II. Husband to our Sovereign. Theſe Men preſently adviſed the King and Queen, to give Orders to the Queen-Regent to proſecute the Rebels in *Scotland* with the utmoſt Force and Rigour; and aſſured her of a ſpeedy Aſſiſtance from *France* to quell and reduce them into Order. What was performed by the Crown of *France*, and what Succeſs this Advice had, will be ſeen in the following Part of this Hiſtory.

After the Accommodation on the Links of *Leith* was agreed to on *Tueſday* the 25th of *July*, and ſigned by the Earls of *Arran* and *Huntly*, and *Monſ. d' Oyſel*, the Queen-Regent came and took Poſſeſſion of the Palace of *Holy-rood-houſe*, ſituated at the Eaſt End of the City of *Edinburgh*; and, looking upon Matters as now brought to a tolerable Iſſue, allowed the Earls of *Arran*, *Huntly* and *Mariſchal*, to return home to their own Houſes. But the two former Earls, the next Day after the Pacification, ſignified a Deſire to ſpeak with the Earls of *Argile* and *Glencairn*, the Lord *James*, and ſome others of the *Congregation*. Accordingly they all met at the *Quarrel-holes* betwixt *Leith* and *Edinburgh*; and there the two firſt named Earls promiſed to the other, that if any Part of the Agreement ſhould be violated or infringed, but eſpecially if the *French* Soldiers were not tranſported out of the Kingdom; that then they would willingly join their Forces to effectuate and make good the ſame. Next Day, being *Wedneſday*, the Lords of the *Congregation*, after having heard Sermon in *Edinburgh*, cauſed Proclamation to be made at the Croſs thereof, with Sound of Trumpet (*a*), of the Stipulations agreed upon in behalf of themſelves; and then they left the Town, and went to *Stirling*; where, after a new Conſultation, they drew up the following Bond of mutual Defence for Maintenance of Religion, which was ſubſcribed by all who were preſent. After which the Earl of *Argile* and the Lord *James* took Journey Weſtward, and appointed the Earl of *Glencairn*, the Lords *Boyd* and *Ochiltree*, and ſome others, to meet them at *Glaſgow*, in order to concert Meaſures for defeating the Queen's Projects in the Weſtern Counties.

The *Congregation* arrives at *Stirling*, where they enter into a third Covenant.

The Tenor of the Bond.

WE foreſeeing the Craft and Sleight of our Adverſaries, tending all manner of Ways to circumvent us, and by privey Means intendeth to aſſayle every one of us, particularly by fair Heghts and Promiſes, therethrough to ſeparate one of us from another, to our utter Ruin and Deſtruction: For Remedy thereof, we faithfully and trewly bind us, in the Preſence of God, and as we tender the Maintenance of trew Religion, that none of us ſhall, in Time coming, paſs to the Queen's Grace Dowager, to talk or commune with her, for any Letter or Meſſage ſent by her unto us, or yet to be ſent, without Conſent of the reſt, and common Conſultation thereupon: And how ſoon

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(*a*) Such a ſolemn Proclamation was then (and indeed deſerved to be) look'd upon as a Piece of too much Arrogance.

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ſoon that either Meſſage or Writing ſhould come from her unto us, with utter Diligence we ſhall notifie the ſame one to another; ſo that nothing ſhall proceed therein without common Conſent of us all. Att Stirling, *the firſt Day of* Auguſt 1559.

I ſhall leave the Reader to make his own Reflections on the Narrative of this Bond, and on the following Reſolve made preſently thereafter, *viz.* "To ſeek "Aid and Support of all Chriſtian Princes, againſt the Tyranny of the Queen-"Regent, in caſe ſhe ſhould go on to moleſt them; but eſpecially of *England*, "as being of the ſame Religion with themſelves." But it is remarked by our Hiſtorians, that the Queen-Regent was more careful to obſerve the laſt Agreement, than ſhe had been of ſome former ones. Only they tell us, that ſhe took ſeveral diſcreet Methods to obtain the High Church of *Edinburgh* for ſaying *Maſs*, if it were but before or after Sermon; but that ſhe was ſtill anſwered with a flat Denial: Or that if ſhe would offer to take the Church by Violence from them, they behoved to ſuffer what they could not help; but aſſured her that they would make uſe of the next Remedy. And this, we may gueſs, was to repel Force by Force. It is likewiſe ſaid, and probably enough too, that the *French (a)* Soldiers made great Diſturbances in the Churches the Time that the People were at Sermon, on purpoſe to make them forſake the Churches, and go to ſome more retired Places for that End. But none of their Inſolences ſignified any thing at all, ſo as to induce a voluntary relinquiſhing of the Churches. Mr. *Knox* retired with the *Congregation* to *Stirling*, and Mr. *Willocks* remained Preacher in *Edinburgh*.

In the Beginning of *September* there came a *French* Gentleman, named *Monſ. de la Croc*, to certify the Queen-Regent that an Army was a-getting together in *France*, to be tranſported into *Scotland*, under the Command of her Brother the Marquis *d' Elbeuf*; and that in the mean time a few Troops, with Money and Ammunition, and ſome Gentlemen that were capable to aſſiſt her Majeſty with their Counſel in theſe Troubles, would very ſpeedily arrive. The ſame Gentleman brought likewiſe Letters from the Queen, and *Francis*, now King of *France*, her Huſband, bearing Date at *Paris* the 17th and 24th Days of *July* 1559, to the Lord *James* Prior of St. *Andrew*'s, full of Reproaches and Menaces. And the Bearer alſo declared, by Word of Mouth, that he was commanded to ſay unto him, "That the King his Maſter would "rather ſpend the Crown of *France*, than not be revenged of the ſeditious "Perſons in *Scotland*." To all which the Lord *James* returned an Anſwer in Writing, to the King of *France* only, dated from *Dunbarton* the 12th of *Auguſt* 1559, importing, "That he had done nothing againſt God, nor the Obe-"dience due to his Majeſty nor the Queen; and that he hoped if his Majeſty "were informed, how that all the late Proceedings in *Scotland* were grounded "upon the Advancement of God's Glory, he, nor any of his Subjects, ſhould "have no Occaſion to fear his Majeſty's Wrath and Indignation."

Letters from the King and Queen to the Prior of St. *Andrew*'s.

The Queen, who had now got notice of the Appointment made by the Lords of the *Congregation* in the Weſt, and that they had ordered their Friends to aſſemble together on *Govan*-Moor near to *Glaſgow* on *Monday* the 28th of *Auguſt*, wrote Letters on the 10th of the ſame Month to the Earl of *Arran*, and to every other Lord and Baron in whom ſhe had the leaſt Confidence, ſignifying to them the certain Knowledge ſhe had got of that Matter, and praying them to convene with their Followers to whatſoever Place ſhe ſhould advertiſe by her Proclamation.

Recruits arrive from *France*.

Leith is fortified.

According to the Advice given the Queen-Regent by *Monſ. de la Croc*, there did very quickly arrive at *Leith* about 1000 *French* Soldiers, commanded by one *Octavian*, who brought along with him Money and other neceſſary Proviſions for War. Theſe Soldiers were immediately employed to fortify the Town of *Leith*: But their Commander was in a few Days diſpatched back

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(*a*) One Half of theſe lay in the *Canongate*, the principal Suburbs of *Edinburgh*, and the other Half lay in Garriſon at *Leith*.

1559. into *France* by the Queen, with a Requeſt to that King for as many more Soldiers, and 100 Horſemen in Armour, and four Ships of War to cruiſe in the Frith of *Edinburgh*. With which Supplies, if ſpeedily ſent, ſhe doubted not to reduce the whole Kingdom to a peaceable Condition. And that the *French* King might be the more quick in granting theſe Supplies, the Queen did at the ſame time advertiſe him, that the contrary Party had demanded Aſſiſtance from *England*, *Germany* and *Denmark*; and that they kept Correſpondence even with ſome principal Perſons of the Kingdom of *France*, who had promiſed to uſe their Endeavours that no Supplies ſhould be ſent her from thence. Before the Return of this Captain, *viz.* on the 19th *September*, there arrived in *Scotland Nicolas de Pelue* Biſhop of *Amiens*, together with three *French* Doctors of Divinity, and *Monſ. la Broſſe* a military Perſon. The Biſhop came with the Character of Legate *à latere* from the Pope: And *Leſly* tells us, that ſometime after his Arrival he ſet about purging the High Church of *Edinburgh* from heretical Pollutions; which, he ſays, was done with a great Shew of Piety and Devotion; and that ſeveral of the *Scottiſh* Prelates and inferior Clergy, following his Example, were very diligent and ſucceſsful in their Eccleſiaſtical Miniſtrations. The ſame Author alſo informs us, that theſe *Sorbon Doctors*, by their Sermons and Reaſonings, had great Succeſs in eſtabliſhing unſettled Perſons in the Belief of the Catholick Doctrine.

A Legate from the Pope, and three Doctors of the *Sorbon*.

The Lord *Hamilton* arrives, and reconciles his Father to the *Congregation*.

The Lords of the *Congregation*, purſuant to an Appointment made among themſelves before their laſt Departure from *Stirling*, met again there on the 10th of *September*; and thither came to them the Lord *Hamilton* eldeſt Son to the Earl of *Arran*. He had been Colonel of the *Scots* Guards in *France*: But having imbibed ſome how or other a good liking to the new Opinions, and having expreſt himſelf too freely on that Subject at Court, he found it prudent to retire, firſt to *Geneva*, and then to *England*, from whence he came home into his native Country. And having viſited his Father, (then commonly called (a) *The Duke)* he went next to *Stirling*; and from thence returned to his Father at *Hamilton*, accompanied by the Lords of the *Congregation*. There he made up ſome old Feuds that were then ſubſiſting betwixt his Father and ſome of thoſe Lords, and gained him ſo entirely over to the *Congregation* as to take part with them. After which there was a Letter wrote to the Queen-Regent, dated at *Hamilton* the 29th of *September*, and ſubſcribed by the Duke, the Earls of *Arran*, (that is the Lord *Hamilton) Argile*, *Glencairn*, *Monteith*, the Lords *Ruthven*, *Boyd* and *Ochiltree*, and ſome others; the Subſtance whereof was, That they marvelled how ſhe unprovoked could ſo ſoon deviate from the late Appointment, and place a Colony of Foreigners in the Town of *Leith*, minding thereby to keep the Country under a tyrannical Subjection. They intreated her Majeſty to deſiſt from that Courſe, and not to drive them to a Neceſſity of ſeeking the Concurrence of their Fellow-ſubjects, for reſiſting the Miſchief intended againſt the whole Community. But there were ſo many Letters (b), Proclamations, Declarations, &c. ſent and diſperſed up and down the Kingdom, both to private Perſons and the Body of the People, from the Queen and the *Congregation*, that I cannot pretend to give an Abſtract of them all. I ſhall only take notice in general, that they all tended to clear their own Side, and load the other with Reproaches; and by that Means they ſerved chiefly to widen the Differences more than ever: So that both Parties proceeded to a vigorous Proſecution of each other by Force of Arms.

The Queen's Deſign of fortifying *Leith*, and making it a Place of Arms, hath been already mentioned. And the *Congregation*, to be ſomewhat even with the Queen in that Point, had ſeized on *Broughty* Caſtle on the North Side

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(a) *viz.* Of *Chaſtelherault* in *France*. And he was ſtiled ſimply *the Duke*, becauſe there was none other of that Dignity in *Scotland* at the Time. His Son after his Return was ſometimes ſtiled Earl of *Arran*.

(b) They are to be ſeen in Mr. *Knox*'s Hiſtory: And that Author ſeems to own that the Queen's Papers gained moſt Credit in the Nation; which is the more to be admired, that in the Papers emitted by the *Congregation* (in forming whereof he no Doubt had a great Hand) there are the moſt ſolemn Appeals to Almighty God for the Uprightneſs of their Undertakings. But it appears our Forefathers have then ſeen, and we their Poſterity have ſince learned by dear-bought Experience, that the Uſurpation of the Sacred Name of God is not always a ſure Sign of the Truth, even in publick Deeds.

Side of the Mouth of the River *Tay*, as being commodious for receiving foreign Aſſiſtance, and likewiſe for preſerving the Towns of *Dundee* and *Perth*. The *Congregation* alſo entred into a Reſolution to diſlodge the Queen's Forces from *Leith*; and for that Purpoſe they came to *Edinburgh* the 18th of *October*; and the ſame Day the Queen went from the Palace of *Holy-rood-houſe*, and entred into the Safeguard of the Garriſon at *Leith*. Now, tho' it be true, (as is evident by this laſt Movement) that neither Party had been able, by their ſeveral Declarations *hinc inde*, to gain much Ground over the other; yet 'tis as certain, that the Charge laid by the Queen againſt the Duke in particular, of a Deſign to uſurp the Government, and in general againſt all the other Lords, to ſubvert the ſame one way or other, under the ſpecious Pretence of Religion, had its own Weight with ſeveral of their Friends; inſomuch that many Gentlemen, and eſpecially thoſe of *Lothian*, began to murmure; and did actually ceaſe from giving the *Congregation* any Aſſiſtance for ſome Days after they had come to *Edinburgh*. To eradicate this Suſpicion from the Minds of Men, it was judged proper that the Duke *(a)* ſhould make a ſolemn Purgation of himſelf from any ſuch Deſign, (which was likewiſe done by Sound of Trumpet at the Market-croſs of *Edinburgh* the 19th of *October*;) in which he proteſted, that neither he nor his Son had ever an Intention to affect any Pre-eminence, or to uſurp the Regal Authority; but that they had joined themſelves to the reſt of the Nobility and others, merely to ſupport the Cauſe of Religion, and the Liberty of the Country; which, he ſaid, were plainly invaded by the Queen-Regent and her *French* Soldiers.

The Congre-*gation* take *Broughty* Caſtle:

The ſame Day the *Congregation* ſent a Letter to the Queen-Regent, requiring her to command all Soldiers and Foreigners to depart the Town of *Leith*, and leave it patent to the Queen's Lieges; aſſuring her Highneſs, that if ſhe refuſed to comply with their Requeſts, they would take it as an Argument of her Intention againſt the Liberty of the Kingdom, and that they would provide againſt the ſame the beſt Remedy they could. In Anſwer to this Meſſage, the Queen, on the 21ſt of *October*, ſent Lion King at Arms with this Writing, *viz.*

And require the Regent to void the Town of *Leith*.

After Commendations, we have received your Letter of Edinburgh *the 19th of this Inſtant, which appeareth to us rather to have come from a Prince to his Subjects, than from Subjects to them that bear Authority. For Aunſwer whereof, we have preſently directed unto you this Bearer Lion Herald King of Arms, ſufficiently inſtructed with our Mind, to whom ye ſhall give Credence. Att* Leith, October *21ſt* 1559.

A Letter;

MARIE R.

His Credit was this.

“ That the Queen wondred how any durſt preſume to command her in that
“ Realm, which needeth not to be conqueſt by any Force, conſidering that it
“ was already conqueſt by Marriage: That *Frenchmen* could not juſtly be called
“ Strangers, ſeeing that they were naturalized; and therefore that ſhe would
“ neither make that Town patent, neither yet ſend any Man away, but as ſhe
“ thought expedient. She accuſed the Duke of violating his Promiſe. She
“ made long Proteſtation of her Love towards the Commonwealth of *Scotland*:
“ And in the End commanded, that under the Pain of Treaſon, all Aſſiſtaries
“ to the Duke, and unto them, ſhould depart from the Town of *Edinburgh*.”

and Meſſage from the Queen, by the Lord Lion.

The Lord Lion having thus delivered his Credit, and performed the other Part of his Office of Herald; the Lords, in the firſt Place, ordered him to remain in *Edinburgh* until he ſhould receive their Anſwer to her Majeſty; then they gathered the Nobles, Barons and Burghers of their Faction, within the

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(c) It is to be noticed, that the Lord *Hamilton* returned Home by *England*, where he ſaw *Elizabeth*; who, 'tis ſaid gave him Hopes not only of the Crown of *Scotland*, but alſo of her marrying him herſelf: which, if true, no Doubt was the Argument that brought over ſo eaſily his Father, and made both ſo forward to make up old Feuds. But ſee Appendix Numb. 14.

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The Preachers give Advice to depoſe the Queen from the Regency,

the Tolbooth of that City, the ſame 21ſt of *October*. The Lord *Ruthven* was choſen Preſes of the Meeting; who, after he had declared how Matters then ſtood betwixt the Queen-Regent and them, he deſired every one to give his Sentiment concerning this Queſtion, *viz. Whether ſhe that ſo contemptuouſly refuſed the moſt humble Requeſt of the born Counſellors of the Realm, being alſo but a Regent, whoſe Pretences threatned the Bondage of the whole Commonwealth, ought to be ſuffered ſo tyrannically to domineer over them?* This Motion ſeemed dangerous to ſome, as wanting a Precedent in this Kingdom, at leaſt for a great many Years back; nay, and that ſuch an Action had been always done under the Shadow and Name of the Regal Authority. Others again ſaid, the Queen, being only Regent, might very well be prohibited to uſe the Name of their Sovereign, when her Proceedings were known to be pernicious to the Kingdom. In this Diverſity of Opinions, it was thought meet to take the Judgment of their Preachers. Mr. *John Willocks*, as having performed that Office for ſome Time paſt in *Edinburgh*, was firſt called upon. He, after having ſpoke ſomewhat concerning the Divine Ordinance of Magiſtracy, the Limitation of it by the Word of God, and the Inſtances of depoſing Kings recorded in the Scriptures, did conclude, "That ſince the Queen-Regent denied her chief Duty to the Subjects of this Realm, which was, to miniſter "Juſtice to them indifferently, to preſerve their Liberties from Invaſion of "Strangers, and to ſuffer them to have God's Word freely and openly preached amongſt them; ſeeing moreover that the Queen-Regent was an open and "obſtinate Idolatreſs, a vehement Obtainer of all Superſtition and Idolatry; "as alſo, ſhe openly declares the Country to be conqueſt, and no more free; "and finally, that ſhe utterly deſpiſeth the Counſel and Requeſts of the Nobility: He could ſee no Reaſon why they, the born Counſellors, Nobility "and Barons of the Realm, might not juſtly deprive her from all Regiment "and Authority amongſt them."

After this the Judgment of Mr. *Knox* was required, who, approving the Sentence of his Brother, added firſt, "That the Iniquity and Diſorder of the "Queen-Regent ought in no wiſe to withdraw our Hearts, nor the Hearts of "other Subjects, from the Obedience due unto our Sovereigns. Next, That "if we depoſed the ſaid Queen-Regent, rather from Malice and private Envy, "than for the Preſervation of the Commonwealth, and for that her Sins appeared incurable; that we ſhould not eſcape God's juſt Puniſhment, howſoever that ſhe had deſerved Rejection from Honours. And in the laſt Place "he required, that no ſuch Sentence ſhould be pronounced againſt her; but "that upon known and open Repentance, and upon her Converſion to the "Commonwealth, and Submiſſion to the Nobility, Place ſhould be granted "unto her of Regreſs to the ſame Honours, from the which for juſt Cauſes ſhe "juſtly might be deprived."

An Act whereof is proclaimed.

Theſe were the Sentiments of the Preachers: Concerning which Archbiſhop *Spottiſwood* judiciouſly obſerves, that it had been a better and wiſer Part in them, to have excuſed themſelves from giving any Opinion in theſe Matters; ſeeing they might be ſure to have it caſt in their Teeth, to the Scandal of their Profeſſion. However, it ſeems the Multitude of the *Congregation* was ſo well diſpoſed to be guided by the Preachers, that no ſooner had they given out their Oracle, and every Man being commanded to ſpeak, as he would anſwer to God, what his Conſcience judged in that Matter, there was none found in the whole Number who did not by his Tongue conſent to the Queen's Deprivation; which was quickly drawn up, and formed into an Act: A Copy whereof may be ſeen in Mr. *Knox*'s Hiſtory; who tells us, that the ſame was proclaimed by Sound of Trumpet at the Market-croſs of *Edinburgh*, and that thereafter the Lord Lion was diſmiſt to the Queen with the following Letter.

Pleaſe

Pleaſe your Grace (*a*),

1559.

WE have receiv'd your Anſwer, and heard the Credit of Lion King of Arms; whereby we gather ſufficiently your Perſeveration in evil Mind towards us, the Glory of God, our Commonwealth, and Liberty of our native Countrey. For ſaving of the which, according unto our Duties, we have, in our Soverain Lord and Ladie's Name, ſuſpended your Commiſſion, and all Adminiſtration of the Policy your Grace may pretend thereby; being moſt aſſuredly perſwaded, that your Proceedings are directly contrary to our Soverain Lord and Lady's Will; which we ever eſteem to be for the Weal, and not for the Hart of this our Commonwealth. And as your Grace will not acknowlege us, our Soverain Lord and Lady's true Barons and Lieges, for your Subjects; no more will we acknowlege you for any Regent, or lawfull Magiſtrate unto us; ſeeing, if any Authority you have by reaſon of our Soverain's Commiſſion granted unto your Grace, the ſame, for moſt weighty Reaſons, is worthily ſuſpended by us, by Name of Autority [Knox, *in the Name and Authority*] *of our Soverains, whoſe Council we are of native Birth, in the Affairs of this our Common Weal. And foraſmuch as we are determined, with Hazard of our Lives, to ſett that Town at Liberty, wherein you have moſt wrongfully planted your Soldiers and Strangers; for the Reverence we ow to your Perſon, as Mother to our Soverain Lady, we require your Grace to tranſport your Perſon therefrom; ſeeing we are conſtrained, by the Neceſſity of the Commonwealth, to force the ſame by Arms; being denyed Liberty thereof, by ſundry Requeſts made before: Your Grace wou'd cauſe depart with you, out of the ſaid Toun, any Perſon having Commiſſion of Ambaſſade, if any ſuch be, or Lieutenantſhip of our Soverains, together with all* Frenchmen *Soldiers, being within the ſame; whoſe Blood we thirſt not, becauſe of the old Amity and Friendſhip betwixt the Realm of* France *and us; which Amity, by the Marriage of our Soverain Lady to the King of that Realm, ſhou'd rather increaſe than decreaſe. And this we pray your Grace and them to do within the Space of twenty four Hours, for the Reverence we ow unto your Perſons. And thus, recommending our humble Service to your Grace, we commit your Highneſs to the eternal Protection of God. At* Edinburgh, *the 23d of* October.

By your Grace's humble Serviteurs,

The Council having the Authority unto the next Parliament, erected by common Election of the Earls, Lords and Barons, conveen'd at Edinburgh, *of the* Proteſtant *Faction.*

EARLS.

My Lord Duke's Grace, and Earl of Arran.
The E. of Argile.
The E. of Glencairn.

LORDS.

James *of St.* Andrews.
The Lord Ruthven.
The Maſter of Maxwell.

BARONS.

Tullibardine.
The Laird of Dun.
The Laird of Pitarrow.
The Provoſt of Aberdeen *for the Burrows.*

The Names of the whole twenty nine Lords and Barons, out of which the forenamed Counſellors were choſen, are, My Lord Duke; Earls of *Arran, Eglington, Argile, Rothes, Morton, Glencairn, Mariſchal, Sutherland:*

(*a*) Cotton Library, *Caligula*, B. 10. And Lawyers Library *Edinburgh*, *Drumſoy*'s Collections.

1559. Lords *Areskine*, *Ruthven*, *Hume*, *Athens* (a), Prior, *Livingſton*, Maſter of *Maxwel*, *Boyd*, *Ochiltree*: Barons, *Tullibardine*, *Glenurchy*, *Lundy*, ***, *Dun*, *Lauriſton*, *Cunningham*, *Calder*, *Pitarrow*: Provoſts of *Edinburgh*, St. *Andrews*, *Dundee*.

The whole Streſs, as I conceive, of the Act of Deprivation, and of this Letter tranſmitted to the Queen-Regent by the Lord Lion, ſeems to hang upon the *Deprivers* their being born Counſellors to their Sovereign. It will however remain a Queſtion, whether the Counſellors of the Realm could in Reaſon convene together of their own Accord, without the Knowledge, and certainly without the Approbation of their Sovereign; declare *that* to be the Will of their Sovereign, which they were inwardly aſſured was not their Sovereign's Mind; and proceed to the Suſpenſion of a Perſon from the Government, who had her Commiſſion immediately from the Sovereign, and independently of them, without ever ſo much as acquainting, or pretending to acquaint their Sovereign of their Intention, or deſiring her Commiſſion to be recalled? Beſides, ſeeing of this Council, that proceeded to deprive or ſuſpend the Sovereign's Repreſentative, ſome were indeed Lords of the Realm, others only Barons of the inferior Order, and others only Magiſtrates of Towns; if all theſe ſhall be ſuppoſed to be born Counſellors, (which however I think is much to be queſtioned) it would appear to have been requiſite, that the greateſt Part of theſe born Counſellors had been convened, in order to take under their Conſideration ſuch a nice Point of Government, and to form an Act which ſtruck at the very Foundation of the Government. But that this was not the Caſe, I think may be pretty evident to every one that inſpects our Hiſtory, even as recorded by the ſtauncheſt Supporters of this Act; very few Perſons having been preſent at the framing of it, in compariſon of the whole. And for this Reaſon perhaps they thought fit not to ſign the Act Man by Man, but to wrap it up after this general Manner, *viz. By us the Nobility and Commons of the* Proteſtants *(b) of the Church of* Scotland. But their Hand was already in Rebellion; and, for my Part, I think it was their honeſteſt Courſe to avow it openly.

A Miſtake in the Author of the *Engliſh* Reformation.

Biſhop *Burnet*, in his Hiſtory of the *Engliſh* Reformation, Vol. 3. p. 281, tells us, “ of a long Repreſentation, which he met with in the *Cotton* Library, “ of the Breach of Faith and Violation of the Laws during the Queen-Regent's “ Government; at the End of which there is a Petition to the Queen *(c)*, “ ſigned by the great Lords of this Kingdom, in which both *Papiſts* and *Proteſtants* concurred. And in order to obtain that Concurrence, the Matters “ of Religion are not inſiſted on; but the continued Courſe of a perfidious “ and illegal Adminiſtration is charged on the Queen Dowager: So that from “ this it appears, that the War was not begun, nor carried on upon the Account “ of Religion, but upon the Pretence of publick and national Rights.” This long Repreſentation he hath put in the Appendix to his Hiſtory, where our Readers may find it. It takes notice of the fortifying of *Leith*, and Suſpenſion of the Dowager's Authority; and yet the Petition at the End of it bears Date in *Auguſt* 1559. The Subſcribers to the Petition are, JAMES HAMILTON, (this the Biſhop ſuppoſes to be the Lord *Hamilton*; but that Gentleman did not arrive in *Scotland* till the Month of *September*;) ARD. *Argyll*; GLEN-

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(a) This was *Alexander Gordon*, Son to the Lord *Gordon*, by his Lady a natural Daughter of King *James* IV. He was bred up for the Church; and after the Death of *Dunbar* Archbiſhop of *Glaſgow*, he was named for his Succeſſor in that See: But *James Beton* Abbot of *Aberbrothock*'s Intereſt being greater than his at *Rome*, *Beton* was conſecrated *anno* 1552. However, the Pope beſtowed on *Gordon* the empty Title of Archbiſhop of *Athens*: He likewiſe got a Promiſe of the firſt vacant Benefice in *Scotland* to ſupport his Dignity. Accordingly he became Biſhop of the Iſles 26th *November* 1553, and obtained the Abbey of *Inchaffray in Commendam*: He was afterward tranſlated to the Biſhoprick of *Galloway* 1558. He was a Judge of the Seſſion till his Death in 1576. A late Writer ſays, this Gentleman remained ever addicted to the Queen's Intereſt: How true that is, his Subſcription here doth beſt evidence.

(b) If the Virtue of this Act proceeded from the Conſideration of Religion, had not the *Papiſts* of the Church of *Scotland* equal Right to make an Act of Reſtoration to, and Confirmation in the Regency?

(c) What Queen the Biſhop meant, is uncertain; nor is there any thing in the Petition to clear it. But in the End of the Repreſentation, 'tis very plain that they mean the Queen of *England*; for their Words are theſe, “ And therefore they have com- “ municated their hole Cauſe to certayn of the Queen's Majeſtie's Miniſters upon the Borders.”

1559.

GLENCARNE; JAMES STEWART; ALEX. GORDON, (Son to the Earl of *Huntly*, according to the Biſhop: I reckon he has been the Archbiſhop of *Athens*;) JOHN *****, (I ſuppoſe this might be the Laird of *Dun*;) R. *Boyd*; UCHILTRE; JOHN MAXWELL; RUTHVEN; JAMES STEWART, (this the Biſhop conjectures, tho' without any Ground, to be the Earl of *Athole*'s Son, and the former of this Name to be the Prior of St. *Andrew*'s; in which laſt no doubt he has Reaſon.) But 'tis ſtrange to hear the Biſhop affirm, that theſe few Subſcribers were *the great Lords of the Kingdom, both* Papiſts *and* Proteſtants: For by the whole Tenor of our Hiſtory, the Reader will perceive that theſe Subſcribers, except *Gordon* and *Stewart*, were the great and conſtant Sticklers for an Alteration in Religion: So that the Biſhop's Readers would take care, not to ſuffer themſelves to be carried off with every Miſrepreſentation of our Affairs. This Declaration of the confederate Lords, as it is called, ſerves to inform us, what was the Foundation of the Authority of the Council that proceeded to the Suſpenſion of the Queen-Regent; for towards the End thereof there are theſe Words, *And nowe the Duke and the reſt of the Nobilitie, with the Barons and Burgeſes of the Realme,* —— *were in the End conſtrayned to conſtitute a Counſayle for the Governance of the Realme, to the Vſe of theyr Soverayn Lady; and therewith humbly to ſignifie to her the reaſonable Suſpenſion of the Dowager's Authoritie; which to mayntayn they have of themſelves, as natural Subjects.*

A Treaty at *Cambray* betwixt *Scotland* and *England*:

Having hitherto forgot to take notice of two Treaties of Peace made with *England* this Year, I ſhall here give my Reader an Account of them. The firſt was concluded on the 2d Day of *April* this Year 1559, at the Caſtle of *Cambray*, a City in the *Low Countries*. There was a double Treaty here at this Time *(a)*; one betwixt the Crowns of *France* and *England*, the other betwixt the Crowns of *Scotland* and *England*. They are both of the ſame Date, and the Plenipotentiaries are the ſame in both, *viz.* for the Part of *France* and *Scotland*, *Charles* Cardinal of *Lorrain*, *Anne* Duke of *Montmorency*, *Jacques d' Albon* Marſhal of *France*, *John de Morvillier* Biſhop of *Orleans*, and *Claude de l' Aubeſpine* Knight, and Secretary of State: For the Part of *England*, Sir *William Howard* Lord Chamberlain to the Queen, *Thomas* Biſhop of *Ely*, and *Nicolas Wotton* Dean of *Canterbury* and *York*. The only Articles of this Peace that are worth noticing are theſe, 1. That the Fort built at *Aymouth*, and any other Fortification or Innovation that ſhall be found to have been made within the Limits of *Scotland*, before the Publication of this preſent Peace, from the Time of the Peace concluded at *Bologne* in *March* 1545, ſhall be demoliſhed within three Months after the Concluſion of this Treaty; nor ſhall there be built, or re-fortified, any other Place of Strength, contrary to the preſent Treaty. The like Obligation to be binding upon the *Engliſh* Nation, with reſpect to any Fort already built, or to be built by them, within or near the ſaid Limits of *Scotland*. 2. That all Rights, Actions, Exceptions, &c. ſhall remain entire, as they are preſently claimed by the reſpective Sovereigns of the Kingdoms of *Scotland* and *England*; nor ſhall any Alteration be made therein by the preſent Treaty *(b)*. 3. Seeing the Plenipotentiaries for *Scotland* have not ſufficient Knowledge of the State of Affairs depending betwixt the Crowns of *Scotland* and *England*, therefore they have deferred to decide on certain Articles reſpecting the Peace and Concord of the two Kingdoms, *viz.* the granting of Paſſports and Letters of Safe Conduct, Murders, Thefts, Robberies, Depredations, cutting of Trees, Shipwrecks, &c. and they do agree and ſtipulate, that Commiſſioners, duly inſtructed by the reſpective Sovereigns of *Scotland* and *England*, ſhall meet, at a certain Day and Place appointed for that Effect, before the Expiration of two Months from the Date

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(a) *Fœdera Angliæ.*

(b) This ſhews that Queen *Eliſabeth* has not thought this a proper Seaſon for her to enter upon the Diſcuſſion of the Right claimed by our Queen to the Realm of *England*.

1559. of this preſent Treaty; and then and there ſhall determine of the above mentioned Articles, as ſhall be found moſt for the Benefit of both the Kingdoms. And in the mean time, the Subjects of both Kingdoms ſhall be bound to regulate themſelves, in the foreſaid Points, conformable to the Treaty of Peace above mentioned.

Another at *Upſettlington.*

The other Treaty of Peace concluded this Year betwixt *Scotland* and *England*, was that of *Upſettlington*, a pleaſant Country-village on the North Side of the River *Tweed*, within the Borders of *Scotland*, five Miles Weſt from *Berwick*. It was a ſuppletory Treaty, ſet about merely for adjuſting the Points left undecided at the former. The Commiſſioners for *Scotland* were *James* Earl of *Morton*, *Alexander* Lord *Hume*, *Henry Sinclair* Dean of *Glaſgow*, and *James Macgill* Clerk of Regiſter and Council: Thoſe for *England* were *Thomas Percy* Earl of *Northumberland*, *Cuthbert* Biſhop of *Durham*, *William* Lord *Dacre*, and Sir *James Crofts* Captain of the Town and Caſtle of *Berwick*. Beſides the regulating of theſe things that were reſerved to be adjuſted in this Treaty, it was agreed, That the Bounds, Limits, &c. of the two Kingdoms ſhould continue the ſame as in the Time of *Philip* and *Mary* King and Queen of *England*: That the Town of *Berwick* ſhould not be moleſted by the *Scots*, nor ſhould the *Engliſh* give any Moleſtation to the *Scots* from that Garriſon: That no Letters of Safe Conduct be granted to the Subjects of either Kingdom, without they be ſuted for by the proper Sovereign of thoſe Subjects (*a*). This Treaty was finiſhed and drawn up at the Church of *Our Lady* of *Upſalinton* the 31ſt of *May*, and Duplicates thereof were delivered and exchanged in the Pariſh-Church of *Norham*, juſt oppoſite on the *Engliſh* Side of the *Tweed*, that ſame Day.

CHAP. X.

Containing an Account of Publick Affairs, from the Suſpenſion of the Queen-Regent in the End of October 1559, *until the Treaty made at* Berwick, *betwixt the Queen of* England *and the Lords of the* Congregation, *in the End of* February Anno 1559-60.

THE Act of Deprivation or Suſpenſion (as it was termed) having been notified to the Queen-Regent, in the Letter directed to her by the *Congregation*; the next Step they made, was, on the 25th of the ſame Month, to ſummon, by a Herald, all *Scottiſh* and *Frenchmen* to deſiſt from fortifying the Town of *Leith*, to depart out of it within the Space of twelve Hours, and to leave it patent and open to all and ſundry their Sovereign Lady's Lieges. But this Summons being diſregarded, it was reſolved by the Lords and Chiefs of the *Congregation*, to enter the Town of *Leith* by ſcaling Ladders; which they appointed to be made within St. *Giles*'s Church in *Edinburgh*, to the great Diſpleaſure of the Preachers; who affirmed, that they dreaded the Succeſs of that Enterprize, which began by ſuch Irreverence put upon the Places where the People ought to convene to Common Prayers and Preaching; and that God could not ſuffer ſuch Contempt to remain long unpuniſhed (*b*). And the Truth is, the Diſorder which appeared already among them, and which emboldned their Preachers to deal ſo plainly by them, did hourly encreaſe; for the Queen, by her Addreſs, had wrought off many of their Party; and beſides, ſhe had fallen on Ways and Means to entertain her Spies among them, who acquainted her from Time to Time with their moſt ſecret

The *Congregation* attempt to ſcale the Fortifications of *Leith*.

(*a*) What Regard the Queen of *England* paid to this Article, will appear from this Hiſtory, and the Collection of original Letters in the Appendix relating to this Period.

(*b*) Theſe very ſame Men thought it no Crime to pull down Edifices built for, and employed in the Worſhip of God. But their Form of Worſhip was *purer* than the other.

1559.

Their hired Soldiers mutiny.

ſecret Projects: And, which was worſt of all for them, the Soldiers they had hired began to mutiny for want of regular Pay. And if any one endeavoured to appeaſe theſe Soldiers, he was ſeverely threatned by them; nay they actually ſlew one of the Earl of *Argile*'s Gentlemen, who would have reaſoned them into better Order. And to ſhew what little Truſt was to be repoſed in them, theſe very Men had formerly made Proclamation in *Linlithgow*, That they were ready to ſerve and aſſiſt any Man for Money, to ſuppreſs the new *Congregation*, and to re-eſtabliſh the ancient Worſhip. Nor was this all; for even the Duke, who had ſhewed himſelf ſo keen for that Party of late, being now ſhaken by the Diſcourſes of ſome of his Friends, and the falling away of ſeveral of his Followers to the Queen, grew fearful, and by his Terror diſcouraged many.

They obtain a Supply of Money from *England*.

In this vexatious Poſture of Affairs, the Lords of the *Congregation* called a Meeting, in order to conſult what was moſt proper to be done in the preſent Juncture; and in it they reſolved, that it was firſt of all neceſſary to pay off and appeaſe the Soldiery. But ſeeing Money could not be raiſed, ſome being really poor, and others preferring their Caſh to their Cauſe; it was reſolved on and agreed, that every Nobleman ſhould give in his Silver-plate, to be melted down and coined, for a Supply to the preſent Neceſſity. But when that came to be done, the Workmen of the Mint ſtole away, and conveyed with them the Stamps and Irons thereof. This Expedient thus failing, the only remaining and laſt Reſource of Money was from *England*. To which Purpoſe Mr. *Cockburn* of *Ormiſton* was privately directed to *Berwick*, to confer with Sir *Ralph Sadler*, and Sir *James Crofts* Captain of that Town and Caſtle, in order to obtain ſuch a Sum as would ſupply their preſent Occaſions. Yet this their Deſign was not kept ſo ſecret, but that the Queen had notice of it, who thereupon perſuaded the Earl of *Bothwel* to way-lay *Ormiſton* in his Return; which that Earl did ſo effectually, notwithſtanding ſome Engagements to the *Congregation*, that he made himſelf Maſter of 4000 Crowns, being the whole which that Gentleman had procured at *Berwick* (a).

They are twice worſted.

On the laſt Day of *October*, *James Haliburton* the Provoſt, and the other Townſmen of *Dundee*, together with ſome Soldiers, marched towards *Leith*, in order to plant againſt it ſome great Guns which they had carried with them. This being perceived by the *French* Soldiers in Garriſon there, they ſallied out, beat off the Men of *Dundee*, took their Cannon, and chaſed them up into the very City of *Edinburgh*. The Conſternation was ſo great, leſt the *Frenchmen* ſhould prevent their Return thither, that while each endeavoured to ſave himſelf, the Weak were trodden down by the Strong, and the Foot were trampled under by the few Horſe that were preſent; each ſtriving who ſhould get firſt into the Port of the *Nether-bow*, which is the Eaſt Gate of that City: And at which narrow Paſſage the Clamour and Diſorder was ſo great, that, ſays Mr. *Knox*, *we luſt not to expreſs with Multiplication of Words*; and the Amazement became ſo univerſal in the City, that with much Difficulty the Citizens and others could be reſtrained from running out by the *Weſt-port*: And even ſome who ſtood in the higheſt Eſtimation among them, and others who had pretended the greateſt Zeal for the Work of Reformation, began to withdraw themſelves ſecretly from the Cauſe; and ſuch as had the Hardineſs to continue firm, appeared quite at a Loſs what Counſel they ſhould follow, never abiding fix'd in one Opinion for twenty four Hours together. And becauſe the Queen's Partiſans were, according to their Duty, very diligent in taking off ſuch Perſons as they could have any Influence upon, from the adverſe Party; therefore Mr. *Knox* doubts not but "God would recompenſe "their malicious Craft in their own Boſom, and thus prays, *Render, Lord,* "*to the Wicked according to their Malice.*" In this Conflict, that Author

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(a) See Appendix Numb. 15. By the Letters referr'd to in the Appendix it appears, that the Difference betwixt the *Engliſh* and the *Scottiſh* Money was become the ſame at that Time as it is now, if ſo be that one Crown contained three *Scottiſh* Pounds as at preſent; which ſeems to be exceeding probable, ſeeing the Letter mentions *L.* 1000 of *Engliſh* Money to have been delivered to Mr. *Cockburn*.

1559.

reckons not above ten Soldiers on his Side to have been ſlain: But Biſhop *Leſly* ſays, a good many were a-miſſing, and of that Number Mr. *Haliburton* the chief Leader of that Day's Expedition.

Which obligeth them to retire to *Stirling*.

On *Monday* the 6th (a) of *November*, when News was brought that the Garriſon of *Leith* had marched out to intercept ſome Proviſions coming towards *Edinburgh*; the Earl of *Arran* and Lord *James Stewart* iſſued out, and charged the *French* Soldiers more fiercely than prudently, by which they were upon the very Point of being ſhut out from the City. They were almoſt totally ſurrounded on the Marſhes betwixt *Reſtalrig* and the Palace of *Holy-rood-houſe*; and in that Jeopardy the whole Company very narrowly eſcaped being cut in Pieces: However, there were only about thirty Perſons killed, and ſome few taken Priſoners. This ſecond Misfortune had its natural Conſequence of rendring the Affairs of the *Congregation* ſtill more perplexed; many more withdrew from them, and all were grown now almoſt deſperate. And when ſcarce any could be perſuaded to remain at *Edinburgh* in a military Poſture, tho' much preſſed by the Earl of *Arran* and Lord *James*; it was at laſt agreed to leave the City, becauſe, as was pretended, the Lord *Erskine* Governor of the Caſtle, who had ſhewed them ſome Favour during the Skirmiſh that happened on the laſt Day of *October*, would not promiſe to befriend them for the future. And accordingly they all departed from *Edinburgh* (b) that ſame Day towards Midnight, marching directly for *Stirling*; and ſo great was the Pannick that then ſeized them, that they never halted till they had arrived there. On *Wedneſday* the 8th of *November*, Mr. *Knox* gave a Sermon to the *Congregation* at *Stirling*, who, he tells us, *were much erected by his Diſcourſe*. After Dinner he was called on by the Lords to come into the Council; at which it was concluded, to ſend *William Maitland* (c) younger of *Lethington* to *London*, (he had been Secretary to the Queen; but had ſometime before left her at *Leith*, and joined himſelf to the *Congregation*) there to expoſe their State and Condition to the Queen and Council of *England*. He was likewiſe ordered to lay before them the eminent Dangers that would ariſe to *England*, if the *French* were ſuffered to fortify Places, and plant Garriſons in *Scotland*; and that if the *Scots* were overcome, either by Force or by Fraud, the *French* would thereby have an eaſy Step to invade the *Engliſh*, and infringe their Power. It was alſo agreed in Council, that their next Meeting ſhould be at *Stirling*, on or about the 16th Day of *December* following; and that in the mean time the Noblemen ſhould depart each to their own Home, and there remain quiet until the Day appointed. This Account we have from Mr. *Knox*, who nevertheleſs informs us, in Concurrence with our other Hiſtorians, that the Chiefs of the *Congregation* did ſeparate themſelves into two Parts of the Kingdom, *viz.* the Duke, Earl of *Glencairn*, the Lords *Boyd* and *Ochiltree*, and their Friends, into the Weſt, and had their Reſidence in the City of *Glaſgow*, for Comfort of the Country, and for giving of Anſwers as Occaſion ſhould require; and that the Earls of *Rothes* and *Arran*, the Lord *James* and Maſter of *Lindſay*, and their Adherents, did remain together within the County of *Fife*, for the ſame Purpoſes. And finally, for keeping up and conveying Intelligence betwixt theſe Diſtricts, Mr. *Henry Balnaves* was ordered (as a Secretary) to attend the Noblemen reſiding at *Glaſgow*, and Mr. *John Knox* thoſe in *Fife*.

The Chiefs afterwards ſeparate into different Counties.

They pull down the Altars at *Glaſgow*;

The Duke, at his coming to *Glaſgow*, cauſed all the Images and Altars in the Churches there to be pulled down, and ſeized on the Caſtle which belonged to the Archbiſhop of that See. This Piece of News having reached *Edinburgh*, the Queen-Regent ſent inſtantly ſome *French* Soldiers, along with the Archbiſhop, for the Recovery of the Caſtle; who being likewiſe aſſiſted by the Lords *Seton*, *Sempil* and *Roſs*, and the Duke's People having left the Town upon

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(a) *Monday* was certainly the 6th of *November* this Year; but Mr. *Knox* ſays it was the 5th: And Mr. *Buchanan* ſays, this Exploit was on the 5th of the Month; but mentions not the Day of the Week.

(b) See Appendix Numb. 16.

(c) See Appendix Numb. 17. There was no need of Mr. *Maitland*'s refined Art to perſuade the Court of *England*; for it was ſure Retreat for them, as may be ſeen by the Letters in the Appendix written by the publick Miniſters of that Kingdom.

1559.

upon Notice of their Approach, the Caſtle was ſoon regained, and the *French* immediately returned to *Edinburgh*. We are not told the exact Time when this Expedition happened; but if it was in *November*, 'tis certain the Duke has ſpeedily repaired to *Glaſgow* after the *French* left it: For on the 29th of that Month we find him there, commanding, by publick Proclamation, all the Clergy to come and join themſelves to the *Congregation*, or otherwiſe to be holden as Enemies to God and true Religion, and to have their Benefices taken from them. But becauſe the Proclamation is not long, and that for its Singularity ſome may be deſirous to read it, I ſubjoin it as recorded by Mr. *Petrie*, who had it, he tells us, and the other after mentioned, from the Laird of *Dun*: And tho' they be only in MS. yet he aſſures us that the Signet affixed to them was [at that Time] whole and entire; which makes him conjecture, not without Reaſon, that theſe Proclamations have never been in Print.

and emit two very ſingular Proclamations in Name of the Queen.

FRancis and Mary King and Queen of Scots, Daulphin and Daulphinneſs of Viennois (a): To our Lovets, - - - - - - - - - Meſſengers our Sheriffs in that Part, conjunctly and ſeverally ſpecially conſtitute, greeting. For ſo much as it is underſtood by the Lords of our Privy Council that be reformed, of the Suſpicion of the Queen Dowriers Authority; the ſamine is, by Conſent of the Nobility and Barons of our Realm, now by God's Providence devolved unto them: And their chief and firſt Charge and Study is, and ſhould bee, to advance the Glory of God, by maintaining and upſetting true Preachers of the Word, reforming of Religion, and Subverſion of Idolatry. And there are divers of the Clergy who have not as yet adjoined themſelves unto the Congregation, nor made open Teſtification of their Faith, and Renunciation of Idolatry: Our Will is herefore, and we charge you ſtraitly, and command, That incontinently, theſe our Letters ſeen, ye paſs, and, in our Name and Authority, command and charge all and ſundry of the Clergy, who have not as yet adjoined themſelves to the Congregation as ſaid is, by open Proclamation at all Places needful, that they compear before the Lords of Counſell at Saint Andreus, the Day of and there give open Teſtification of their Converſion, with plain Confeſſion of their Faith, and Renunciation of all manner of Superſtition and Idolatry; with Certification unto them, if they fail, they ſhall be reputed and holden as Enemies to God and true Religion, and the Fruits of their Benefices ſhall be taken away, one Part thereof to the true Preachers who miniſtrate truly the Word, and the remanent to be applied to the forthſetting of the common Weil of our Realm. The which to do, we commit to you conjunctly and ſeverally our full Power, by theſe our Letters, delivering them by you duly execute, and indorſed again unto the Bearer. Given under our Signet, at Glaſgow, the penult Day of November, of our Reigns the firſt and ſeventeenth Years.

Notwithſtanding this Proclamation, ſome Biſhops, ſays Mr. *Petrie*, intended a new Perſecution; whereupon the Council of the *Congregation* ſent forth another Proclamation in the following Words.

FRancis and Mary, &c. Forſomuch as the Lords of our Council, underſtanding the great Hurt and Iniquity that in Times paſt hath proceeded to the Members of Chriſt's Church, by maintaining and upholding of the Antichriſts Laws and his Conſiſtory, boaſting [*i. e.* threatning] and fearing the ſimple and ignorant People with

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(a) It ſeems the *Congregation* liked not to give the Queen and her Husband their rightful Title of King and Queen of *Franse*, which they were then become.

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" Out of theſe Proclamations, and all other Proceedings heretofore, (ſays " this Author) it appears clearly, that whatſoever was done, had the Autho" rity of the publick Convention of the Eſtates; and leſſer Things were done " by the Council."

Reflections upon theſe Proclamations.

As to the Contents of theſe two Proclamations, I am apt to believe an unbiaſs'd Reader will look upon them as pretty ſingular, and will judge it a no ſmall Hardſhip for Men to be charged by ſuch Pretenders to Authority, either to alter their Sentiments with reſpect to religious Matters, or to loſe their Livings, and further to be expoſed to all manner of Inſult from an inraged Rabble, ſuch as cannot fail to fall upon Men, when once they are declared publickly, *Enemies to God and the true Religion*. But it is not as of late; the Tables are now turned, and thoſe poor Men who but yeſterday petitioned for a Liberty only to ſerve God in their own Way, have now obtained a new *Light* together with their new *Force*, and Death it ſelf is become the Penalty of Diſobedience to their high Commands. Again, with reſpect to the Gloſſes and Reflections placed by Mr. *Petrie* upon theſe Proclamations; if theſe be all the Documents he can produce for a regular and lawful Proceeding in the Work of Reformation, 'tis much to be queſtioned whether he will convince the Judgment of the Impartial: For tho' ſuch Arguments may ſerve to blind the Eyes of thoſe who are once engaged in a Party, and who ſee every thing thro' the falſe Colours of Faction; yet they who are willing to allow naked Truth to take Place, whether it make *for* or *againſt* them, can never think themſelves obliged to maintain, That Proclamations emitted by *eight* or *ten* Lords, with ſome Thouſands of the Populace at their Heels, combined together upon whatſoever Account, in Name of, but palpably againſt an uncontroverted ſupreme Authority, can be of any Force to juſtify the Proceedings following thereupon. There is no honeſt Man of a cool and impartial Judgment, who would preſerve ſacred that Authority, which is the great Band of the People, and keep inviolated the fundamental Rock on which Society it ſelf is built up in Safety, but muſt look with Horror and Deteſtation upon ſuch preſumptuous and unwarrantable Attempts, however clothed with audacious Pretenſions, aſſuming more than a Papal Infallibility, in dogmatically dictating a Faith they ought at moſt to have but perſuaded, and impoſing and dragooning upon others a Religion which they themſelves had but juſt taken up.

'Tis

(a) It is the Seat of a Biſhop in the County of *Angus*, five Miles Weſt of *Montroſe*, and ſituated on the North Side of the River of *Southesk*. The preſent Biſhop was Mr. *John Sinclair* Lord Preſident of the Seſſion, and formerly Dean of *Reſtalrig* near *Edinburgh*.

(b) This ſhews it to be certain that the Queen's Father King *James* V. did not die later than the 14th of this Month.

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'Tis true, a ſupine Negligence had poſſeſt the Clergy, and egregious Abuſes had crept into the Church: Nothing was indeed more wanted than a Reformation in both; yet our Religion tells us, and the Practice of our Saviour and his Apoſtles fully manifeſts unto us, *Evil is not to be done that Good may come of it. Herman* Biſhop of *Cologne* made a pious and Chriſtian Attempt for recovering the primitive and Apoſtolick Inſtitutions, and purging from Error and Superſtition the Houſe of God; for which he was deprived of his ſpiritual Authority by the Pope, and of his temporal Poſſeſſions by the Emperor; yet the Method he took was highly religious and commendable. Nay *Henry* VIII. of *England*, in the Reformation begun by him, (if he can be ſaid to have made any Reformation, further than from the aſſumed abſolute Authority of the Biſhop of *Rome)* tho' few ſuppoſe his Motives either holy or juſt, yet in ſo far as his legal Supremacy was interpoſed, and his Management authoriſed by the Laws of the Land, and followed forth by his Son and Succeſſor King *Edward*, and afterwards by his Daughter Queen *Eliſabeth*; the Affair of Religion was managed in that Kingdom on a legal Foundation, and to much a better Purpoſe than here in *Scotland*, where all was carried on from a Principle of Covetouſneſs in ſome great Ones, and where popular Fury was egg'd forward by hot-headed Zealots, who thought there could be no Reformation without pulling up ſome *good*, and all *indifferent* Things, together with the *bad*; and ſo totally defaced the Eccleſiaſtical Polity, and trampled under Foot all Civil Authority, that the Wounds given to the one and the other at that Time, are rather a Scandal than an Ornament both to our Reformation and its Authors. Nor ought any to be traduced and cenſured, as Enemies to a Reformation, merely becauſe they cannot approve of the falſe Steps ſo taken to bring it about: For had the Earl of *Arran* during his Regency ſtood firm to the new Doctrines, and brought Matters regularly before the Parliament, it might have been hoped that ſeveral of the Biſhops would have concurred in a Reformation of ſuch Things as were moſt blameable; by which means we might have enjoyed a true Chriſtian Miniſtry, and the Service of God might have been performed with that Decency and Beauty which the Nature of it requireth. But when the Biſhops ſaw Things carried on by open Rebellion and mobbing, when they ſaw ſuch univerſal Rapine and levelling, and when nothing would pleaſe but a Renunciation of their own ſacred *Orders*, and a truckling under ſome of the meaneſt Mechanicks, to be either received or not received as Miniſters of the Church of *Chriſt*, according as they ſhould think proper; what Wonder is it that ſuch a Reformation look'd formidable and deteſtable unto them, and in very deed no better than an utter overturning of all that was ſacred *(a)!*

The Queen-Regent takes again Poſſeſſion of *Edinburgh*.

To return now to our Hiſtory: The Queen-Regent, the Day after the *Congregation* had left *Edinburgh*, gave Orders to the *French* Troops to march up from *Leith*, and take Poſſeſſion of that City; which accordingly they did: And immediately all the Favourers and Abettors of the *Congregation*, that had not departed with them, were now conſtrained to leave the Place; the *Romiſh* Worſhip was reſtored, and the High Church was conſecrated a-new by the Biſhop of *Amiens*. The Queen diſpatched likewiſe an Expreſs to *France*, with an Account of the proſperous Situation of Affairs, and with a Requeſt for more Forces to be ſent her with all Expedition, which might help to render the Victory compleat: And 'tis indeed very probable, that if the *Congregation* had not received Succours from *England*, they would have been in no Condition to hold it out longer againſt the Queen-Regent, even tho' ſhe had not received any further Aſſiſtance from *France*. But the Queen of *England* was too clear ſighted to let ſlip the preſent Opportunity, in ſupporting thoſe of the ſame Religion and Intereſt with herſelf in *Scotland*: For tho' it was argued by ſome of her

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(a) *Alexander Gordon* Biſhop of *Galloway* was the only Prelate of that Dignity, in Office at the Time, who turned *Proteſtant*; and yet he was ſo far from being allowed to exerce any Epiſcopal Juriſdiction, that when he craved to be Viſitor only of the Churches in the Diſtrict of *Galloway*, it was refuſed him, and another was preferred: Nor was he ever nominated to be a Superintendant by the new modelled Aſſemblies; nay he was once ſuſpended by them from the Office of an ordinary Preacher.

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Aſſiſtance promiſed by the Queen of *England* to the *Congregation.*

her Council (*a*), that it was of bad Example to aſſiſt the Subjects of another Prince in their Rebellion; yet ſhe, knowing the Claim (*b*) that was laid to her Crown by *Mary* Queen of *Scotland*, and that if the *Romiſh* Party prevailed there, ſhe run a great Risk of having it wreſted from her Head, ſent back Word to the Lords of the *Congregation*, that they might expect Aſſiſtance from her, upon ſuch Conditions as ſhould be agreed to, at a Meeting of Commiſſioners duly inſtructed with proper Powers for that Purpoſe (*c*).

With this Anſwer from the Queen of *England*, *Robert Melvil* Brother to the Laird of *Raith*, who went in Company with Secretary *Maitland* to *London* (*d*), arrived the 20th of *December*; and ſome Chiefs of the *Congregation* having according to Appointment met at *Stirling*, ſent again into *England* with all Diligence a Return to that Queen. What this Return was, we are not told; but we may ſafely conclude, that it conſiſted of *Thanks* to her Majeſty for her generous Promiſe, and an *Acceptation* of the Preliminary propoſed by her: For very quickly thereafter, we hear of the Duke of *Norfolk*'s being arrived at *Berwick*, with full Inſtructions to enter into a Treaty with Commiſſioners from *Scotland*. After this the Lords of the *Congregation* ſeparated from *Stirling*, and went again into their former Diſtricts. At which Time the Queen-Regent of *Scotland*, having Intelligence of the Aſſiſtance promiſed them by the Queen of *England*, ſhe determined to make an End of the War, by ſubduing the Remainder of the Faction before that Supply ſhould come to their Relief. And in order to this, a Reſolution was taken to begin with thoſe of *Fife*, and that with the particular View of taking and fortifying the Town and Caſtle of St. *Andrew*'s, as being a Place proper for receiving Auxiliaries from *France* on that Coaſt. But whether it was not thought expedient to venture a Tranſportation of the *French* Soldiers by Sea into that Country, ſince they might meet with Reſiſtance from thoſe on the Shore; or that there was not a ſufficient Number of Barks ready to tranſport them to the other Side of the Frith of *Edinburgh*; the *Frenchmen* received Orders to take the Road to *Stirling*: And in their March thither they plundered the Town of *Linlithgow*, and the Houſe of *Kinneil* about a Mile diſtant from it, belonging to the Duke of *Chaſtelherault*, and all the Lands which pertained to that Nobleman in thoſe Parts. The like Pillage they made at *Stirling*, and in the Villages by the Way as they paſt (which are very numerous on the North Side of the *Forth*) until they came to *Kinghorn*. There ſome Soldiers and others belonging to the *Congregation*, endeavouring to ſtop from landing at the *Petticurre* (a little Bay to the Weſt of the Town) ſome ſmall Veſſels that were a-coming from *Leith*,

The *French* Soldiers paſs into *Fife*:

(*a*) See Appendix Numb. 18.

(*b*) The Reader will pleaſe know, that after the Death of the Children of *Henry* VIII. King of *England*, our Queen had the undoubted Right to that Crown, as being neareſt Heir, deſcended of the eldeſt Daughter of *Henry* VII. who was Wife to our King *James* IV. But *Eliſabeth*, now in Poſſeſſion of the Crown of *England*, having been born of *Anne Bolen*, whom King *Henry* had married, after divorcing, and during the Life of his firſt Wife; and her ſaid Father during his Lifetime having, by Act of Parliament, ſet her aſide from all Succeſſion; her Birth was look'd upon by our Queen as ſpurious: So that immediately after the Death of *Mary* Queen of *England*, King *Henry*'s lawful Daughter, our Queen took upon her (as hath been already remarked) the Title of Queen of *England*, and bare a Coat of Arms as ſuch, which for the Sake of the curious I ſhall here deſcribe. The Coat (becauſe of the Marriage of our Queen with the Dauphin of *France*) was born *Baron* and *Femme*. In the firſt was the Coat of the Dauphin, which took up the upper Half of the Shield, and the lower Half contained the Arms of *Scotland*. This impaled quarterly, 1. The Arms of *Scotland*, 2. The Arms of *England*, The 3. as the 2. The 4. as the 1. Over all, Half an Eſcutcheon, the ſiniſter Half being, as it were, obſcured or cut off: Perhaps to denote that another had gotten Poſſeſſion of the Crown to the Bearer's Prejudice. Under the Arms were writ theſe Lines.

The Arms of Mary *Queen Dolphineſs of* France,
The nobleſt Lady in Earth for till advance:
Of Scotland *Queen and of* England, *alſo*
Of Fraunce, *as God hath providit it ſo.*

Strype's Annals of Queen *Eliſabeth*.

(*c*) Mr. *Camden* acquaints us that after the Arrival of Mr. *Maitland* in *England*, the *Engliſh* Secretary *Cecil* laboured to ſift the Intentions of the *Scottiſh Congregation*, and that they anſwered with their Eyes lifted up to Heaven, "That they had no other "Deſign in the World than the Promotion of God's Glory, the ſincere preaching of his Word, the Extirpation of Idolatry, the "ſhunning the Rage of their Perſecutors, and the Preſervation of their ancient Liberty: That for their Parts they were at a Loſs "how to bring all this about, but hoped that God's Providence would happily finiſh what it had begun, to the Confuſion of their "Enemies; and for an Union between the two Kingdoms, that was the very Top of their Wiſhes; and to cultivate and improve "it they would contribute all the Money, Credit and Reſolution they were Maſters of." See Appendix Numb. 19.

(*d*) So ſay our Hiſtorians; but the Letter in the Appendix Numb. 20. mentions one *Thomas Barnavie* to have been Companion to Mr. *Maitland*; and ſpeaks nothing of Mr. *Melvil*.

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Leith, were repulſed by the *French*, with the Loſs of ſix or ſeven of their Number, and ſome few made Priſoners: And in all Appearance the Loſs had been greater, if the Lord *Ruthven* had not come very opportunely to the Top of the Hill, and favoured their Retreat. This Lord was ſent by the other Lords, who had all aſſembled at *Cowper* after they had heard that the *French* Soldiers had left *Stirling*, with Orders to prohibite their Friends to enter into any Engagements till they were all preſent in Perſon. This Reſolution was according to the Advice they had received from their *Engliſh* Allies, for preſerving their Forces as entire as poſſible, and not to allow them to be diminiſhed by any Party-ſkirmiſhes, until their Friends from *England* ſhould arrive to their Support *(a)*. In this Attack the Earl of *Sutherland* received a Wound in the Arm: He had come in Company with the Lord *Ruthven*; as was given out, from the Earl of *Huntly*, in order to complement the Lords of the *Congregation*; but it was privately whiſpered, that his real Errand was a ſecret Commiſſion from that Earl to the Queen-Regent *(b)*. The *French* Soldiers having made themſelves Maſters of *Kinghorn*, the Earl of *Arran* and Lord *James* came up with all the Force they could make, which was about 600 Men, and entred into *Dyſart*, a ſmall Town three Miles North-Eaſt of *Kinghorn*, with a Deſign to ſtop, as much as they could, the *French (c)* from advancing further towards St. *Andrew*'s; being hopeful that in a ſhort Time the Supply from *England* would appear, to drive out the *French* altogether. And the Truth is, they performed ſo well what they intended, that for three Weeks Time they ſkirmiſhed the *French* thereabout, with ſuch Succeſs, that they obliged them to be very heavy on their own Friends for Subſiſtence, and even to receive Victuals and other Neceſſaries by Sea from the South Side of the Frith. Then alſo it was that *William Kircaldy* of *Grange*, having got his Houſe burnt by the *French*, laid an Ambuſh for them. The Maſter of *Lindſay* joined him in this Enterprize, in which they had the good Succeſs to kill a *French* Captain *(d)* with fifty of his Men, and to take the reſt Priſoners. This Accident ſo inraged *Monſ. d' Oyſel*, that after he had found Means to pillage *Dyſart* and *Wemyſs*, another ſmall Town a little further North-Eaſt, he marched with his Army along the Coaſt, deſigning firſt to take Poſſeſſion of St. *Andrew*'s, and from thence to proceed and attack the Town of *Cowper*, which was the Place of Rendezvous for the oppoſite Party, and whither probably the Earl of *Arran* and Lord *James* had withdrawn themſelves upon hearing of this Movement. The *French* began to march on *Monday* the 15th *(e)* of *January* 1559-60; and about Noon they eſpied ſome large Ships of War *(f)* bearing up the Frith, which they took to be *French* with a further Supply of Men to them: But how ſoon they ſaw theſe Stranger-ſhips ſeize *(g)* the two Ships commanded by Captain *Cullen*, which were employed in carrying Proviſions to them from *Leith*, they began to ſuſpect what a little after they were fully confirmed of, by one *Alexander Wood* who had been aboard their Admiral, that they were an *Engliſh* Fleet ſent to the Support of the *Congregationers*, and that a Land-army was quickly to enter *Scotland* for the ſame Purpoſe. This Piece of News ſtruck them with a great Conſternation; for they feared to be ſhut up from their Countrymen in *Leith*, and ſo to loſe both that Garriſon, and to expoſe themſelves to the Danger of being ſurrounded by their Enemies, or cut in Pieces if they ſhould ſtir abroad for Proviſions: Wherefore they reſolved ſuddenly to direct their March to *Stirling*; which was no eaſy Matter to accompliſh, by

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But are obliged to return upon th Arrival of a Fleet from *England*.

(*a*) See Appendix Numb. 21.

(*b*) So ſays expreſly Biſhop *Leſly*: But the Readers will find how this Nobleman is characterized by the *Engliſh* Miniſters, in ſome Letters of the Appendix relating to this Period.

(*c*) Mr. *Knox*, and from him apparently Archbiſhop *Spottiſwood* affirms, the *French* to have been 4000: But Biſhop *Leſly* ſays but 2000 or thereabout; which is more likely.

(*d*) He was a *Savoyard* by Nation; and his Name *Labaſt*, or as others *Le Batu*.

(*e*) *Leſly* ſays the *Engliſh* Fleet caſt Anchor in the Frith on the 10th of *January*.

(*f*) *Buchanan* ſays there were but eight of theſe Ships: But *Leſly* ſays they were ſixteen in Number.

(*g*) So ſays Mr. *Knox*; but I ſhould rather incline to think that they only ſpoke with Captain *Cullen*; otherwiſe where was the Occaſion of the Queen-Regent's Meſſage mentioned below?

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reaſon of a great Storm of Snow that then lay upon the Ground; but Neceſſity had no Law; they were obliged to be expeditious, and to make as long Marches as poſſible. And accordingly they ſet out for *Stirling* early the next Morning, ſome by the Way of *Kinghorn*, others by *Dunfermling*; and tho' the Thaw came on in the Time, and rendred travelling the more difficult; yet they arrived at *Leith* the third Day after, having loſt divers of their Men by the Way. How ſoon they reached *Leith*, whither alſo ſome of their Number adventured to come by Sea, they preſently ſet about fortifying that Place more ſtrongly than it was before, as alſo *Inchkeith*, a ſmall Iſland lying ſtraight out from *Leith*, about Mid-way betwixt the two Shores.

The falſe Pretext of the *Engliſh* Admiral.

When the *Engliſh* Ships had dropt Anchor in the Road, the Queen-Regent ſent to enquire at Mr. *Winter* the Vice-Admiral, *What was the Occaſion of his coming hither?* He anſwered, *That he came to look out for ſome Pirats that infeſted the* Scottiſh *and* Engliſh *Seas; and that in order to ſurpriſe them the more eaſily, he had judged it proper to ſculk ſome Time in the Frith; and that he had no Intention to harm any other Perſon (a).* But this Anſwer not at all ſatisfying the Queen-Regent, who was a Perſon of too much Penetration to give Credit to ſuch a Pretext, ſhe diſpatched immediately thereafter a Meſſenger to *Seury* the *French* Ambaſſador in *England*, deſiring him to require Queen *Eliſabeth* to recall theſe Ships; and moreover not to ſend any Soldiers to the Aſſiſtance of the rebellious Sectaries in *Scotland*, leſt thereby a new War might enſue betwixt *France* and *England*. To this Memorial the Queen of *England* made anſwer, "That in Truth ſhe deſigned to do no ſuch Thing; but that "ſeeing the *French* Auxiliaries were daily encreaſing in *Scotland*, ſhe judged "it but prudent to place ſome Troops in the Border-garriſons, in caſe any Inroad might be attempted that Way; but that they ſhould have Orders not to "ſet a Foot in *Scotland*, unleſs they firſt received Provocation *(b)*." On this Royal Aſſurance given by the Queen of *England*, 'tis ſaid our Queen-Regent did ſo far rely, that tho' ſhe received repeated Advices of contrary Deſigns and Preparations, yet ſhe nevertheleſs gave no Ear to them: But ſhe quickly found her Miſtake, being ſoon after certainly informed, that the Duke of *Norfolk* was arrived at *Berwick*, with full Inſtructions, Power and Commiſſion, to enter into a Treaty with the Lords of the *Congregation*; and that an Army conſiſting of 10000 Men was ready to join them how ſoon the Treaty was ſigned; which ſhe had no reaſon to doubt of their doing at any Rate, ſince without *Engliſh* Aſſiſtance their Affairs were in a very uncertain and decaying Condition.

Duke of *Norfolk* invites the Lords of the *Congregation* to a formal Treaty.

How ſoon the Duke of *Norfolk* arrived at *Berwick*, about the End of *January*, or the Beginning of *February*, he ſent to the Lords of the *Congregation*, and deſired (with Abundance of Complaiſance, even more than could be well expected) that ſome of their Number, inſtructed with full Powers, might come and meet him, on ſuch a Day and at ſuch a Place as ſhould pleaſe them to appoint. This Advertiſement came firſt to *Glaſgow*, by the Maſter of *Maxwel*, who procured from the Lords there, to appoint the Meeting to be at *Carlile*. In conſequence of which, Letters were directed to the Lord *James Stewart* then in *Fife*, deſiring him ſpeedily to repair to the Weſt Country, in order to proceed from thence to *Carlile*. But it not having been thought ſafe for that Lord to travel ſo far thro' the Country, where his Enemies might way-lay him, and his Preſence being look'd upon as abſolutely neceſſary in *Fife*; the Lords in the Weſt agreed to ſend ſome of their Number into *Fife*, to aſſiſt in making choice of ſuch Perſons as ſhould be judged moſt proper to go into *England*. The Election was at *Cowper*; and the Commiſſioners choſen were the Lord *James*, the Lord *Ruthven*, the Maſters of *Maxwel* and *Lindſay*, the Laird of *Pitarrow*,

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(a) This Anſwer we have related by Biſhop *Leſly*; and it ſeems to be the more genuine, that we find a Reſolution taken by the Council of *England* in the Beginning of Queen *Eliſabeth's* Reign, to ſend Ships into the Frith of *Edinburgh*, and to pick as many Quarrels as they might of themſelves, and to hinder any more Succours coming out of *France* to *Leith*: And this to be done by them as of themſelves, without Notice of any Command ſo to do; and ſo to order Matters as the Cauſe might appear to come of the *French*. *Strype*'s Annals of Queen *Eliſabeth*.

(b) *Ibidem*.

1559-60.

Pitarrow, Mr. *Henry Balnaves*, and *William Maitland* younger of *Lethington*, who had not as yet returned into *Scotland*. The Place of Congreſs was ſettled to be at *Berwick*, whither the *Scottiſh* Commiſſioners went all by Sea, except the Maſter of *Maxwel*: And they had full Powers, from the Duke and remanent Lords of the *Congregation*, to contract and agree with the Queen of *England*, and her Lieutenant the Duke of *Norfolk*, upon all ſuch Matters as might ſerve for the Welfare and Conjunction of the two Kingdoms; and particularly, for expelling the *French* Soldiers out of the Kingdom of *Scotland*. After they arrived at *Berwick*, a formal Contract was ſoon entred into; which, becauſe of the remarkable Stipulations therein contained, and the great Luſtre, as well as Security, which it added to the Affairs of the *Congregationers*, with whom a crown'd Head did ſo ſolemnly enter into Treaty; I chuſe here to lay before the Reader, as taken from an authentick Copy *(a)*.

Conventiones Scotorum contra Reginam unionem Franciæ & Scotiæ deſignantem, & pro defenſione contra Francos.

Treaty of Berwick.

AT Barwyck, *the twenty ſevinct Day of* Februare, *the Zeir of our Lord God one Thouſand five Hundred fifty nyne Zeris: It is agreed, contractit and finalye appoynted, betwixt the noble mychty Prince,* Thomas *Duck of* Northfolk, *Erle Marſchell of* Ingland, *Lieutennent for the Quenis moſt excellent Majeſtie of* England *in the North, in the Name and Behalf of hir Hienes, of the one Partye; and the Ryght Honorable Lord* James Steward, Patrick *Lord* Ruthven, *Sir* John Maxwell *of* Teiregles *Knycht,* William Maitland *of* Lethyngtonne *Zoungare,* Johnne Wyſchert *of* Pittarrow, *and Maiſtre* Henry Balnaves *of* Hal-hil, *in the Name and Behalf of the noble and myghtie Prince,* James *Duck of* Chaſteau la Rault, *ſecund Perſonn of the Realme of* Scotland, *and the remanent of the reſt of the Lordes of his Parte, joyned with him in this Caus for Maynteinance and Defence of the auncient Ryghteis and Liberteis of their Cuntree, on the other Partye, in Forme as hereafter followeth; That is to ſay, that the Quenis Majeſtye having ſufficientlie underſtanded, alſweall by Information ſent from the Nobilite of* Scotland, *as by the manifeſt Proceadingis of the* Frenche, *that thei intend to conquer the Realme of* Scotland, *ſuppreſe the Liberteis thairof, and unyte the ſame unto the Crown of* France *perpetualie, contrarie to the Laws of the ſaid Realme, and to the Pactes, Othes and Promeſſis of* France; *and being thairto moſt humilie and earneſtlie required by the ſaid Nobilite, for and in the Name of the hole Realme; Shall accept the ſaid Realme of* Scotland, *the ſaid Duck of* Chaſteaulerault, *being declared by Acte of Parliament to be Heyre apperand to the Crowne thairof, and the Nobilite and Subjectes of the ſame, into hir Majeſties Protection and Maynteinaunce, onelie for Preſervation of theym in their old Fredomes and Liberteis, and from Conqueſt, during the Tyme the Mariage ſhall continew betwix the Queyn of* Scottis *and the* Frenche *King, and one Zeir after; and for expelling owte of the ſame Realme of ſuche as preſentlie goeth abowte to practiſe the ſaid Conqueſt.*

Hir Majeſtie ſhall with all Speyd ſend into Scotland *a convenient Ayd of Men of Warre, on Horſe and Foot, to joyne with the Power of the* Scottiſhmen, *with Artailze, Munition, and all uthers Inſtrumentis of Warre mete for the Purpoſe, alſweall by Sea as by Land, not onlie to expel the preſent Power of* Frenche *within that Realme, oppreſſing the ſame, but alſo to ſtop, as far as convenientlie may be, all grytare Forces of* Frenche *to enter thairin for the like Purpoſe; and ſhall continue hir Majeſties Ayde to the ſaid Realme, Nobilite and Subjectes of the ſame, until the* Frenche, *being Ennemies to the ſaid Realme, be utterlie expelled thence; and ſhall never tranſact, compound or agree with the* Frenche, *nor conclude any League with thame; except the* Scottes *and the* Frenche *ſhall be aggreed, that the Realme of* Scotland

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(a) *Fœdera Angliæ.*

1559-60. *ſhall be left in a dew Freedome by the* Frenche. *Nor ſhall leave the Mayntenaunce of the ſaid Nobilite and Subjectes, wheirby thei might fall as a Praye in their Ennemeis Handes, alſlong as thei ſhall acknowledge thair Soverane Lady and Quene, and ſhall endever theymſelves to maynteyn the Libertie of their Cuntree, and the Eſtait of the Crowne of* Scotland; *and yf in caiſe any Fortes or Strenthes within the ſaid Realme be wonne out of the Handes of the* Frenche, *at this preſent, or at any time hereafter, by her Majeſties Ayde, the ſame ſhall be immediatelie demoliſhed by the* Scottiſhmen, *or delivered to the Duck and his Partye at their Optionn and Choiſe. Neyther ſhall the Power of* England *fortifye within the Grounde of* Scotland, *being owt of the Bowndes of* England, *but by the Advyſe of the ſaid Duck, Nobilite and Eſtates of* Scotland. *For the wiche Cauſe, and in reſpect of her Majeſties moſt gentle Clemency, and liberall Supporte, the ſaid Duck, and all the Nobilitie, alſweal ſuche as be now joined with him, as ſuche as ſhall hereafter joyne with him for Defence of the Libertie of that Realme, ſhall, to the uttermoſt of their Power, ayde and ſupporte her Majeſties Armye, againſt the* Frenche *and their Parttakaris, with Horſemen, Footmen and Victuals, by Land and by Sea, and with all manner of uther Ayde, to the beſt of their Power; and ſo ſhall continew during the Tyme that her Majeſties Armye ſhall remane in* Scotland.

Item, *Thei ſhall be Ennemeis to all ſuche* Scottiſh *Men and* Frenche *as ſhall in any wayis ſhewe themſelves Ennemeis to the Realme of* England, *for the ayding and ſuccouring the ſaid Dwke and Nobilite, to the Deliverye of the Realme of* Scotland *from Conqueſt.*

Item, *Thei ſhall never aſſent nor permit that the Realme of* Scotland *ſhall be conquered, or otherwys knytt to the Crowne of* Fraunce *then it is at this preſent, onelie by the Mariage of the Quene their Soverane to the* Frenche *King, and by the Lawes and Liberties of the Realme it aucht to be.*

Item, *In caiſe the* Frenche *ſhall at any time invade, or cauſe to be invaded the Realme of* England, *they ſhall furniſh the Nombre of twa Thouſand Horſemen, and twa Thouſand Footemen at the leaſt, or ſuche Parte of eyther of theym, at Choyſe of the Quenys Majeſtie of* England, *and ſhall conducte the ſame to paſs from the Borders of* Scotland *next* England, *uponn her Majeſties Charges, to any Parte of the Realme of* England, *for the Defence of the ſame; and in caiſe the Invaſion be uppon the North Partes of* England, *on the North Parte of the Water of* Tyne *towardes* Scotland, *or aganſt* Barwyck *on the North Side of the Watter of* Tweyd; *thei ſhall convent and gadder their hole Forces uponn their owen Charges, and ſhall join with the* Engliſh *Power, and ſhall continew in goode and earneſt Proſecutionn of the Quarrel of* England, *during the Space of thretty Dayes, or ſo muche longer as thei were accuſtomed to tary in the Fieldes for the Defence of* Scotland, *at the Mandement of their Soveranis at any tyme by paſt.*

And alſwa, the Erle of Ergyle *Lord Juſtice of* Scotland, *being preſentlie joyned with the ſaid Lord Duck, ſhall employ his Force and Good will, whair he ſhall be required by the Quenys Majeſtie, to reduce the North Partes of* Ireland *to the perfytt Obedience of* England, *conforme to a mutuall and reciproque Contraict to be maid betuixt her Majeſties Lieutennent or Deputie of* Ireland *for the Tyme being, and the ſaid Erle, wheirein ſhal be conteyned what he ſhal do for his Parte, and what the ſaid Lieutennent or Deputie ſhall do for his Supporte, in caſe he ſhall have to do with* James Monneil, *or any other of the Iſles of* Scotland *or Realme of* Ireland.

For Performance and ſure keaping wheirof, thei ſhall for their Parte enter to the ſaid Ducke of Northfolk *the Pledges preſentlie named by him, befoir the Entree of her Majeſties Ayde in* Scottiſhe *Ground, to remane in* England *for the Space of ſax Monthes, and to be then excheanneged uppon Deliverie of new Hoſtages of lyke or als goode Condition as the former, or being of the lauchfull Sonnes, Brethren or Heyres, of any of the Erlis or Barronis of Parliament, that have or hereafter ſhal ſhewe thameſelves, and ſo perſiſt o-*

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1559-60. *pen Ennemyes of the* Frenche *in this Quarrell; and ſo furth from ſax Monethis to ſax Monethis, or from foure Monethis to foure Monethis, as ſhall beſt pleaſe the Partye of* Scotland: *And the Tyme of the Continewance of the Hoſtages ſhal be during the Mariage of the Quene of* Scottes *to the* Frenche *King, and one Zeare after the Diſſolutionn of the ſaid Mariage, untill forder Order may be had betuixt both the Realmes for Peace and Concord.*

And furthermore, the ſaid Ducke, and Nobilite, being Erlis and Barones in Parliament, joyned with him, ſhall ſubſcribe and ſeale theſe Articles and Compactes within the Space of twenty, or thretty Dayes at the uttermoſt, nixt following the Day of the Deliverye of the ſaidis Hoſtages; and ſhall alſo procure and perſwade all uthers of the Nobilite, that ſhall joyn theymſelves hereafter with the ſaide Ducke for the Cauſſe above ſpecifyed, lykewyis to ſubſcryve and ſeale theſe Articles preſent, at any Tyme after the Space of twenty Dayes after their Conjunction, uponn Requiſition maid to theym on the Partye of the Quenis Majeſtie of England.

And fynalie, the ſaid Duck and Nobilitie joyned with him, certanelie perceaving that the Quenys Majeſtie of England *is theirunto onelie moved uponn reſpect of Princelie Honour and Neyghbowrheid, the Defence of the juſt Freedome of the Crowne of* Scotland *from Conqueſt, and not of any other ſiniſter Entent, doeth by theſe Preſentis teſtifye and declaire, that thei nor any of theym meane, by this Compacte, to withdrawe any deu Obedience from their Soverane Ladye the Queyn, nor in any lefull Thing to withſtand the* Frenche *King, being her Husband and Head, that during the Mariage ſhall not tend to the Subverſionn and Oppreſſionn of the juſt and auncient Liberties of the ſaid Kingedome of* Scotland; *for the Preſervation wheirof, both for their Soveranis Honour, and for the Continewance of the Kingdome in auntient Eſtait, thei acknowledge theimſelves bound to ſpend their Goodes, Landes and Lyves: And for the Performance of this preſent Contracte for the Parte of* England, *the Quenys Majeſtie ſhall confyrme the ſame, and all Clauſſes theirin conteyned, by her Lettres patentes, under the Greate Seale of* England, *to be delivered to the Nobilite of* Scotland, *uponn the Entree of the Pledges afoirſaid within the Ground of* England.

In Witnes wheirof, the Commiſſionaris for the Ducke of Chaſteaularault *and Nobilite of* Scotland *befoir named, haif ſubſcryved theſe Preſentis, and thereunto affixed their Seales, the Day, Zeare and Place afoirſaidis.*

JAMES STEWART.

PATRIK *L.* Ruthwen.

JOHNE MAXWELL.

W. MAITLAND.

JHONE WYSHART.

HENRICUS BALNAVES.

Sub Sigillis prædictorum Commiſſariorum de cera rubea pendente à duplicibus caudis pergamenæ *(a)*.

(a) At the Beginning of the Copy of theſe Articles in the *Cotton* Library, on the Margin there is a Remark by Sir *Robert Cotton*, which is this, "It ſeems by the Commiſſion given by the Queen for Confirmation of theſe Articles, dated in the Month of *March* " following, that this Treaty was concluded, before the Queen wou'd openly profeſs herſelf a Party; which is to be noted," The Commiſſion is ſet down after this Paper, in *Caligula* B. 10. The Date is 29th *March* 1559.

CHAP. XI.

Containing an Account of Publick Affairs, from the finiſhing of the Treaty at Berwick, *betwixt the Queen of* England *and the Lords of the* Scottiſh Congregation, *in the End of* February 1559-60, *until the Death of the Queen-Regent on the 10th of* June Anno 1560.

1559-60.

Some Account of the Recruits that came from *France*.

I COULD not till now, without interrupting too much the Chain of our Hiſtory, find a proper Place to notice the Returns which the Queen-Regent received from *France*, to the Meſſages ſhe had formerly ſent thither for more Troops. And even now that I am to do it, the Reader muſt, by reaſon of the Diſcongruity of our Hiſtorians in this Matter, be ſatisfied with what can be pick'd up from each of them. Mr. *Knox* and (from him, I ſuppoſe) Archbiſhop *Spottiſwood* affirm, that immediately after the Receipt of the Queen-Regent's Letters, her Brother the Marquis *d' Elbeuf* and Count *Martigue*, a young Nobleman of great Courage, were diſpatched thence with an Army of Horſe and Foot; but that a violent Storm did ſo break their Ships on the Coaſt of *Holland*, that eighteen *(a)* Enſigns were caſt away, and not a Ship ſaved but one or two, wherein the two Generals had imbarked; and theſe were driven back to *Diep* from whence they had ſet ſail. The Archbiſhop adds, that ſoon after the Marquis's putting again to Sea, he arrived at *Leith*, about the Beginning of the Spring, with 1000 Foot and ſome few Horſemen. Biſhop *Leſly* makes no mention of this unfortunate Voyage; but ſays, that whilſt the Queen-Regent was anxiouſly looking for her Brother from *France*, Count *Martigue* arrived at *Leith* with 1000 veteran Soldiers in the Month of *November*. Mr. *Buchanan* alſo makes no mention of the firſt Expedition; and only takes notice, that the Spring being now at hand, Count *Martigue*, a young Gentleman of undaunted Courage, landed from *France* with two Ships, bringing with him about 1000 Foot and a few Horſe; that he and his Soldiers preſently went aſhore; but that the Ships were taken in the Night by the *Scots*. And he adds, that about the ſame time the Marquis *d' Elbeuf*, who was bringing an Aid of Men and Money in eight Ships, returned back into the Haven from whence he had ſet ſail, excuſing himſelf partly becauſe of the Seas being full of *Engliſh* Ships, and partly becauſe of the Badneſs of the Weather: That beſides, a ſecond Fleet of *Engliſh* Ships was ſent to the *Scots* Coaſt to ſecond the former; who ſcoured continually up and down the Frith, and kept the Iſland of *Inchkeith* beſieged, and ſtopping all manner of Proviſions from paſſing by Sea into *Leith (b)*. And finally, Mr. *Knox* obſerves likewiſe the Arrival of Count *Martigue*, (about the 10th of *January*, as may be collected from him;) but ſeems to take no notice of any Soldiers that came with him: However, what he ſays on this Occaſion may be properly inſerted here, becauſe it gives a good Account of the taking of the *French* Ships that brought Count *Martigue*. He informs us then, how that after the Laird of *Grange* had defeated the *French* Company mentioned above, Care was taken to furniſh them with Proviſions by Sea, without obliging them to ſtraggle thro' the Country to provide themſelves: That for this Purpoſe one Captain *Cullen* was appointed, with two Ships, to carry Victuals continually from the South Side of the Frith, to *Kinghorn*, *Kircaldy*, &c. lying on the North: That to watch Captain *Cullen*, two Ships were fitted out at *Dundee*, and the Command of them given to one *Andrew Sands*: " That about the ſame time Count *Mar-*

" *tigue*

(*a*) I reckon this meant 1800 Men.

(*b*) Mr. *Knox* likewiſe ſays, there came more *Engliſh* Ships into our Frith than what came at firſt: And Mr. *Camden*, in the Life of Queen *Eliſabeth*, ſays, That they fell furiouſly upon the *French* Men of War, and upon the *French* Soldiers, in the Iſle of *Inchkeith*.

1560.

“ *tigue* arrived from *France*, who without Delay landed himſelf, the Coffers, and principal Gentlemen that came along with him, at *Leith*, leaving the reſt in the Ships till a better Opportunity. But the foreſaid *Sands* and his Company, ſtriking Sail, and making as if they would caſt Anchor hard by them, boarded them both, and carried them to *Dundee*. In them were gotten ſome Horſes, and much Harneſs, with ſome other Trifles; but of Money we heard nought. Hereat the *French* being much offended, avowed the Deſtruction of St. *Andrew*'s and *Dundee*.” And in conſequence of this it was, that the *French* Soldiers made that Movement on the 15th of *January*, when firſt they diſcovered the *Engliſh* Ships bearing up the Frith. Thus it appears from our Hiſtorians, that only about 1000 Men came from *France* at this Time, and that moſt probably they arrived the Beginning of *January* 1559-60, under the Command of *Sebaſtian Martigues* of the Houſe of *Luxenburgh*, as Mr. *Camden* informs us; who likewiſe ſays, that beſides 1000 well diſciplin'd Footmen, there were one or two Cornets of Horſe. This Count *Martigues*, immediately on his Arrival, was declared Commander in Chief of all the *French* Soldiers in *Scotland*, ſays Biſhop *Leſly*.

Count *Martigue* made Commander in Chief of theſe Auxiliaries.

After the *French* Soldiers had left *Fife*, the firſt Thing the Lords of the *Congregation* did, was to return Thanks to God, in the Church of St. *Andrew*'s, for the Deliverance he had given them: And then they beſet and took ſome Houſes belonging to the Gentlemen who had appeared againſt them; but ſoon after, they reſtored theſe Houſes, and ſet the Gentlemen at Liberty, upon Promiſe not to aſſiſt the *French* for the future. Much about that Time, the Gentlemen of the Shire of *Merns* that were of Party with the *Congregation*, being fluſh'd with the Expectation of a ſpeedy Change in their Affairs, went to *Aberdeen*; where, being aſſiſted by ſome of the Citizens, they quite demoliſhed the Monaſteries of the *Dominican* and *Carmelite Friars*; and, proceeding next to treat the other religious Houſes and the ſtately Cathedral Church of *Old Aberdeen* in the ſame manner, they were hardly with-holden from acting their Deſign, by ſome Men belonging to the Earl of *Huntly*, and ſome of the *Leſlies* headed by ——— *Leſly* Laird of *Balquhain*, at the Deſire of this Earl, who was Nephew to the then Biſhop of that See. And 'tis noted by Biſhop *Leſly*, who was then Official or Commiſſary of that Church, that the ancient Form of Worſhip was kept up there, a long Time after it was ſuppreſt almoſt in all other Parts of the Kingdom. The Earl of *Huntly*, whom we have already mentioned to be Chancellor of the Kingdom, had, it ſeems, an unfix'd Reſolution what Side to party with, as may appear in his *former*, and will ſtill more appear by his *preſent* and *after* Conduct: For now when he heard that the *Engliſh* Forces were on their March to *Scotland*, he ſent to the Lords of the *Congregation*, and made offer to join them. To which Effect a Meeting having been appointed at *Perth*, betwixt him and thoſe who commanded in *Fife*, they there conferred together for three Days; and that Earl came, or ſeemed to come into the other's Meaſures, promiſing to bring over to them all his Followers in the North Country, and to return himſelf in a ſhort Time after to their Army *(a)*. Orders were then diſperſed by the *Congregation* thro' the Kingdom, charging all the capable Subjects to meet in Arms at *Linlithgow* the laſt Day of *March*.

Monaſteries demoliſhed at *Aberdeen*.

Soon after this, the Hoſtages *(b)* ſtipulated in the Treaty at *Berwick* were delivered at *Newcaſtle*; and the *Engliſh* Army, conſiſting of 2000 Horſe

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(*a*) In the Inſtructions given to the Perſons who went on the Part of the *Congregation* to treat with the Duke of *Norfolk* at *Berwick*, as recorded by Mr. *Knox*, the Earl of *Huntly* is expreſly called one of the *Neutral* Lords: And again, That his Lordſhip held a Correſpondence with the Earl of *Arran*, that he had deſired a Copy of the Suſpenſion againſt the Queen-Regent to be tranſmitted to him, and other Letters for arreſting the Rents of the Clergy, with Proclamations for ordering all his Men to march forward to the Aſſiſtance of the *Congregation*.

(*b*) Mr. *Knox* ſays, the Hoſtages were delivered to Mr. *Winter* the *Engliſh* Vice-Admiral, who ſet them aſhore at *Newcaſtle*. Archbiſhop *Spottiſwood* gives their Names thus: *Colin Campbel* Couſin to the Earl of *Argile*; *Robert Douglas* Brother to the Laird of *Lochlevin*, [he was Nephew to the Prior of St. *Andrew*'s, whoſe Mother was married into that Family;] and ——— *Ruthven* Son to the Lord *Ruthven*. But the *Engliſh* Hiſtorians mention them thus: Lord *Claude Hamilton* fourth Son to the Duke of *Chaſtelherault*, *Robert Douglas*, *Archibald Campbel* Laird of *Longhennel*, *George Graham* ſecond Son to the Earl of *Monteith*, and *James Cunningham* Son to the Earl of *Glencairn*.

1560.

The *Engliſh* Land-army enters *Scotland.*

Whereupon the Queen-Regent takes ſhelter in the Caſtle of *Edinburgh* :

(their Hiſtorians ſay only 1200) and 6000 Foot, began their March, and entred *Scotland* the Beginning of *April* 1560. It was commanded in Chief by the Lord *Grey*; and under him by the Lord *Scroop*, Sir *James Crofts*, Sir *Henry Percy*, Sir *Francis Lake*, *&c.* And the Army of the *Congregation* joined them a Day or two after at *Preſton (a)*; the chief Leaders of which were the Duke of *Chaſtelherault*, the Earls of *Argile*, *Glencairn* and *Monteith*, the Lord *James*, Lords *Ruthven*, *Boyd* and *Ochiltree*; who were aſſiſted by the Gentlemen of *Lothian*, *Fife*, *Angus*, *Merns*, and ſome Counties in the Weſt. At the ſame time the Queen-Regent was received, at her Deſire, into the Caſtle of *Edinburgh*, by the Lord *Erskine* Governor thereof, a Nobleman noted by our Hiſtorians for his ſingular Honeſty and Wiſdom. It may be remembred, that he received the Command of this Caſtle from the Eſtates of the Kingdom in Parliament, at the Time the Earl of *Arran* ſurrendred the Regency to the Queen Dowager, with this expreſs Condition, as is ſaid, That he ſhould redeliver the ſame to none but by Order from the ſaid Eſtates. We may likewiſe remember, how he inclined to favour the Intereſt of the Queen-Regent at the Attack intended to be made by her Majeſty on the City of *Edinburgh*, in the Month of *July* laſt; and that his Lordſhip was earneſtly ſolicited by both Parties to declare for them. Notwithſtanding which Importunities, he cautiouſly own'd himſelf openly for neither; but thought it his Duty, not to deny her Majeſty Entrance at this Time, for herſelf and her Attendants, as being a Place proper to ſecure her Perſon from the rude and unmannerly Treatment, he had Reaſon to apprehend ſhe might now meet with: But, at the ſame time, he took care that ſhe ſhould ſtill be in his Power, and the Caſtle ſtill under his Command. The principal Perſons who entred the Caſtle with the Queen, were the Archbiſhop of St. *Andrew*'s, the Biſhop of *Dunkeld*, the Earl *Mariſchal*, *James Macgill* Clerk-regiſter, and ſome others.

Where ſhe receives a Letter from the Chiefs of the *Congregation.*

The leading Men of the *Congregation*, having had ſeveral Conſultations with the General and other Commanders of the *Engliſh* Army, met together at *Dalkeith April* the 4th; and there, judging by the Queen-Regent's betaking herſelf to a Place of Strength and Retreat, that ſhe no leſs apprehended the Succeſs of the War, now her Enemies were ſo ſtrengthned by the Acceſſion of their *Engliſh* Auxiliaries, than ſhe feared that a ſufficient Aid from *France* could not arrive time enough for her Defence and Support; they determined once more to addreſs her Majeſty by Letter, not doubting but a due Senſe of their Force, and the Hardneſs of her own preſent Circumſtances, might bring her, not only to hearken to, but even to comply with their Propoſals. Accordingly a Letter is formed, voted and agreed to the ſame Day: Which Letter I would here inſert as recorded by Mr. *Buchanan*, and from him by Archbiſhop *Spottiſwood*, were I ſure of its being a Tranſcript from the Original; and yet ſince the Reader could at beſt even then have but a Tranſlation of it from the *Latin*, I reckon the Contents of it will be ſufficient, which are, " That they having been " formerly inſtant with her Majeſty to remove the *French* Forces out of the " Kingdom, they had been neceſſitated to addreſs the Queen of *England* for " Aid to expel them by Force of Arms, unleſs ſhe [the Queen-Regent] will a" gree to diſmiſs them without the Effuſion of Blood; in which Caſe, the Queen " of *England* will afford them a ſafe Paſſage, and even lend her Fleet to tran" ſport them. But if the Queen-Regent ſhall refuſe to grant this their Requeſt, " they then call God and Man to witneſs, that they were driven to take up " Arms merely thro' Neceſſity, and for the Preſervation of the Commonweal, " themſelves, their Eſtates and Poſterity from utter Ruin. But that in no Dan-" ger

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(*a*) Mr. *Stow*, in his Annals, gives the Names of the principal *Scottiſh* Perſons that came to meet the *Engliſh* Generals while their Army lay at *Preſton*, *viz.* the Duke, with his Son; the Earls of *Argile*, *Glencairn*, *Sutherland*, *Monteith*, *Rothes*; the Lord *James*; Lords *Ruthven*, *Ochiltree* and *Boyd*; the Maſters of *Maxwel* and *Lindſay*; the Biſhop of *Galloway*, [this is *Alexander Gordon*;] the Abbot of St. *Colm*'s Inch, [his Name was *James Stewart*, Son to Sir *James Stewart* of *Beith*. He was afterwards created Lord *Down*; and was paternal Anceſtor to the preſent Earls of *Murray*. 'Tis very probable, that this has been the Perſon whom we find ſubſcribing the Remonſtance mentioned p. 107.] the Abbot of *Culroſs*; the Lairds of *Ormiſton*, *Pitarrow*, *Cunninghamhead*, *Grange*, *&c.*

1560.

“ ger, how great ſoever, ſhall they depart from their dutiful Obedience towards
“ their Sovereign the Queen, or reſiſt the King her Huſband in any thing that
“ ſhall not *(a)* tend to the Subverſion of their ancient Liberties, or the Deſtru-
“ ction of themſelves and their Poſterity.” This Letter, dated at *Dalkeith*, a fine Village four Miles South from *Edinburgh*, the 4th *(b)* of *April* as aforeſaid, was ſubſcribed by all the Noblemen that were preſent; and *Spottiſwood* tells us, that the *Engliſh* General did in like manner direct Sir *George Howard* and Sir *James Crofts* to make offer to the Queen-Regent, That if the *French* would peaceably depart forth of *Scotland*, they likewiſe ſhould return into their own Country without moleſting any Perſon: And that the Queen's Anſwer was, That ſhe would think on what was propoſed, and give anſwer thereto againſt next Day. But the Army, not liking to admit theſe Delays, advanced the next Day towards *Leith*. This Matter is very differently related by *Leſly, viz.* That the Lord *Grey* deſired from the Queen-Regent a Truce for twenty four Hours, that he might have an Opportunity to declare to her the Cauſe of his coming into *Scotland*, and at the ſame time to propoſe to her Majeſty Terms of Accommodation: That the Queen ſent down a Herald to *Leith*, who might ſignify her Mind concerning theſe Propoſals; but that before his Arrival there, the Armies had engaged: That the Engagement being ſomewhat ſlackned, the two Gentlemen above mentioned were ſent to the Queen-Regent, and told her, that the *Engliſh* Army was ready to return home, if the *French* were ſent home likewiſe: That to this the Queen anſwered, That ſhe could do nothing without firſt adviſing with the *French* Generals, and that ſome Time muſt be allowed her for that Purpoſe: That ſhe gave command to one *Drummond* a Herald to carry a Letter to *Monſ. la Broſſe* then in *Leith*, and to take ſome *Engliſhman* along with him as a Companion: That this Herald had his Letters taken from him by the *Engliſh*, and was ordered to return to the Queen-Regent, and ſignify to her, that inſtead of Peace, they were now meditating how to revenge the Loſs they had ſuſtained the Day before from the *French*: And that henceforth nothing but War was thought upon by both Parties *(c)*.

An Engagement betwixt the two Armies.

But on which ever Side of theſe Narrations the Truth of the preceeding Tranſaction hangs, 'tis certain the *Engliſh* Army did advance towards *Leith* on *Saturday* the 6th of *April*, being the Eve of *Palm Sunday*, keeping along the Sea-coaſt till they came to the Village of *Reſtalrig*. The *French* in the mean time, under Count *Martigue*, marching out of *Leith*, to the Number of about 1300 *(d)* Men, took Poſſeſſion of a ſmall riſing Ground called the *Hawk-hill*, becauſe they judged the *Engliſh* had a mind to encamp there. Both Parties ſeemed indeed to contend for this little Eminence: For a ſharp Fight enſued, which laſted from ten in the Morning till four in the Afternoon, for recovering and keeping the Place, with no ſmall Loſs on either Side; till at laſt the *Scottiſh* Horſe, charging the *French* with great Fury, drove them back into *Leith*; from which, 'tis ſaid, they had been quite cut off, had the *Engliſh* Horſe come up ſooner to ſupport the *Scots*, as had been agreed. Immediately after the Re-

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(a) This Clauſe ſeems to be ſhuffled in, to afford them a good Pretext for Rebellion: But ſome People think nothing to be Rebellion that is attended with Succeſs.

(b) Archbiſhop *Spottiſwood*, by what Authority I know not, ſays, the 5th.

(c) Mr. *Stow* relates the Matter thus. “ On the 6th of *April*, as the *Engliſh* Army marched from *Salt-Preſton*, and was ad-
“ vanced near to *Reſtalrig*, there came *Trombull* the Queen-Regent's Trumpet to the Lieutenant, and brought with him a Safe
“ Conduct, given under her Hand and Seal, for the ſafe Repair of Sir *James Crofts*, Sir *George Howard*, and ſix other to accom-
“ pany them: Whereupon they preparing themſelves, departed towards *Edinburgh*, where the ſaid Queen as then lay within the
“ Caſtle: There went with them Mr. *Somerſet*, Mr. *Pelham* and four other Gentlemen. Whilſt they were in Conference with
“ the Queen, the *Frenchmen*, to the Number of 900 or 1000 Shot, backed with 500 Corſlets and Pikes, and about 50 Horſemen,
“ were come forth of *Leith*, under Conduction of *Monſ. d' Oyſel* and Count *Martigues*. The Lord *Grey* underſtanding
“ thereof, came up to the Hill, appointed an Officer at Arms called *Rouge Croſſe* to go unto them, with Commandment from
“ him, That they ſhould retire their Forces forth of the Field into the Town of *Leith*; for if it were not for the Promiſe which
“ he had made to the Queen Dowager, he would cauſe them to depart. The Herald doing his Meſſage, received Anſwer, That
“ they were upon their Maſter and Miſtris's Ground, and therefore meant not to remove from it. *Rouge Croſſe* returning
“ with this Anſwer, was ſent again to command them eftſoones to go their way back to *Leith*; for if they did not, they
“ ſhould be ſent away with a Miſchief.” Then follows an Account of the Engagement, the *French* giving the firſt Fire. And after that the Hiſtorian adds, “ The ſame Day Sir *James Crofts* and Sir *George Howard* returned from the Queen-Regent, after
“ they had ſpent a long Time in talking with her.”

(d) *Leſly* ſays only 900.

1560. treat of the *French*, who in this Engagement loſt about 300 Men, the *Engliſh* advanced, and pitched their Tents on the Ground betwixt *Leith* and *Reſtalrig*; in which Village the Horſe were quartered, and the General lodged at the Dean's Houſe. The Duke of *Chaſtelherault*, with his Counſellors about him, lay in the Abbey of *Holy-rood-houſe*, or in *Edinburgh*, as he thought proper; and his Son the Earl of *Arran*, and the other Lords of the *Congregation*, lay in their Camp about *Leith*, on the South and South-Eaſt Side thereof, where Trenches were caſt up, and a ſmall Mount erected, on which they planted eight Piece of Cannon to play upon St. *Anthony*'s (*a*) Steeple, from whence eſpecially, and from other Parts of the Town, great Damage was done in the Camp. However the *Engliſh* ſucceeded ſo well with their Battery, that in a few Days they diſmounted the Ordnance placed by the *French* in the Steeple. This, with their other good Succeſs during the Courſe of the holy Week (*b*), ſo elated them, that they grew as uſual on ſuch Occaſions, more negligent and remiſs; and, ſuppoſing the *French* would now make no more Sallies, they began to follow their ordinary Sports and Diverſions; ſome of the Captains for this End going to *Edinburgh*, and the common Soldiers falling to play at Cards and Dice, as if there had been no Enemy to fear. The *French* getting Intelligence hereof, iſſued out of *Leith*, on *Eaſter Monday* the 15th of *April*, about Noon; and with great Violence entring the Trenches, ſlew, ſay ſome, about 600 Men, and nailed three Cannon, before any conſiderable Body could be formed to reſiſt them. This Misfortune taught the *Engliſh* to be more upon their Guard in Time coming; and perceiving likewiſe that their Trenches lay too open to the Enemy, and that their Cannon was at too great a Diſtance to do much Execution on the Town-wall, they removed their Camp to the Weſt Side of the Water of *Leith*, and caſt up ſeveral Mounts there, on which to plant their Ordnance nearer to the Town than formerly: Such Mounts they alſo built at certain Quarters and Diſtances, that they might prove Safeguards and Places of Retreat to the Soldiers, in caſe of any ſudden Irruption from the Town. During this Siege, the Queen-Regent finding herſelf in a ſickly Condition, ſome Conferences were had for an Accommodation; but to no Effect. Biſhop *Leſly* ſeems to ſay, that in theſe the Earl of *Huntly* was a great Agent for the Queen, and that he left no Stone unturned to bring Things to a happy Period; but that when he ſaw the State of Affairs deſperate, he returned North, and meddled no further: But how to reconcile this with other Accounts of this Nobleman, I cannot ſee. And Mr. *Buchanan* ſays, that on the 22d of *April*, *John Monluc* (*c*) Biſhop of *Valence* in *France* was firſt carried into the *Engliſh* Camp, next into the Caſtle of *Edinburgh* to the Queen-Regent, where he ſtaid two Days; and then that he repaired to the Lords of the *Congregation*: But that after all, he could prevail nothing, becauſe the *Scottiſh* Lords perſiſted peremptorily in their Demand, that the foreign Soldiers ſhould return home; which it appears the Queen-Regent was adviſed not to conſent to: Therefore, when no Agreement was like to take Place, the *Congregation* thought fit to enter into a new Bond of Aſſociation, ſubſcribed by all the Nobility, Barons and other Gentlemen profeſſing the new Form of Religion; among whom Mr. *Knox* expreſly ſays the Earl of *Huntly* was a prime Man. The Bond was as followeth.

The *Engliſh* turn negligent upon their Succeſs.

Propoſals for an Accommodation, by the Biſhop of *Valence*.

Anc

(*a*) The Church of South-*Leith* is dedicated to that Saint; and that of North-*Leith* to St. *Nicolas*.

(*b*) The *Engliſh* Hiſtorians ſay, that on the 14th of *April*, being *Eaſter* Day, there was great firing of Cannon on both Sides, and skirmiſhing: But our Biſhop *Leſly* affirms, that there was not ſo much as one ſmall Shot diſcharged by the *French* all that Day; but that the *Engliſh* did continually play with their Cannon againſt the Church, even tho' the Ordnance in the Steeple was diſmounted; and that during the very Time when they were aſſured the People were gathered together in the Church for Divine Service; for a Bullet was ſhot thro' the Window where the Altar ſtood, juſt before the adminiſtrating of the holy Communion.

(*c*) The Arrival of this Prelate, and his conferring with the Queen, is confirmed by the *Engliſh* Hiſtorians. He came into their Camp at *Reſtalrig*, and was conveyed to *Edinburgh* by the *Engliſh* Herald *Rouge Croſſe*.

1560.

Ane Contract of the Lords and Barons to defend the Liberty of the Evangell of *Chriſt*.

Fourth Covenant.

A*T* Edinburgh, *the twintie ſeventh of* Apryll, *the Year of God ane Thouſand fyve Hundred threeſcore Years; We, whaes Names are underwritten, haif promittit and obliedged our ſelves faithfully, in the Preſence of our God, and be thir Preſents promitts, That we altogether in general, and every one of us in ſpecial be himſelf, with our Bodies, Goods, Friends, and all that we may do, ſall ſet forwart the Reformation of Religion, according to Goddes Worde; and procure, be all means poſſible, that the true preaching of Goddes Word may haif free Paſſage within this Realme, with dew Adminiſtration of the Sacraments, and all Thinges depending upon the ſaid Worde. And ſicklyke, deiply weighing with our ſelves the Misbehaviour of the* Franche *Miniſters heir, the intolerable Oppreſſions committed be the* Franchmen *of Weir upon the puir Subjects of this Realme, be Meyntenance of the Queen Dowriare, under Collour and Pretence of Authority; the Tyranny of their Captains and Leaders, and manifeſt Danger of Conqueiſt, in whilk this Countrie preſently ſtands, be reaſon of diverſe Fortifications on the Sea-coaſt, and other Novelties of late attemptat be them; promitts, that we ſall, als weell every one with others, as altogether, with the Queen of* England's *Armie, preſently come in for our Deliverance, effectually concurr and joyn together, taking onefold and plain Part of the Expulſion of the ſaid Strayngars, Oppreſſors of our Liberty, furth of this Realme, and Recovery of our ancient Freedomes and Liberties; to the end in Tyme coming we may, under the Obedience of our King and Queen our Soverains, be only reulyt be the Laws and Cuſtomes of the Countrie, and by the Men of the Land: And that never any of us all haiff pryvy Intelligence, be Writing or Meſſage, or Communication with any of our ſaid Enemys or Adverſars in this Cauſe, bot be the Advyce of the reſt, at leiſt of fyve of our Numbers. Attour, that we ſall tender this preſent Cauſe, as if it were the Cauſe of every one of us in particular; and that the Cauſe of every one of us now joyned together being leiful and honeſt, ſhall be all our Cauſes in general: And he that is Enemy to the Cauſe forſaid, ſall be Enemy to us all; in ſo far, that whatſomever Perſon will plainly reſiſt thir our godly Interpryſis, and will not concurr as ane guid Member of this Common-weill, we ſall fortify the Authority of the Counſell, to reduce them to their Deuty; lykeas we ſall fortify the ſaid Authority of the Counſale in all things tending to the Furtherance of the ſaid Cauſe. And giff any particular Debate, Quarrell or Contraverſee ſall aryſe, for whatſomever Cauſe bygain, preſent or to come, betwixt any of us, (as God forbid;) in that Caſe we ſall ſubmit our ſelves and our ſaid Queſtions to the Deciſion of the Counſale, or to Arbitrators to be named be them; provyding allwayes that this be not prejudicial to the ordinar Juriſdiction of Judges, but that Men may perſue their Actions, by Ordour of Law, civilly or criminally, before the Judges Ordinars, gif they pleaſe (a).*

When the Queen-Regent ſaw this Bond, even Mr. *Knox* confeſſes ſhe ſaid, "The Malediction of God I give unto them that counſailed me to perſecute "the Preachers, and to refuſe the Petitions of the beſt Part of the true Subjects "of this Realme. It was ſaid to me, that the *Engliſh* Army could not lie "in *Scotland* ten Daies; but now they have lien near a Month, and are more "like to remain than they were at the firſt Day that they came." It appears then to have been bad Advice, and not the Queen-Regent's own Inclination, that made her ſuffer Things to come to ſuch Extremities; and yet this ſame Au-

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(a) This Bond is in Mr. *Knox*'s Hiſtory: But that Author has, it ſeems, taken the Freedom all along to turn the *Scottiſh* Papers into the *Engliſh* Dialect, with which he has been pretty well acquainted. Wherefore I have taken this from the Copy in Biſhop *Burnet*'s Hiſtory of the *Engliſh* Reformation, Vol. 3. p. 287. which he ſays he copied from the Original at *Hamilton*.

1560. thor throws the moſt virulent Reflections upon her Majeſty, as if ſhe had been the wickedeſt of all Miſcreants. But by what he ſays of her, in all the Parts of his Hiſtory, he ſhews what kind of a Perſon he himſelf has been, rather than what ſhe was. A foul Tongue is the Sign, either of a naughty Heart, or of a great want of mannerly Education.

A caſual Fire in *Leith*.

On the laſt Day of *April*, about two Hours before Sun-ſet, a caſual Fire broke out in *Leith*; which, being aſſiſted by the Violence of the Winds, burnt fiercely till next Morning, deſtroying many Houſes, and conſuming a great Part of the publick Proviſions. During this Conflagration the *Engliſh* were not idle; they turned their Cannon upon thoſe Parts of the Town where they ſaw the Flames riſing, and played ſo warmly upon the People, that they durſt not come near enough to quench the Fire: And they likewiſe laid hold on this Opportunity to adventure meaſuring the Height of the Wall in ſome Places, in order to provide Ladders for the Scalade which they intended. However, the *French* had been ſo cautious, that from the Beginning of the Fire, dreading ſome ſecret Attempt might be made in time of ſuch a general Conſternation, they kept a pretty narrow Eye upon the Walls; otherwiſe 'tis probable that Day had put an End to the War.

The *Engliſh*, knowing that a good Part of the publick Granary within *Leith* was burnt down, and that of courſe Proviſions would begin to be ſcarce; they, on the 4th and 5th Days of *May*, ſet Fire to the Water-mills that ſerved the Town, on purpoſe to ſtraiten it yet the more. And on the 7th of the ſame Month, their Ladders being ready, they reſolved to make a general Aſſault; but to their great Mortification, when theſe Ladders were applied to the Wall a little before Day-break, they proved too ſhort by an Ell and half: So that Project failed them, and came to nought. The *Engliſh* General was deſirous to make this Aſſault, becauſe the Soldiers were grown weary with lying ſo long in the Camp; and beſides, they ſaw no Hopes of gaining the Town any other Way, the Breaches which their Cannon made in the Walls (which were only built of Earth) by Day, being quickly repaired before next Morning; ſo that they found themſelves under a Neceſſity of endeavouring to become Maſters of the Place after this ſpeedy Manner. Sir *James Crofts* was ſuſpected of ſome Treachery in his Behaviour that Day; for it was obſerved, that he did not advance in Time to the Attack of the North-Weſt Quarter of the Town upon the Sea-ſide, which was alotted to him: So that tho' the reſt of his Countrymen, who made the Attack, did behave themſelves very bravely, and ſeemed once to have gained the Town; yet not having been timeouſly ſupported, they were forced to a Retreat, with the Loſs of 160 Men, beſides many wounded. And 'tis certain that Sir *James*, for this Miſbehaviour of his, and for an alledged ſecret Correſpondence with the Queen-Regent of *Scotland*, was impeached by the Duke of *Norfolk* and the Lord *Grey*, to the Queen of *England*; and after Examination of his Cauſe before her Council, he was removed from his Government of *Berwick*, and the Lord *Grey* put in his Place. This late Succeſs gave new Courage to the *French*; and the three following Days they employed themſelves very chearfully, tho' with much Hazard, in repairing the Town-walls; for the *Engliſh* ſhot inceſſantly upon them, wherever they perceived them in greateſt Numbers.

The *Engliſh* attempt a Scalade; but in vain.

After this Defeat, the Queen-Regent was hopeful the Siege would have been raiſed, and that the *Engliſh* would depart home. But ſhe was miſtaken; this Misfortune did not ſo diſmay either the *Engliſh* or the *Scots*, but that they exhorted each other to Conſtancy. And accordingly we find, that on the 10th of *May*, the Treaty of *Berwick* was confirmed and ratified in theſe Words, as related by Mr. *Knox*, “Which Contract we find honeſt and reaſonable, and “that our ſaid Commiſſionars therein had conſiderately reſpected the Commonwealth of this Realme, of us and our Poſterity; and therefore do ratifie, “allow, confirm and approve the ſame, with all Clauſes and Articles therein “contained, by theſe Preſents. In witnes hereof, to the ſame ſubſcribed with

The Treaty of *Berwick* is confirmed

1560.

" our Hands, our Seals of Arms in ſuch Cauſes accuſtomed are appended. At the Camp before *Lieth*, the 10. Day of *May*, the Year of God 1560 Yeares. The Duke of CHASTELHERAULT. Earl of ARRAN. Earl of GLENCARNE. Earl of ROTHESSE. Earl of ARGYLE. Earl of HUNTLIE. Earl of MORTON. Earl of MENTEITH. Lord OGILBYE. Lord JAMES STEWARD. ALEX. GORDON. Lord BOYD. Lord UCHILTRIE. GAWIN HAMILTON Abbot of *Kilwinning*. Abbot of *Culroſs*. Lord BORTHWIK. Lord of St. JOHN, [*James Sandilands* ſecond Son to Sir *James Sandilands* of *Calder*: He was Lord of St. *John* of *Jeruſalem*, a military Order of religious Knights, of whom formerly; and was thereafter created Lord *Torphichen*.] Lord JO. ABERBROTHOCK, [*John Hamilton* ſecond Son to the Duke of *Chaſtelherault*: Upon the Death of his elder Brother, he became Earl of *Arran*, and was afterwards created Marquis of *Hamilton*; of whoſe Body is lineally deſcended the preſent Duke of *Hamilton*.] Lord SOMERVAIL. Lord ROB. STEWARD, [he was Abbot of *Holy-rood-houſe*, and natural Son to King *James* V. and was afterwards Earl of *Orkney*.] Abbot of *Kinloſs*. JA. STEWARD of St. *Colm*'s Inch."

Moreover the *Engliſh* promiſed to continue here till they ſhould receive freſh Orders from their Court. Soon after which Aſſurance, Letters arrived from the Duke of *Norfolk*, (in Return, 'tis to be preſumed, to thoſe that had been wrote him upon the late Miſcarriage) by which he adviſed the Lord *Grey* to continue the Siege, promiſing him a ſpeedy Reinforcement of Soldiers, and declaring withal, that, if need were, he would himſelf come, and command the Army in Perſon: And to convince them the more of his Sincerity, he ordered his Tent *(a)* to be ſet up in the Camp, and ſent thither his own Officers and Proviſions; and, in a few Days after, he ſent them 2000 Men, to ſupply the Place of thoſe they had loſt ſince they entred *Scotland*. This Reinforcement gave ſuch Strength to the Beſiegers, that tho' the *French* made frequent Sallies afterwards, yet ſcarce any of them proved ſucceſsful from that Day forward. It is true, the Beſieged were oppreſt with Famine, while the Beſiegers wallowed in Plenty; neither had the firſt any Proſpect of Relief, while the other had Reaſon to hope a Supply of every thing. Indeed the *French* had no Appearance to bring their Affairs to any tolerable Iſſue; neither was there any thing remarkable fell out in the Siege any time after this, tho' ſeveral Sallies were made, and frequent Skirmiſhes happened, not without Blood to both Sides.

A Reinforcement of Men arrives to the *Engliſh* Army.

The Queen-Regent having, as is before hinted, been ſeized with a lingering Diſtemper, the Diſeaſe encreaſed ſo faſt upon her, (heightned, no doubt, by the Grief of her Mind) that ſhe died, in the Caſtle of *Edinburgh*, on the 10th Day of *June* 1560. Sometime before her Death, ſhe is ſaid to have cauſed write down in a Book the Names and Characters of the principal and moſt diſtinguiſhed Perſons in the Kingdom, either for Birth or otherwiſe; which ſhe recommended to be ſent her Daughter into *France*, that thereby ſhe, or any intruſted by her in the Adminiſtration of the Government here, might be the more able to form a Judgment, who of her Subjects were fit to be truſted, and who not. A little after this, her Majeſty deſired to ſpeak with *Monſ. d' Oyſel (b)*; but he being denied by the Beſiegers a Safe Conduct from *Leith*, her next Requeſt was, that ſhe might talk with ſome of the confederate Nobility. This was granted her, yet ſo as that they might not be all preſent with her at a Time; for, it ſeems, their Guilt had made them afraid ſome treacherous Blow might be prepared for them, at leaſt they were ſuſpicious of being detained Priſoners within the Caſtle: So little Faith had they in the Aſſurance of a dying Queen! But how Chriſtian, juſt or charitable, ſuch a Suſpicion might be, every one is at Liberty to judge. The Perſons whom I find named then to have waited on her Majeſty, were, the Duke of *Chaſtelherault*, the Earls of *Argile*,

The Queen-Regent dies.

(*a*) This perhaps may have given Occaſion to Biſhop *Leſly* to write, that the Duke did actually come privately into the Camp, and that he likewiſe did viſit *Edinburgh*.

(*b*) See Appendix Numb. 22.

1560. *Mariſchal* and *Glencairn*, and the Lord *James (a)*. To them ſhe expreſt her Grief for the Troubles that had ariſen in the Kingdom, commending earneſtly unto them the Study of Peace, and adviſing them to ſend both the *Engliſh* and the *French* out of the Country. She recommended to them the faithful Obſervation of the ancient League with *France*, which had been lately confirmed, in a more ſpecial Manner, by the Marriage of the Queen her Daughter with the King thereof; as alſo, a dutiful Obedience and Regard to their native and lawful Sovereign. She expreſt, in very pathetick Terms, her Love and Affection to the Country, and to the People of *Scotland*; and exhorted the Nobles to take care of their own and the Nation's Liberties. And Mr. *Knox* adds, That ſhe profeſſed her Sorrow for having compelled them to ſeek their Support from any other than their own Queen: That ſhe repented her of bringing Matters to ſuch Extremities; but that the Blame was entirely owing to the wicked Counſel of her own Friends on the one Part, and that of the Earl of *Huntly* on the other; for had it not been for him, ſhe would have agreed with them in every thing at the Conference held in *Preſton (b)*. And after many ſuch endearing Expreſſions, ſhe at laſt burſt forth into Tears, asking Pardon of all thoſe whom ſhe had in any manner of Way offended, and moſt heartily forgiving thoſe who had offended her, wiſhing them alſo Pardon and Forgiveneſs at the Hand of God. And the more to demonſtrate the Sincerity of her Love and Affection, ſhe embraced, and with a ſmiling Countenance kiſſed the Nobles one by one; and to thoſe of inferior Rank who ſtood by, ſhe gave her Hand to kiſs, as a Token of her Kindneſs and dying Charity. In a Word, ſhe manifeſted ſo much Goodneſs and unfeigned Affection, that ſhe drew Tears from all who were preſent. What particular Returns the above mentioned Lords made to her Majeſty, our Hiſtorians have not recorded; only we are told in general, "That they "gave unto her what Counſel and Comfort they could in that Extremity, and "willed her to ſend for ſome godly and learned Man of whom ſhe might re"ceive Inſtruction; for (ſays Mr. *Knox)* theſe ignorant *Papiſts* that were "about her, underſtood nothing of the Myſtery of our Redemption. Upon their "Motion *John Willocks* was ſent for, (who was then returned from *England)* "with whom ſhe talked a reaſonable Space, and who did plainly ſhew unto her, "as well the Virtue and Strength of the Death of *Jeſus Chriſt*, as the Vani"ty and Abomination of that Idol the *Maſs*." And he adds, "That ſhe did "openly confeſs, *That there was no Salvation but in and by the Death of* "Jeſus Chriſt *(c)*; but of the *Maſs* we heard not her Confeſſion." She died the next Day; and, Archbiſhop *Spottiſwood* ſays, *ſhe ended her Life moſt Chriſtianly.*

Her Behaviour at her Death.

As to the Character of this Princeſs, tho' ſeparately given by Archbiſhop *Spottiſwood*, Biſhop *Leſly* and Mr. *Buchanan*, yet in general they ſeem to agree; and in their Senſe I ſhall give it the Reader as near as I can, with a very little Addition. *Mary*, Daughter of *Claude*, the firſt Duke of *Guiſe (d)*, was firſt married to *Lewis* Duke of *Longueville*, and, after his Death, to *James* V. King of *Scots*. She was a Lady endowed with a ſingular Wit, and a penetrating Judgment; ſhe had a Mind full of Humanity and Compaſſion, and was a great Lover of Juſtice. From the Time ſhe firſt came into *Scotland*, ſhe ſeemed to make it her Buſineſs to ſtudy the Inclinations of the People, and to accommodate herſelf to their Manners ſo far as they were laudable. In her Court ſhe maintained a decent Gravity, nor would ſhe tolerate any licentious Practices therein. Her Maids of Honour were always buſied in commendable Exerciſes, ſhe herſelf being an Example to them in Vertue, Piety and Modeſty. Nor was ſhe

Her Character.

(*a*) Theſe Lords ſeem to be mentioned becauſe they only were of the oppoſite Party, and ſo could only be called to the Queen; others needed not to be mentioned, as being conſtantly about her. 'Tis true, the Earl *Mariſchal* was with her in the Caſtle; but he was look'd upon as a Favourer of the new Reformation, as no doubt he was, tho' I have never obſerved him ſubſcribing any of the publick Papers emitted by that Party.

(*b*) If this laſt Expreſſion be genuine, it confirms what hath been above obſerved of the Earl of *Huntly*.

(*c*) So does every *Papiſt*: But it was this Author's Buſineſs to repreſent them in the vileſt Colours.

(*d*) The Family of *Guiſe* is a Branch of that of *Lorrain*; therefore the Queen is ſometimes called *Mary* of *Lorrain*.

ſhe leſs conſpicuous in her Charity and Good-will to Mankind, carefully relieving ſuch as were in Neceſſity, and whoſe Birth rendred them aſhamed to beg. 1560. She ſhewed a great Concern for thoſe that were ſick, viſiting them often in Perſon, and aſſiſting them by her Skill and ſeaſonable Advice. A great Dexterity ſhe had in Government, which appeared eminently in her wiſely compoſing the Tumults which happened in the North, the Highlands and the remoteſt Iſles, during her Regency; and which, by her Wiſdom and good Conduct, ſhe reduced to Quiet and a perfect Obedience. It was believed, that had ſhe been left free to act according to the Dictates of her own Mind, ſhe never had had thoſe unhappy Differences with the Subjcts, which brought ſuch Havock upon the Country, and at laſt ended in her own ſorrowful Death; for ſhe had really once ſo gained upon the People, by her ſweet Behaviour and Complaiſance towards all Ranks, that ſhe appeared able to have accompliſhed every reaſonable Thing ſhe could deſire, without Force: And the natural Propenſity ſhe had to Juſtice was ſo univerſally known, that had not the great Ones been much too great to beat Rule, (as her brave, her bold and glorious Husband had too ſadly experimented) ſhe would undoubtedly have made all of them ſubmit their Deſires to her Determination. But her Misfortune was double; ſhe bare the Name and Office of Regent not without much Envy, tho' her exemplary Vertues, no leſs than her eminent Birth, and high Station as Queen Dowager, rendred her moſt worthy of both; and ſhe was obliged to act in her Adminiſtration, not according to her own native Goodneſs and Propenſity, nay not even with a Regard to her own wiſe Conduct and prudent Foreſight; but merely as the Council of *France*, and their Miniſters reſiding with her, ſhould adviſe and direct. Often was this Queen heard to ſay, If her own Counſel might take place, ſhe doubted not of being able to compoſe all the Diſſentions within the Realm, and to ſettle the ſame, upon good and equal Conditions, into a perfect Tranquillity and laſting Peace. In fine, her Death was not only much lamented by all of her own Party, but even bewailed by many of thoſe who were in Arms againſt her. Beſides the concurrent Teſtimony of theſe three Hiſtorians of our own Nation, we find the ſame good Character given her likewiſe by the Hiſtorians of *England*. Mr. *Holinſhed* writes, "That ſhe was a wiſe and prudent Princeſs: " That during the Time of her Regency ſhe kept good Juſtice, and was well " obeyed in all Parts of the Realm: That tho' the Eſtates and People of the " Land did grudge under her Government, [*viz.* by reaſon of her following " the Advice of Strangers] yet it was not for any miſliking they had of her, " who ſurely deceaſed to the great Grief and Lamentation of the whole Num- " ber of the Eſtates and People of the Realm." And Mr. *Camden* ſays, " She " was a pious and wiſe Princeſs, who had ſuffered the moſt bitter Reproaches " from ſome virulent and furious *(a)* Preachers (as may be ſeen in their own

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(*a*) Of theſe the principal was Mr. *Knox*, who has all along treated this Queen in a Set of Language peculiar indeed to himſelf, and too much below either a Gentleman or a Divine to utter. Speaking of her Burial, he ſaith, " If all things ſhould be " rightly weighed, we ſhall perceive God's juſt Judgments, how ſecret that ever they be. Before, we heard the barbarous In- " humanity that was uſed at *Leith* by the *French*, who expoſed the naked Carcaſſes of the Slain as it were in a Spectacle, deſpi- " ting God: We have heard that the Queen-Regent rejoiced at the Sight; but her Joy was ſuddenly turned into Sorrow, as " we have heard. The Queſtion was moved of her Burial: The Preachers boldly gainſtood that any ſuperſtitious Rites ſhould " be uſed within that Realm which God of his Mercy had begun to purge; and ſo Concluſion was taken, that her Burial ſhould " be deferred till farther Adviſement; and ſo was ſhe clapped in a Coffin of Lead, and kept in the Caſtle from the 9th of *June* " until the 19th of *October*, when ſhe by Pynours was carried to a Ship, and ſo carried to *France*. What Pomp was uſed there, " we neither hear nor yet regard: But in it we ſee, that ſhe that delighted that others lay without Burial, gat it neither ſo ſoon " as ſhe herſelf (if ſhe had been of the Counſel in her Life) would have required it, neither yet ſo honourable in this Realm as " ſometimes ſhe looked for. It may perchance be a Pronoſticon, that the *Guiſian* Blood cannot have long Reſt within this Re- " alm." There is added in the later Editions, " As Men do, ſo they receive." I will take the Freedom to inſert here the Ground of this Reflection of his, which he intends as an Accompliſhment of a Prophecy emitted by him. He tell us, That a little before the Queen's Death, ſhe having eſpied, from the Caſtle of *Edinburgh*, the dead Bodies of the Slain, which the Garriſon of *Leith* had laid over their Walls after a Skirmiſh with the Beſiegers, ſhould have ſaid, " Yonder are the faireſt Tapeſtrie that ever I ſaw: " I would that the whole Fields that is betwixt this Place and yon were ſtrowed with the ſame Stuff. Againſt which [he ſays] " *John Knox* ſpake openly in Pulpit, and boldly affirmed, That God ſhould revenge that Contumelie done to his Image, not on- " ly in the furious and godleſs Soldiers, but even in ſuch as rejoiced thereat. And the very Experience declared that he was not " deceived; for within few Days after, (yea ſome ſay that ſame Day) began her Belly and lothſome Legs to ſwell, and ſo conti- " nued till that God did execute his Judgment upon her, as after we ſhall hear." He ſhould have remembred that the Judgments of God are a great Depth. ——— " Shortly thereafter ſhe finiſhed her unhappy Life, unhappy we ſay to *Scotland*, from the

1560. "Church-Hiſtory *(a)* called in by Queen *Elizabeth* when it was juſt going "to the Preſs) as likewiſe from the Hands of the Congregation, who as native Counſellors of the Kingdom had in the Name of the Queen of *Scots* and "her Huſband, by their own Authority excluded her from the Regency, as "one that oppoſed the Glory of GOD, and the Liberty of the *Scots*." The Queen's Body was put into a Coffin of Lead, and carried over into *France* in the Month of *October* following, and buried in the *Benedictine* Monaſtery of St. *Peter* at *Rheims* in *Champagne*, where her own Siſter *Renée* was then Abbeſs.

CHAP. XII.

Containing an Account of Publick Affairs, from the Death of the Queen-Regent 10*th of* June 1560, *till the Eſtabliſhment of the Reformed Doctrines by the Eſtates of the Kingdom in the Month of* Auguſt *thereafter.*

SIX Days after the Death of the Queen-Regent, the Commiſſioners-Plenipotentiaries both from *France* and *England* arrived in *Scotland*, in order to compoſe the Differences that had fallen out in this Kingdom. For the King of *France*, finding that he was not in a Condition to continue and carry on the War here againſt the Power of *England*, nor able even to extricate himſelf out of it with Honour by Force of Arms, thought fit to enter into *a Reconciliation of Differences ariſen with the Queen of* England, *by aſſembling of Men on the Borders*, (ſo it is worded in the Commiſſion:) By which Method he reckoned that he would both gain the End he aimed at, which was Peace, and ſave his own, and his Wife the Queen of *Scots* her Dignity, from ſtooping ſo low as to enter into Treaty with their own rebellious Subjects. Accordingly, on the 2d of *May* 1560, a Commiſſion is granted, by *Francis* and *Mary* King and Queen of *France* and *Scotland*, at *Chenonceau*, to *John Monluc* Biſhop of *Valence*, *Nicolas Pelue* Biſhop of *Amiens*, *Jacques de la Broſſe*, *Henry Clentin Sieur d'Oyſel*, and *Charles de la Rochefaucault Sieur de Randan*, to meet on the Borders of *Scotland*, or where it ſhall be thought convenient by them, in concert with the Commiſſioners of the Queen of *England*, *viz.* Sir *William Cecil* the Secretary, *Nicolas*

Negotiation for a Peace.

"firſt Day ſhe entred into it, unto the Day that ſhe departed this Life. God for his Mercies Sake rid us of the reſt of the *Guiſian* "Blood, *Amen*. For of the Tyranny of the *Guiſian* Blood, in her that for our Unthankfulneſs now reigneth above us, we have "had ſufficient Experience: But of any Vertue that ever was eſpied in King *James* V. whoſe Daughter ſhe is called, to this "Hour we have never ſeen any Sparkle to appear." What Enthuſiaſm, Venom, Scurrility and Indecency! Bad Qualities in a Reformer! Much Room left here for Reformation at home. The bleſſed Apoſtles converted the World by a better Spirit.

(*a*) By this he means Mr. *Knox*'s Hiſtory, an Edition whereof was printed at *London*, but at what preciſe Time has not as yet fully appeared. Mr. *Camden* ſays here, that this Book was called in by Queen *Elizabeth* when it was juſt going to the Preſs; he ſhould rather have ſaid, when it was juſt going to be *publiſhed*, ſince of this *Engliſh* Edition in a ſmall *Octavo*, there are ſome few Copies to be met with at this Day; but every one of them is imperfect. The Author of the Life of Mr. *Knox* prefixed to the late Edition of his Hiſtory at *Edinburgh* 1732, gives a Paſſage from *Calderwood*'s MS. to aſcertain the Time when this *Octavo* Edition was printed at *London*, in the following Words, "*February* 1586, *Vaultrollier* the Printer took with him a Copy of Mr. "*Knox*'s Hiſtory to *England*, and printed twelve hundred of them; the Stationers at the Archbiſhop's Command ſeized them the "18th of *February*. It was thought that he would get Leave to proceed again, becauſe the Council perceived that it would bring "the Queen of *Scots* in Deteſtation." This ſeems to be the beſt Account of the Date when theſe Books were ſeized; but the Expectation of obtaining Leave to proceed again, ſeems to have failed. True indeed the Ground of the Expectation ſeems to be plauſible enough, ſeeing Mr. *Knox* has laid himſelf out as it were to bring the Queen of *Scots* his Sovereign into Deteſtation; but it ſeems likewiſe that the Council of *England* ſtood no longer in need of Mr. *Knox*'s detracting Pen; they had gained their Point before that Time, and now they ſaw well that ſuch Language and Repreſentations as that Book contained, was not fit to be allowed a free Paſſage into the World. That wiſe Council acted herein ſomewhat like thoſe who fawn on a Traitor while his Treachery may be ſerviceable to them; but when that Seaſon is over, they deſpiſe both the Traitor and the Treachery. It may be obſerved that the deepeſt Favourers of Mr. *Knox* appear willing to let this firſt *Octavo* Edition of his Hiſtory ſlip away unregarded; perhaps becauſe there are ſeveral Expreſſions in it, which at this time of Day they are loth to juſtify, and as loth to condemn.

colas Wotton Dean of *Canterbury* and *York*, *Henry Piercy* and *Peter Craw*, whoſe Commiſſion bears Date the 25th of *May* the ſame Year. It is acknowledged by Mr. *Buchanan*, that both *Scots* and *Engliſh* were as deſirous of Peace as the *French*. But becauſe the ſubſequent Treaty has been variouſly, and yet not diſtinctly repreſented by him nor our other Hiſtorians; ſome of them blending the Treaty with the Queen of *England*, and the *Conceſſions* granted to the Subjects of *Scotland* into one ſingle *Inſtrument:* Others again narrating the *firſt* only, and entirely omitting the *laſt*; or, *è contra:* I ſhall here lay the ſeveral Parts and Portions both of the one and the other before my Readers, from uncontrovertible Authorities. 1560.

(a) *ARTICLES agreed between the Commiſſioners of the Queen of* England, *and thoſe of the King and Queen of* France *and* Scotland, *at* Berwick *the 14th Day of* June 1560 *(b)*.

1. "THE ſaids *Commiſſioners* have agreed, That the Town of *Edinburgh* ſhall be the Place of Treaty.

2. "'TIS agreed, That on *Monday* next [the 16th of the Month] the ſaids " *Commiſſioners* ſhall convene all together in the ſaid Place, and begin the " Treaty; which ſhall endure no longer than until *Saturday* thereafter *incluſivè*, unleſs the ſaids *Commiſſioners* ſhall prorogate the ſame for ſome juſt " Cauſe.

3. "ON the ſaid *Monday*, the *Commiſſioners* ſhall agree upon the Method " and Form of a mutual Abſtinence or Ceſſation of Arms *(c)*, during the time " of the Treaty.

4. "THE *French Commiſſioners*, and their Retinue, included in their Letters of Safe-conduct, ſhall be obliged to enter the Limits of *Scotland*, in " Company with the *Commiſſioners* of *England*; and none of them muſt carry along with them more Money than ſhall appear to be juſtly neceſſary for " their ordinary Expences. Neither ſhall it be lawful for them to have any " Conference with *French* or *Scottiſh* Men, either on the Road to *Edinburgh*, " or during their Abode in *Scotland*, in the Time of the Treaty, but by Conſent of the *Commiſſioners* of *England*, or of ſuch Perſons as ſhall be appointed " by them, to look after this Matter.

5. "NO Perſon belonging to the Retinue of the *Sieur de Randan* and Biſhop of *Valence (d)* ſhall go out of the Lodgings which ſhall be appointed " for them at *Edinburgh*, without Conſent of ſuch *Engliſhmen* as ſhall be " deputed by the *Commiſſioners* of *England* to accompany them.

6. "'TIS agreed by the *Engliſh Commiſſioners*, That the *French Commiſſioners*, during the time of the Treaty, may confer with the Archbiſhop " of *St. Andrew*'s *(e), and with one that was Secretary (f)* with the Queen " at her Death, and the Juſtice-Clerk. And if any of theſe three ſhall refuſe " the ſame, or cannot *(g)*, then they ſhall have Licence to ſpeak with ſome " other *Scotſman*, not being in any of the Forts holden by the *French*.

(*a*) Cotton Library, Calig. Book X. a Copy; and Lawyers Library, *Edinburgh*.
(*b*) One half of theſe Articles are in the Latin Tongue, and the other in Engliſh.
(*c*) This Abſtinence ſerved the *Engliſh* to good purpoſe. See Appendix, Numb. 23.
(*d*) Theſe were the only two *French Commiſſioners* who ſate upon and concluded the Treaty.
(*e*) *Note*, from this Part, the Articles are *verbatim* as here, in the Engliſh Language.
(*f*) The Perſon is not deſigned.
(*g*) By a Letter from Sir *William Cecil* to the Queen of *England*, it would ſeem that the Archbiſhop thought not himſelf ſafe to appear in Publick; ſo the *French Commiſſioners* went to the Caſtle of *Edinburgh*, where he was, in order to confer with him. See Appendix, Numb. 23.

1560. 7. “It ſhall be aſſured, That every of the ſaid three Perſons of *Scotland*, ſhall, after their Communication with the ſaid *Commiſſioners* of *France*, return to the Place from whence they came.

8. “It ſhall be lawful for the ſaid *French Commiſſioners* to demand, and to have and retain ſuch Cyphers and Writings as were left by the Queen Dowager in the Hands of the Secretary, and likewiſe that Captain *Chapperon* (*a*) ſhall come and ſpeak with them, and deliver to them ſuch Commiſſions and Writings as he carried into *Scotland* from *France*.

9. “It ſhall be alſo permitted, That they may ſend to the Ladies and Gentlewomen of *France*, which ſerved the Queen, to comfort them; or, that they ſhall come to the ſaid *Commiſſioners*.

10. “The ſaid *Commiſſioners* of *France* do bind themſelves, That they ſhall obſerve, and cauſe to be obſerved by them and theirs, every thing in the Premiſſes appointed to be obſerved by them, and any of them.

Finally, “The ſaid *Commiſſioners* of *England* do bind themſelves likewiſe, That they for their Parts ſhall obſerve, and cauſe to obſerve the Premiſſes, as far forth as concerneth their Parts.”

(*b*) *Conventiones ſuper demolitione villæ de Lyethe*; or, *The Accord for the Demolition of the Fortifications of* Leith.

1. (*c*) “ON the Day after the Publication of the Peace, ſix Gentlemen ſhall be nominated on both Sides by the Deputies (*d*), with the Advice of the Lieutenants (*e*) of both Parties; *that is to ſay*, three of the *French* Side, and three of the *Engliſh* Side: Thoſe of the *French* Side ſhall repair to the Lieutenant of *England*, and thoſe of the *Engliſh* Side to the King’s Lieutenant. And theſe ſix Gentlemen ſhall have the Charge of ſeeing the following Article put in Execution, *viz.* That all the Artillery which is in *Leith* ſhall be brought into the Market-place of the ſaid Town: And in the inſtant that one of the ſaids Pieces of Artillery ſhall be removed from the Ramparts of the ſaid Town, one Piece ſhall likewiſe be taken down from the *Engliſh* Batteries; and ſo forward, one Piece ſhall be removed from the Town, and another Piece from the *Engliſh* Batteries, or two Pieces, if there be more Pieces upon theſe Batteries than within the ſaid Town: In ſuch manner, that when all the Artillery ſhall be taken from the Ramparts of the Town, and laid in the Market-place, and all the *Engliſh* Artillery ſhall be laid in a certain open Place near to their Batteries and Forts; then ſhall all the Artillery of both Parties be removed again from the Market-place, and from that other Place where they were conveniently laid for Embarkation, and ſhall be embarked with all poſſible Speed, after the ſame manner as was obſerved in taking down the reſpective Artillery, without any Fraud or Deceit whatſoever.

2. “Next, All the Colours and Enſigns, as well in the Town as in the Trenches and Forts, ſhall be taken down in good and peaceable Order, after the ſame manner as was done by the Artillery.

3. “Then the ſix Gentlemen ſhall be exchanged, and two of the principal Gentlemen of *Leith* ſhall be delivered Hoſtages to the *Engliſh*, for Accompliſhment of what followeth.

4. “How

(*a*) This Gentleman had lately brought from *France* a Letter in Gyphers to the Queen-Regent.

(*b*) *Rymer's Fœdera Angliæ.*

(*c*) This Accord is all in *French*.

(*d*) *i. e.* The reſpective Ambaſſadors Plenipotentiaries.

(*e*) *i. e.* The reſpective Commanders in Chief of the *French* and *Engliſh* Soldiers, *viz. Monſ. de Oyſel* and the Lord *Gray*.

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4. “How ſoon a Cannon ſhall be diſcharged on both Sides, the *French* ſhall begin to demoliſh the Baſtions, Curtins, and other Fortifications of the ſaid Town; and the *Engliſh* Army, that is, all the Foot, ſhall retire to *Muſſelburgh:* And then the Lords of *Scotland* ſhall furniſh as many Pioneers as they are able, for to finiſh the Demolition of the ſaid Town; and if thoſe be not ſufficient, the *Engliſh* ſhall ſupply them.

5. “The *French* Soldiers ſhall embark; and after they are embarked, the *Engliſh* Camp ſhall remove directly to *Berwick*, where the Soldiers ſhall be reviewed, have their Wages paid them, and be disbanded.

6. “After all the *French* Soldiers ſhall be embarked, the ſaids Hoſtages ſhall be delivered up, provided that four of the principal *French* Gentlemen be given to the *Engliſh* as Hoſtages, to anſwer for the Ships in which the *French* are embarked, that they ſhall return in Safety without any Hindrance or Diſturbance from the *French*, or any other Let whatſoever with the Knowledge of the *French*; and likewiſe for Satisfaction and Payment of the Fraught of the ſaid Ships, and of the Vivres which ſhall ſubſiſt the ſaid *Frenchmen*, or may be embezled by them: And theſe Hoſtages ſhall go to *London*, and there remain until the Arrival of the ſaids Ships, and that Satisfaction be made for the Charges.

7. “That the *French* ſhall not deſiſt from embarking, nor the *Engliſh* from retiring, although the Demolition of the ſaid Town be not perfectly compleated, provided there be left ſix Gentlemen on each Side who ſhall aſſiſt in the ſaid Demolition, until the ſame be perfected to the Satisfaction of both Parties.

8. “That the Soldiers of either Side, both Horſe and Foot, ſhall be prohibited to enter either into the Camp or Town, without Licence from ſix Gentlemen appointed by both Parties for this Effect; and of this Prohibition publick Notice ſhall be given by Beat of Drum in both Armies.

9. “If there chance to be any ſick Perſons, whether Gentlemen or Ladies, who have a Deſire to paſs into *France* rather by Land than by Sea, the ſame being known to be ſober and diſcreet Perſons, diſpoſed rather to Peace than War; they ſhall have Liberty granted them to paſs through *England*, provided there be not more than forty in Company together.

10. “If any Difficulty ſhall ariſe in the above Articles, the ſame ſhall be determined by us the ſaids Ambaſſadors, with the Advice of the Lieutenants of both Parties.

“In Teſtimony of all which, we the above named Ambaſſadors have ſigned theſe Preſents, and have cauſed the Seals of our Arms to be affixed, this 5th Day of *July* 1560.

J. Monluc. *E. de Valence.*

Randan.

W. Cecil.

N. Wotton.

L. S.

(a) Conventiones Scotiæ; or, *The Treaty of Peace at* Edinburgh *(b)*.

1560. Art. I. & II. [*The Treaty of* Cambray *is confirmed: But I omit to ſet down theſe two Articles at length.*]

III. “ ’Tis appointed, agreed and concluded, That all the military Forces pertaining to either Party by Sea or Land, ſhall depart out of *Scotland*, after the Manner and upon the Terms as ſhall be agreed by particular Articles ſigned and ſealed by the reſpective Commiſſioners; ſuch a certain Number of *French* Soldiers excepted. as ſhall be condeſcended upon by the Commiſſioners of *France* and the Lords of *Scotland*, to remain in the Caſtle of *Dunbar* and Fort of *Inch-keith*.

IV. “ ’Tis appointed, agreed and concluded, That all manner of warlike Preparations in *England* and *Ireland* againſt the *French* or *Scots*; and in *France* againſt the *Engliſh*, *Iriſh* or *Scots*, ſhall hereafter ceaſe: So that no Ship having on board any Soldiers or warlike Inſtruments, or Preparations for War, ſhall be allowed to paſs from *England* or *Ireland*, or from any other Part, into *France* or *Scotland*, by and with the Conſent of *Eliſabeth* Queen of *England*; nor from *France*, nor any other Part, to *England*, *Ireland* or *Scotland*, by and with the Conſent of *Francis* and *Mary* King and Queen of *France* and *Scotland*.

V. “ Seeing in the forementioned Treaty of *Cambray*, it was agreed and concluded, That the Fort built at *Aymouth* in the Kingdom of *Scotland*, ſhould have been demoliſhed within three Months after the Date of the ſaid Treaty, razed to the Ground, and nothing ever thereafter to have been built there: And although the ſaid Fort be in ſome ſort demoliſhed, yet not ſo as was agreed upon; Therefore ’tis now appointed, agreed and concluded, That the ſaid Fort of *Aymouth* ſhall be utterly demoliſhed and razed, before the End of four Days after the Demolition of *Leith* ſhall begin. And in the demoliſhing of the ſaid Fort, ſuch *Scottiſh* Men as ſhall be deputed thereunto by the Commiſſioners, ſhall be at Freedom to make Uſe of the Labour of *Engliſh* Pioneers.

VI. “ Seeing the Kingdoms of *England* and *Ireland* do by Right pertain to the Moſt Serene Lady and Princeſs *Eliſabeth*; upon which Account it is not lawful for any other Perſons to call, write, name or entitle themſelves, nor yet to order themſelves to be called, written, named or entitled King and Queen of *England* or *Ireland*, nor to uſe or take to themſelves the Enſigns armorial, or Arms of the Kingdom of *England* or *Ireland*: Therefore ’tis appointed, agreed and concluded, That the ſaid Moſt Christian King and Queen *Mary*, and both of them, ſhall in all Times coming, abſtain from uſing and bearing the ſaid Title and Arms of the Kingdom of *England* or *Ireland*, and ſhall ſtrictly prohibite and forbid their Subjects in *France* and *Scotland*, and the Provinces thereof, from uſing the ſaids Title and Arms any manner of way; and ſhall likewiſe prohibite and take care, ſo far as in them lyes, that no Perſon quarter the ſaids Enſigns armorial with the Arms of the Kingdoms of *France* or *Scotland*. And if there be any publick Letters or Writings which carry in them the Title of the Kingdoms of *England* or *Ireland*, or be ſealed with the Seal of the ſaids Kingdoms, or either of them; the ſame ſhall be renewed, without the Adjection of the Title and Arms of *England* and *Ireland*; and all Letters and Writings containing the ſaid Title, or ſealed with the Seals of the ſaids Arms, which ſhall not be renewed within

“ ſix

(a) *Rymer's Fœdera Angliæ.*

(b) This Treaty is all in Latin.

“ ſix Months after the Publication of this preſent Treaty, ſhall be void and of 1560.
“ no Avail. *Finally*, They ſhall take care ſo far as they can, that in the
“ ſaids Kingdoms of *France* and *Scotland*, the ſaids Arms be no where extant,
“ ſeen, or found mixed with the Arms of the ſaids King or Queen *Mary*; and
“ that the ſaid Title be no where extant, ſeen or found aſcribed to the ſaids King
“ or Queen *Mary*.

VII. “ Whereas the *Commiſſioners* of the Moſt Serene Queen *Eliſabeth*
“ did require, that the foregoing Caution and Proviſion contained in the Cloſe
“ of the Article immediately preceeding, ſhould be publiſhed by open Proclamation;
“ and did likewiſe inſiſt on a farther Compenſation and Reparation
“ for the Injuries which they alledged were done to the ſaid Moſt Serene
“ Queen *Eliſabeth*, by the ſaids Moſt Serene King and Queen *Mary*: And
“ whereas the Commiſſioners of *France*, after having replied ſundry Things
“ in Anſwer thereunto, did farther add, That they had no Authority to treat
“ or conclude any thing concerning theſe Particulars; and if they ſhould wait
“ until a Return ſhall come from *France*, not only would there ariſe from
“ thence a great Loſs of Time, but moreover ſtrong Impediments may come
“ in the way of compleating the preſent Treaty of Peace and Amity: Therefore
“ it is appointed, agreed and concluded, That this Diſceptation concerning
“ the above Demands, namely, concerning the Publication of the foreſaid
“ Caution, and concerning a farther Reparation, ſhall be remitted to another
“ Meeting at *London* between the ſaids *Commiſſioners* of both Parties, to be
“ aſſembled as quickly as conveniently may be. And if nothing can be got
“ concluded concerning the ſaid Diſceptation before the End of three Months,
“ to be reckoned from the Date of this preſent Treaty; in that Caſe the ſaid
“ Diſceptation ſhall, by Conſent of both Parties, be referred to the Arbitration
“ of the Moſt Mighty Prince *Philip* the Catholick King of *Spain*, to whoſe
“ Sentence and Award both Parties ſhall ſtand. And if the ſaid Catholick
“ King ſhall not find it convenient for him to pronounce a final Decree in
“ Writing concerning theſe Matters, within a Year after the aforeſaid three
“ Months are elapſed, excepting ſtill if the Term ſhall not chance to be prolonged
“ by Conſent of both Parties; whether there be no ſuch Prolongation
“ of the Time, or the ſaid Catholick King do not put an End to the ſaid Diſceptation
“ within the Time ſo prolonged: In either of theſe Caſes, the ſaid
“ Moſt Serene Queen *Eliſabeth*'s Right of ſuing for theſe Things ſhall be reſerved
“ entire to her, in the ſame State and Condition it was in before the
“ Commencement of this Treaty.

VIII. “ Seeing it hath pleaſed Almighty God, in whoſe Hands are the
“ Hearts of Kings, ſo to incline the Minds of the ſaids Moſt Chriſtian King
“ and Queen *Mary*, that they have largely manifeſted their Clemency and Benignity
“ towards their Nobility and People of their Kingdom of *Scotland*,
“ and that reciprocally the ſaids Nobility and People have willingly, and of
“ their own Accord, acknowledged, profeſſed and promiſed all Duty and Obedience
“ to the ſaids Moſt Chriſtian King and Queen their Sovereigns: For
“ the better Preſervation, cheriſhing, and Continuance whereof, the ſaids
“ Moſt Chriſtian King and Queen have, by their ſaids Commiſſioners, granted
“ their Aſſent to certain ſupplicatory Petitions preſented by the ſaids
“ Nobility and People to the ſaids King and Queen, tending to the Honour
“ of the ſaids King and Queen, to the publick Benefit of the ſaid Kingdom,
“ and to the Continuation of their Obedience. And the ſaids Moſt Chriſtian
“ King and Queen being deſirous to have their ſaid Benignity towards
“ their ſaid Subjects attributed to the good Offices of the ſaid Moſt Serene
“ Queen *Eliſabeth*, their moſt dear Siſter and Confederate, at whoſe Interceſſion
“ and Requeſt the ſaids King and Queen have been more propenſely
“ moved hereunto; Therefore 'tis agreed between the foreſaid Commiſſioners

1560. “ of both Parties, That the ſaids Moſt Chriſtian King and Queen *Mary* ſhall fulfil all thoſe Things which by their ſaids Commiſſioners they have granted to the ſaids Nobility and People of *Scotland* at *Edinburgh* the 6th Day of *July*, in this preſent Year 1560, provided the ſaids Nobility and People of *Scotland* ſhall fulfil and obſerve all thoſe Things that are contained in the ſaids Articles and Conventions to be performed on their Part.

IX. “ In this Treaty of Peace and Amity is comprehended on the Part of the ſaids Moſt Serene Princes *Francis* the Moſt Chriſtian King of *France* and Queen *Mary*, as likewiſe on the Part of the Moſt Serene *Eliſabeth* Queen of *England*, the Moſt Potent Prince *Philip* the Catholick King of *Spain*, conformable to the Force and Effect of Treaties ſubſiſting between the ſaids Kings and Queens, their Kingdoms, Territories, Countries and Dominions.

X. “ 'Tis appointed, agreed and concluded, That this preſent Treaty, with all and ſeveral the Conventions and Contents thereof, ſhall be ratified and confirmed by the ſaids Moſt Mighty and Illuſtrious *Francis* and *Mary*, and *Eliſabeth*, and each of them, within the Space of ſixty Days after the Date of this Treaty, and ſhall be turn'd by them into Letters Patents, with their Great Seals appended, and their proper manual Subſcriptions adjoined: And the ſaids Princes, and each of them, ſhall deliver the ſaids confirmatory authentick Letters, ſo ſubſcribed and ſealed, To the Commiſſioner or Commiſſioners of the other Prince, having Authority to this Effect.

XI. “ 'Tis appointed, agreed and concluded, That the ſaids Moſt Illuſtrious and Moſt Mighty Princes, *Francis* and *Mary*, and *Eliſabeth*, and every of them, ſhall in the Preſence of the Commiſſioner or Commiſſioners of the other Prince, having ſufficient Authority for this Effect, if required by him or them, promiſe on their Royal Word, and ſwear upon God's holy Goſpel; and every of them ſhall ſo ſwear, That they ſhall truly, inviolaby, and in good faith, obſerve for their Part, all and every the Articles, Conventions, Proviſions and Pacts comprehended in this preſent League and Treaty (*a*).”

Here follow the Tenors of the Commiſſions.

“ In Faith and Teſtimony of all which and ſingular the Premiſſes, we the foreſaids Commiſſioners and Ambaſſadors have cauſed theſe Letters Patents ſubſcribed with our Hands, to be fortified and corroborated by our Seals.

“ These Things were done at *Edinburgh* within the ſaid Kingdom of *Scotland*, the 6th Day of *July* 1560.

J. Monlucius *Ep. Valentinus.*

J. Randan.

W. Cecil.

N. Wotton.

From

(*a*) By the Tenor of the Commiſſions to the reſpective Plenipotentiaries, their Royal Conſtituents had obliged themſelves in good Faith, and upon their Royal Words, to hold firm and ſtable every thing that ſhall be concluded by their reſpective Deputies within the Time agreed upon, and never to come into the contrary any manner of way. And the Queen of *England*, for her Part, did ratify the preſent Treaty in Form at *Windſor* the 2d of *September* the ſame Year. *Fœdera Angliæ.*

From theſe *Articles* it appears, that nothing concerning the Differences between our Sovereign and her Subjects, was engroſſed in the Treaty concluded by the *French* and *Engliſh* Ambaſſadors-Plenipotentiaries at this Time. We have nevertheleſs ſufficient Ground to be aſſured by the VIII. Article preceeding, that at the Interceſſion of the Queen of *England*, certain Conceſſions were granted by the *French* Commiſſioners, in Name of the King of *France* and his Queen, our Sovereigns, to certain Petitions preſented to them by the Nobility and People of *Scotland*. It has been deem'd too derogatory from the Majeſty of Sovereigns, to enter into Treaty with their own Subjects; and therefore this middle Way has been fallen upon, that the Nobility and People of *Scotland* ſhould offer Petitions for redreſſing of ſuch Things as were grievous to them: And the King and Queen had condeſcended, by the friendly Offices of the Queen of *England* their Fellow Sovereign, to concede ſuch Things as might introduce a good Harmony and Underſtanding between them and their People *(a)*. 1560.

The Conceſſions granted by the King and Queen, to the Nobility and People of Scotland *(b)*.

(c) ‘ALTHO' War be ſometimes permitted, for Neceſſity, for Self-defence, and for other juſt and reaſonable Cauſes; nevertheleſs ſeeing the Effects thereof are afflicting and miſchievous, it muſt of Conſequence be diſagreeable and hateful to all thoſe who have any thing of the Fear of GOD remaining in them. For beſides that there can be no War without a Diſſolution of the Bond of Charity, which is the true and certain Mark whereby true Chriſtians are diſcernable from thoſe wicked ones who bear the Name only of Chriſtianity; humane Blood is therein ſhed with far leſs Regard than that of the brute Beaſts in the Shambles; the whole Body of the People is cruelly treated and trampled upon; the ill-deſerving are ſupported and favoured; the Virtuous are oppreſſed, and conſtrained to abandon their Houſes and Families; married Women are forced from their Husbands; Virgins are hal'd away, and made ſubſervient to abominable Practices; Widows and Orphans are left a Prey to thoſe whoſe chief Buſineſs it is to work Miſchief. Theſe are the Effects of War: And therefore the Cry of ſo many poor afflicted Perſons cannot fail to reach unto Heaven, and be heard by Him who cannot lie, and hath promiſed to revenge the Evil which is done to the Deſolate, whom He hath taken under His own Protection and Safe-guard. All which Inconveniencies and Miſchiefs having been maturely and wiſely conſidered by the King and Queen our Sovereigns, who deſire nothing more than to maintain their Subjects in Peace, Union and Tranquillity: And being to their great Grief advertiſed of the Troubles which have fallen out of late in this Kingdom of *Scotland*, following their own good and chriſtian Diſpoſition, they have given expreſs Deputation to the Reverend Father in God, *John de Monluc* Biſhop and Count of *Valence*, one of his Majeſty's Privy-Council, and to *Meſſire Charles de la Rochefoucault* Knight, *Seigneur de Randan*, Chamberlain in ordinary to the King, and Captain of 50 *Gens d'armes (d)*, to tranſport themſelves into *Scotland*, with Orders to appeaſe the Commotions of War, and reconcile, if poſſible, all Differences, and to notify to the Nobility, and all their other Subjects in that Kingdom, their Majeſties gracious

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(a) See *Cecil*'s Letter 20th *June* 1560, in the Appendix, Numb. 24.

(b) The following Paper is drawn up in *French*. The Title prefixed to this atteſted Copy in the *Cotton* Library, is not written by the ſame Hand, but by Secretary *Cecil*; and is this, *Accord betwixt the* French *Kyng and Queen of* Scots *and the Nobility of* Scotland, 3. die Julii 1560.

(c) *Cotton* Library, Calig. Book 9. Fol. 126.

(d) Capitaine de 50 hommes d'armes des ordonnances.

1560.

‘ Intentions to receive them into Favour, and to retain no Remembrance of any thing that has intervened from the Beginning of thoſe Troubles. Which gracious Clemency the *Scottiſh* Nobility have received with all due Submiſſion and Reverence, both in Name of themſelves here preſent, and of thoſe that are abſent: And in Teſtimony of their Duty, have offered to render to their Majeſties all that Obedience which the true, faithful and natural Subjects of this Crown owe to their Sovereigns; promiſing at the ſame time to ſerve their Majeſties ſo faithfully, and ſo to acquit themſelves of their bounden Duties, that their Majeſties ſhall ever have occaſion to treat them favourably. And in order to remove all Differences which are at preſent ſubſiſting, as well as to take out of the way the Occaſions that may chance to create new ones for the time to come, they have preſented to the Lords Deputies a Petition, containing certain Articles for the Preſervation and Maintenance of their Liberties, Laws, Cuſtoms and Privileges, and of Peace, Union and Love among the whole Subjects: Of the which Articles, ſuch as have appeared to be juſt and reaſonable to the Lords Deputies, the ſaid Deputies have granted the Confirmation, in Name of the King and Queen our Sovereigns, in manner after following;

I. (a) “UPON the Complaint made by the Nobility and People of this Country againſt the Number of Soldiers kept up here in time of Peace, ſupplicating the Lords Deputies of the King and Queen to afford ſome Remedy therein, for the Relief of the Country: The ſaids Deputies having conſidered the ſaid Requeſt to be juſt and reaſonable, have conſented, agreed and appointed, in the Name of the King and Queen, That hereafter their Majeſties ſhall not introduce into this Kingdom any Soldiers out of *France*, nor any other Nation whatſoever, unleſs in the Event of a foreign Army's attempting to invade and poſſeſs this Kingdom: In which Caſe the King and Queen ſhall make Proviſion, by and with the Counſel and Advice of the three Eſtates of this Nation. And as for the *French* Soldiers that are juſt now in the Town of *Leith*, they ſhall be ſent back into *France*, at the ſame time that the *Engliſh* Naval and Land Armies, together with the *Scottiſh* Army, ſhall remove in ſuch Form as ſhall be more amply deviſed. And it is likewiſe agreed, that ſuch Bands of *Scottiſh* Soldiers as are within the Town of *Leith* ſhall be diſbanded. *Item*, That no more than Sixſcore *French* Soldiers ſhall be retained in the Forts of *Dunbar* and *Inch-keith*, to be divided between them two Places; ſixty whereof, and no more, ſhall remain in the Fort of *Dunbar*. And if the States can fall upon any ſecure Means whereby to retrench the Expence laid out on theſe two Places, without incurring the Danger of rendring them a Prey to thoſe that would pretend to make themſelves Maſters of them, they are at Freedom to acquaint their Majeſties thereof with the ſooneſt. But the foreſaid Number of Sixſcore *French* Soldiers ſhall in nowiſe be augmented: Nor ſhall it be allowable for them to do Harm or Injury to any Perſon, nor yet to receive within their Forts any *Scottiſh* Men of what Quality or Degree ſoever, with Intention to ſecure them from the Magiſtrates of the Country, or defend them againſt the Officers of Juſtice; nor ſhall they take any part in any private Quarrels, which may chance to fall out among the great Men or other Perſons within the Kingdom: And if any Complaint ſhall be made againſt any of themſelves, they ſhall be bound to anſwer before the ordinary Judges of the Land, and ſhall be liable to Puniſhment according to the Laws and Cuſtoms of the Country. *Item*, It is provided, that to prevent their taking Things upon Loan, they ſhall receive their Wages regularly each Month. And it ſhall be lawful for two *Scottiſh* Gentlemen choſen by the Council, to be preſent at their Muſters, and to inſpect the Forts, leſt there be more

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(a) The original atteſted Copy is not broken into Numbers: I have only taken that Freedom.

Men got into them, than the ſtipulated Number. *Item*, The Soldiers belonging to thoſe two Garriſons ſhall not take to them any Victuals, without paying ready Money for the ſame; at leaſt, they ſhall not take them againſt the Good-will and Conſent of thoſe to whom they belong: And the Nobility ſhall be obliged to furniſh them with as much as they ſtand in need of, provided they have Money to pay for the ſame.

II. " As to the Petition preſented to the Lords Deputies concerning the Demolition of Fortifications, they have conſented, agreed and appointed, That the Fortifications of *Leith* ſhall be demoliſhed: And as for *Dunbar*, two Commiſſioners ſhall be appointed by the Lords Deputies, who, together with two *Scottiſh* Men, ſhall viſit the Place, and conſider what therein is fit to be demoliſhed; and ſuch new Works as have been added to it ſince the Beginning of theſe Troubles, together with ſuch as may ſerve to enlarge the Fortification, and render it capable to receive Soldiers, ſhall all be thrown down three Days after that *Leith* begins to be demoliſhed. And foraſmuch as by the ſaid Demolition, and the few Soldiers that are to be left in Garriſon, the Place will be in danger to be ſurprized; 'tis accorded, That thoſe who have preſented this Petition, ſhall each in particular oblige themſelves to defend it with all their Force, againſt all thoſe that would attempt to ſeize it. The ſame thing ſhall in like manner be agreed upon by the States, with reſpect to the Wardens of the Marches. And neither the King nor the Queen ſhall hereafter cauſe to be built any new Fortification within this Kingdom, nor yet enlarge thoſe that are now ſubſiſting, nor repair thoſe that are now to be demoliſhed, but by the Advice and Conſent of the States. Neither ſhall they cauſe to be imported any Artillery, Ammunition, Gunpowder, or Vivres, in a greater Quantity than ſhall be neceſſary for the Defence of the two forementioned Forts, and the Complement of their Garriſons from one Half-year to another, or at moſt from Year to Year, without the Advice and Conſent of the States foreſaid.

III. " Touching the Petition for the Payment of ſuch Debts as be owing within this Kingdom by the *French* and *Scottiſh* Bands in the Service of the King, the Lords Deputies have agreed, That the King and Queen ſhall cauſe to be reimburſed whatever has been given to the King's Lieutenant, to the Captains and other Officers, for the Subſiſtence of the ſaid Bands; and generally whatever the King's Lieutenant is in Debt for his Majeſty's Service, whether the ſame appear by Writing, or by the Confeſſion and Acknowledgment of the Parties.

IV. " Concerning the Petition relating to the aſſembling of the States, the Lords Deputies have agreed, conſented and appointed, That the States of the Kingdom may aſſemble, in order to hold a Parliament, on the 10th Day of *July* now running; and that on the ſaid Day the Parliament ſhall be adjourned and continued, according to Cuſtom, from the ſaid 10th Day of *July* until the 1ſt Day of *Auguſt* next: Provided that before the States ſhall enter upon any Buſineſs, all Hoſtilities both by *Engliſh* and *Scottiſh* Men be at an End, that ſo the Votes of the Meeting may be unconſtrained, and none of them be overawed by Soldiers, or any other Perſons whatſoever. And during the Interval of Adjournment, the Lords Deputies ſhall order a Diſpatch to the King and Queen to advertiſe them of this Conceſſion, and ſupplicate them moſt humbly, that they would be pleaſed to agree to that which they have herein accorded. And this Aſſembly ſhall be as valid in all Reſpects, as if it had been called and appointed by the expreſs Commandment of the King and Queen; provided always that no Matter whatſoever ſhall be treated of, before the foreſaid 1ſt Day of *Auguſt*.

1560. V. “ Concerning the Article relating to Peace and War, the Lords Deputies have conſented, granted and appointed, That neither the King nor the Queen ſhall order Peace or War within *Scotland*, but by the Advice and Conſent of the three Eſtates, conformable to the Laws, Ordinances and Cuſtoms of the Country, and as has formerly been done by their Predeceſſors Kings of *Scotland*.

VI. “ Touching the Petition preſented to the Lords Deputies, relative to the political Government and the Affairs of State within this Kingdom, the ſaids Lords have conſented, accorded and agreed, That the three Eſtates ſhall make choice of twenty four able and ſufficient Perſons of Note of this Realm; out of which Number the Queen ſhall ſelect ſeven, and the States five, for to ſerve as an ordinary Council of State during her Majeſty's Abſence, for Adminiſtration of the Government. And it ſhall not be allowed for any Perſon of what Rank ſoever, to meddle in any thing that concerns the civil Government, without the Intervention, Authority and Conſent of this Council: And the ſaid Counſellors ſhall be obliged to convene as oft as they can conveniently, and not under ſix at a Time: And when any Matter of Importance ſhall occur, they ſhall *all* be called to conſult and give their Orders therein; at leaſt, the greateſt part muſt be preſent. And when any one of the Queen's Nomination ſhall happen to die, their Majeſties ſhall make choice of another to fill his Place, out of the Remainder of the twenty four which were at firſt preſented to them. And in like manner, when one of the five that were nominated by the States happens to deceaſe, in that Event, the other ſurviving four ſhall elect another, out of the Remainder of the twenty four that were nominated firſt. Moreover, if the States ſhall find it convenient to add to the Number of twelve, two more Counſellors; in that Caſe the King and the Queen ſhall chuſe one, and the States another. And it is ſpecially declared, That the Conceſſion of this Article ſhall in nowiſe prejudge the King and Queen's Rights for hereafter, nor the Rights of this Crown. And as for the Salaries and Expences to be paid to the ſaids Counſellors, and the Officers under them, the Lords Deputies engage to employ their Intereſt and good Offices with the King and Queen, to obtain theſe for them out of the Revenues of the Crown, provided they take care to attend and wait upon their Charge.

VII. “ Concerning the Petition preſented to the Lords Deputies, reſpecting the Offices of the Crown, they have conſented, agreed and appointed, That hereafter the King and Queen ſhall not employ any Stranger in the Management of Juſtice civil or criminal, nor yet in the Offices of Chancellor, Keeper of the Seals, Treaſurer, Comptroller, and ſuch like Offices; but ſhall employ therein the native Subjects of the Kingdom. *Item*, That their Majeſties ſhall not put the Offices of Treaſurer and Comptroller into the Hands of any Clergyman, or other Perſon who is not capable to enjoy a State-Office *(a)*; and the Treaſurer and Comptroller ſhall be inveſted with *Powers* ſufficient for the Exerciſe of their reſpective Offices *(b)*: But it ſhall not be lawful for them to alienate or diſpoſe of the Wards of Marriages, Non-entries, Caſualties, nor of any other Things which have relation to their Offices, without the Advice and Conſent of the Council; that thereby the Counſellors may be aſſured, that every thing is made to return to the Queen's Profit. Yet the Deputies mean not by this Article, to have the Queen limited and reſtrained from a Liberty to grant Penſions and Gifts where ſhe ſhall think fit.

VIII. The

(a) It is in the Original, *qui ne ſoit capable de l'eſtat.* And Mr. *Knox* renders it, *who are not able to exerciſe the ſaid Offices*: And ſo does an old Copy in the Lawyers Library. Which laſt Tranſlation is indeed ſupported by the following Clauſe.

(b) *Pour exercer leur eſtat.*

1560.

VIII. "The Lords Deputies have agreed, That in the enſuing Parliament the States ſhall form, make and eſtabliſh an Act of Oblivion, which ſhall be confirmed by their Majeſties the King and Queen, for ſopiting and burying the Memory of all bearing of Arms, and ſuch Things of that Nature as have happened ſince the 6th Day of *March* 1558. And by this Act, all thoſe who have any manner of way contravened the Laws of the Kingdom, ſhall be exempted from the Pains and Penalties contained therein, as if they had never offended: Provided nevertheleſs that the Privilege of this Act be not extended to thoſe whom the Eſtates ſhall not deem worthy thereof (*a*)."

IX. "'Tis agreed and concluded, That the Eſtates ſhall be ſummoned to the enſuing Parliament according to Cuſtom (*b*); and it ſhall be lawful for all thoſe to be preſent at that Meeting who are in uſe to be preſent, without being frightned or conſtrained by any Perſon. And the Eſtates ſhall oblige themſelves, that in caſe there happen any Sedition, or gathering together of armed Force without the Orders of the Council, conſiſting of the forementioned Number; the whole Country ſhall look upon the Authors and Aſſiſters thereof as Rebels, and as ſuch ſhall purſue them, in order to have them puniſhed according to the Laws of the Kingdom; that ſo neither the King nor the Queen may be at any Trouble in ſending foreign Soldiers hither, for enforcing Obedience to themſelves.

X. "'Tis agreed and concluded, That there ſhall be a general Peace and Reconciliation among all the Nobility and other Subjects of *Scotland*; and it ſhall not be lawful for thoſe Perſons who have been called the *Congregation*, nor for thoſe who were *not* of the *Congregation*, to reproach each other with any thing that has been done ſince the aforeſaid 6th Day of *March*.

XI. "The Lords Deputies have *offered* (*c*), agreed and concluded, That neither the King nor Queen ſhall proſecute, nor take Revenge for any thing that is now paſt and gone; nor ſhall not allow their *French* Subjects to proſecute nor revenge the ſame, but ſhall forget the ſame as if it had never been done: And that the Lords and Gentlemen of *Scotland* ſhall comport themſelves after the ſame manner, for ſuch Things as have paſſed between them and the *Frenchmen* in this Country. Moreover, if by falſe Reports, or by other Means, their Majeſties have conceived ſiniſter Thoughts of any of their Subjects, they ſhall forget and change the ſame: Neither ſhall they denude or deprive any of their Subjects of their Offices, Benefices or Eſtates, which they held formerly within this Kingdom, upon account of their having had any meddling in the Things which have fallen out ſince the 6th Day of *March* foreſaid; nor yet aſſume a Pretext or Colour from any thing elſe, to deal ſo by their Subjects, but eſteem and treat them in all Time coming as good and obedient Subjects: Provided alſo that the ſaids Nobles and the reſt of the Subjects render unto their Majeſties, ſuch an entire Obedience as is due from faithful and natural Subjects to their proper Sovereigns.

XII. "'Tis agreed and concluded, That it ſhall not be lawful for the Nobles nor any other Perſons to convene together in Arms, except in ſuch Caſes as are approved by the Laws and Cuſtoms of the Land; nor yet to invite and bring in foreign Soldiers, nor to enterprize any thing againſt the Authority of the Queen, the Council, or any inferior Magiſtrates, under the Pains of

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(*a*) Was not this too great a Truſt? Or might not the Sovereign have had a joint Privilege with the States? But the States wanted to have themſelves and their Friends only indemnified.

(*b*) *Comme il appartient, où pourront intervenir tous ceulx qui ont accouſtumé de s'y trouver.*

(*c*) The Reader will here obſerve an Alteration in the Stile of this Article. The other Articles proceed upon a Petition; whereas this is a free Offering by the Lords Deputies.

1560. "Rebellion and other Penalties contained in the Laws of the Country. And if "it happen that any Perſons whatſoever ſhould pretend, that they had Occaſion given them to complain of Injuries, and to take up Arms; in that Caſe "it ſhall be free to them to preſent a Supplication to their Majeſties, but not "until they have firſt communicated the ſame to the Council within the Kingdom. And all in general ſhall bind themſelves to perform this and all other "Things which belong to good and loyal Subjects, for the Peace and Tranquillity of the Country, under the Pains foreſaid, and to do every thing "that lyes in their Power for the Preſervation of the Kingdom and the Rights "of their Sovereign.

XIII. "'Tis agreed and concluded, That if any Biſhops, Abbots, or other "Eccleſiaſtical Perſons, ſhall make Complaint, that they have received any "Harm either in their Perſons or Goods, theſe Complaints ſhall be taken into Conſideration by the Eſtates in Parliament; and ſuch Reparation ſhall be "appointed, as to the ſaids Eſtates ſhall appear to be reaſonable. And in the "mean time it ſhall not be lawful for any Perſon to give them any Diſturbance "in the Enjoyment of their Goods, nor to do them any Wrong, Injury or "Violence. And whoſoever ſhall act in Contravention to this Article, ſhall be "purſued by the Nobility as a Diſturber of the publick Weal and Tranquillity.

XIV. "'Tis agreed and concluded, That the Nobility ſhall bind and oblige "themſelves to obſerve, and to cauſe be obſerved all the ſeveral Points and Articles comprehended in and granted by this Treaty: And if it ſhould ſo happen, that any one among them, or any other Perſon or Perſons ſhall contravene the ſame, in that Caſe all the reſt of the Nobility and People ſhall become Enemies to them, and ſhall purſue them until they be puniſhed according "to their Deſerving.

XV. "And to the end the whole Kingdom may perceive that the King and "Queen are willing to retain no Remembrance of all the bypaſt Troubles and "Differences, and how deſirous they are to treat in a favourable manner the "Nobility and the other Subjects of this Kingdom, the Lords Deputies have "agreed, That the Duke of *Chaſtelherault*, the Earl of *Arran* his Son, and "all other *Scottiſh* Gentlemen, ſhall be reinſtated in the Lands, Goods, Eſtates "and Benefices which they formerly held within the Kingdom of *France*, and "poſſeſs and enjoy them after the ſame manner as they did before the Commencement of the Troubles on the 6th Day of *March* 1558, and as if thoſe "Troubles had never fallen out. And likewiſe 'tis agreed, That all the Capitulations made in Times paſt, ſhall be maintained and obſerved as well by "their Majeſties as by the Nobility and People of *Scotland*; and in particular "*that* which was made and agreed at the Marriage of the King and Queen. "And the Lord *David*, Son to the Duke of *Chaſtelherault*, who is now "[Priſoner] in the Caſtle of *Bois de Vincennes*, ſhall be ſet at Liberty to return into *Scotland*, or to diſpoſe of himſelf at his own Pleaſure.

XVI. "And whereas the Lords Deputies have ſignified, that the King may "have Uſe for his Artillery in *France*; 'tis adviſed and concluded, That no "other Artillery ſhall be tranſported out of *Scotland*, than what was ſent thither "ſince the Death of the late King *Francis*; and that all other *Pieces*, but "eſpecially thoſe which are marked with the Arms of *Scotland*, ſhall be reſtored to the Places from whence they were taken: And for the diſtinguiſhing of theſe ſeveral Pieces of Artillery, four Commiſſioners ſhall be appointed, before the Embarkation of the Troops, *viz.* two *Scottiſh* and two "*French* Gentlemen.

XVII. "Whereas on the Part of the Nobles and People of *Scotland*, "there have been preſented certain Articles concerning Religion, and certain

1560. “other Points in which the Lords Deputies would by no means meddle, as being of ſuch Importance, that they judged them proper to be remitted to the King and Queen: Therefore the ſaids Nobles of *Scotland* have engaged, that in the enſuing Convention of Eſtates, ſome Perſons of Quality ſhall be choſen for to repair to their Majeſties, and remonſtrate to them the State of their Affairs, particularly thoſe laſt mentioned, and ſuch others as could not be decided by the Lords Deputies; and to underſtand their Intention and Pleaſure concerning what Remonſtrances ſhall be made to them on the Part of this Kingdom of *Scotland*: And thoſe Gentlemen ſhall carry along with them to the King and Queen, the Confirmation and Ratification made by the Eſtates, of the ſeveral Articles which are preſently granted by the Lords Deputies; at which Time they ſhall get delivered to them the Confirmation and Ratification done by their Majeſties, and even ſooner, if the Eſtates ſhall tranſmit their own Ratification before that Time. In Witneſs whereof, the ſaids Lords Deputies have ſigned theſe preſent Articles, at *Edinburgh* the 6th Day of *July* 1560.

Follows a Copy of the King and Queen's Commiſſion to the Deputies.

‘FRANCIS and MARY, by the Grace of GOD, King and Queen of *France* and *Scotland*, To all who ſhall ſee theſe preſent Letters, Greeting: The Thing which We have above all others deſired ſince the Death of Our moſt honoured Lord and Father the King lately deceaſed, whom God abſolve, has been to preſerve that Peace, Amity and Confederacy eſtabliſhed in his Lifetime with Our neighbouring Chriſtian Princes, eſpecially with Our moſt dear and well-beloved Siſter and Couſin the Queen of *England*, by the beſt Offices of Friendſhip that lay in Our Power, as every one may perceive and know, by the Sincerity of Our Actions, and Our gracious Deportment towards each of the ſaids Princes. But whereas the Rebellion of ſome of Our Subjects of the Kingdom of *Scotland* has been the Occaſion, that upon the Frontiers of the ſaid Kingdom, and thoſe of *England*, there has been ſome gathering together of Soldiers from both Kingdoms, which may have interrupted in ſome ſort Our common Amity: For the Re-eſtabliſhment whereof, and to pacify the Differences which upon this Occaſion may have intervened, We having received Information, that Our ſaid Siſter is willing to depute ſome Perſons to repair thither on her Part, do hereby publiſh and declare, That being deſirous above all other Things to ſee Chriſtendom in Repoſe, and to continue that Peace which GOD hath been pleaſed to beſtow upon Us, to His Honour and the Repoſe of His People; a Thing which has been alſo very dear to Us: And having perfect and entire Confidence in Our Truſty and Beloved *John de Montluc* Biſhop of *Valence*, and *Nicolas de Pelué* Biſhop of *Amiens*, both Members of Our Privy-Council; *James de la Broſſe*, *Sieur de la Broſſe*, Knight of Our Orders, and Chamberlain in ordinary; *Henry Clentin*, *Sieur d'Oyſel*, Gentleman of Our Bed-chamber, and Our Lieutenant-General in the Kingdom of *Scotland*, and *Charles de la Rochefoucault*, *Sieur du Randan*, a Captain of fifty Men of Our *Gens d'armes*; and We being well ſatisfied of their good Underſtanding, Virtues, Loyalty, Experience and Conduct: For theſe and other Conſiderations Us moving, have given Commiſſions to them, or any three or two of them in Abſence of the reſt, or during their neceſſary Avocation elſewhere; and by theſe Preſents do give Commiſſion, Order and Appointment to the ſaids Perſons, or any three or two of them, to tranſport themſelves to the Frontier of Our ſaid Kingdom of *Scotland*, and to meet and aſſemble with the Deputies of Our ſaid Siſter the Queen of *England*, at ſuch Time, and in ſuch Place, together with ſuch other Circumſtances as depend thereupon, and as ſhall be agreed upon by their common and mutual Conſent, and then and

1560. ‘there to treat concerning the renewing of Our foreſaid mutual Amity, and to deviſe ſuch Means as may ſerve to compoſe and make up the Differences which may have brought an Alteration therein, according as they ſhall perceive the ſame to be for the Behoof of Our Service, the Peace and Tranquillity of Our Kingdoms, Territories and Subjects. And in like manner, to give Aſſurance to Our Subjects of the Kingdom of *Scotland*, that notwithſtanding they have of late committed ſo grievous a Crime, as to forget their Duty towards Us, if neverthelеſs they ſhall repent, and return to that Obedience which they owe to Us, We are willing to receive them into Favour, and to forget all that is paſt, and not afterwards to make any Enquiry into their former Behaviour; becauſe We are deſirous of nothing more, than to ſee them living under Obedience to Us, and in Peace, Union and Tranquillity together. And generally to do in the Premiſſes, the Circumſtances and Dependences thereof, all and ſundry Things which We Ourſelves would or could do, if We were perſonally preſent, even altho' ſomething ſhould fall out which might appear to require a more ſpecial Inſtruction *(a)* than is contained in theſe Preſents. By which likewiſe We promiſe in good Faith, and in the Word of a King and Queen, to hold agreeable, firm and ſtable all and every Thing that ſhall be agreed, done and concluded by Our foreſaid Deputies, or any three or two in Abſence of the reſt: And to maintain, keep, obſerve, approve and ratify the ſame within the Time and after the Manner as they ſhall agree to; and that We ſhall never act in the contrary thereof any manner of way. For ſuch is Our Will and Pleaſure. In Witneſs whereof, We have ſigned theſe Preſents with Our proper Hands, and have cauſed Our Seal to be appended. Given at *Remorentin* the 2d Day of *June*, in the Year of Grace 1560, and of our Reigns the Firſt and Sixteenth *(b)*.’

Signed, **FRANCIS. MARY.**

And in the Folding, *By the KING and QUEEN.* De l'Aubeſpine.

Seal'd with yellow Wax.

Signed thus, MONLUC *E. de Valence.* RANDAN.

And we Subſcribers in our own Names, and in the Names of the reſt of the Nobility of Scotland, *do promiſe and ſhall bind ourſelves to the within Contents.*

Then follows in Engliſh,

This is the trew Copy of the Originall conferred and colationed.

JAMES STEWART.

RUTHVEN.

W. MAITLAND. *(c)*

By

(a) Jaçoyt qu'il y euſt choſe qui requeſt mandement plus ſpecial qu'il n'eſt contenu en ces preſents.

(b) This is an Error; for the Queen was now in the Eighteenth Year of her Age and Reign.

(c) Theſe three Signatures are in the proper Hand-writing of the Subſcribers; the firſt of whom is the Earl of *Murray*.

Note, On the Back of this Paper is again written by Secretary *Cecil* what follows, *viz.* 3. *Julii* 1560, *Articles of Accord inter Regem & Reginam Francie & Scotie ac Nob. & populum Scotia.*

After Proclamation of the Peace, the *Engliſh* Army marches homeward.

Preachers appointed in ſeveral Towns.

By the above *Accord*, the Readers will eaſily obſerve, that the Subjects of *Scotland* had procured every thing relating to their own Security, to be ingroſſed in the ſtrongeſt Terms. If the ſame Care has been taken to bind *them* to their Obligations, I ſhall leave to the Judgment of others. Two Days after the Cloſe was put to the Treaty, *viz.* on the 8th Day of *July*, the Articles were publickly proclaimed at *Edinburgh (a)*: And on the 16th of the ſame Month, the *French* Army put to Sea in *Engliſh* Bottoms; and the *Engliſh* Army departed towards *Berwick*, having taken care, as they went along, that the Fort lately begun to be built before the Caſtle of *Dunbar*, ſhould be demoliſhed. Moſt Part of our *Scottiſh* Nobility who were of that Intereſt, gave them the Convoy for ſome Miles; but the Prior of St. *Andrew*'s carried the Complement farther, and accompanied them to *Berwick*, in Acknowledgment of the good Services they had done his Country. On the third Day after their Departure, at the Exhortation of the Preachers, a ſolemn Thankſgiving *(b)* to God was kept in the High-Church of *Edinburgh*, for the Mercies which He had lately beſtowed upon them; and ſoon after, by the ſame Advice, the Preachers were diſtributed among the principal Burghs of the Kingdom: *John Knox* was appointed to ſerve at *Edinburgh*, *Chriſtopher Goodman (c)* at St. *Andrew*'s, *Adam Heriot* at *Aberdeen*, *John Row* at *Perth*, *Paul Methven* at *Jedburgh*, *William Chriſtiſon* at *Dundee*, *David Ferguſſon* at *Dunfermling*, and *David Lindſay* at *Leith*. They did likewiſe nominate the following Perſons for Superintendants, *viz.* Mr. *John Spottiſwood* for the Diſtrict of *Lothian*, Mr. *John Willocks* for that of *Glaſgow*, Mr. *John Winram* (Subprior of St. *Andrew*'s) for *Fife*, *John Erskine* of *Dun* for *Angus* and *Merns*, and Mr. *John Carſwell* for *Argile* and the Iſles; under this Reſtriction, ſays Mr. *Knox*, "Unleſs the ſeveral Countries could in the mean time find out "Men more able and ſufficient, or elſe ſhew ſuch Cauſes as might diſable them "from that Dignity." And he tells us, that all the above Appointments were made by the Commiſſioners of Burrows, with ſome of the Nobility and Barons *(d)*.

(*a*) The Preamble of the Proclamation the Readers may ſee ſet down by Mr. *Knox*.

(*b*) The Form of this Thankſgiving may likewiſe be ſeen in Mr. *Knox*.

(*c*) This *Goodman* or *Gudman* was an *Engliſhman*, formerly a publick Reader of Divinity at *Oxford*, one of thoſe *Proteſtants* that fled away under the Reign of Queen *Mary*, and that fixed their Reſidence at *Geneva*: In which City, in the Year 1558, he publiſhed a little Tract againſt his Sovereign under this Title, *How ſuperior Powers ought to be obeyed of their Subjects, and wherein they may lawfully be diſobeyed and rejected: Wherein alſo is declared the Cauſe of all this preſent Miſery in* England, *and the only Way to remedy the ſame.* In this Book he bitterly inveighs againſt thoſe *Proteſtants* that ſet up *Mary* for their Queen, 1. Becauſe ſhe was a Woman. 2. Becauſe the Government of a Woman the Law forbad, Nature abhorred, and the Word of God ever declared to be a Sign of his Wrath for the Sins of the People. 3. Becauſe ſhe was an Idolatreſs and a wicked Woman. 4. Becauſe ſhe was a Woman begotten in Adultery. To inſtigate the People further, he added, That if without Fear Princes tranſgreſſed God's Law themſelves, and commanded others to do the like; then they had loſt that Honour and Obedience which otherwiſe their Subjects did owe unto them, and ought no more to be taken for Magiſtrates, but puniſhed as private Tranſgreſſors. However, it ſeems Change of Times and Perſons had Force likewiſe to change Mr. *Goodman*'s Opinions; ſince, after his Return into *England* in the Reign of Queen *Eliſabeth*, he thought fit to make the following Retractation before the Lords of the Council, or the Biſhops of the Eccleſiaſtical Commiſſion, "Forſomuch as the Extremity of the Time, wherein I did write my Book, "brought forth Alteration of Religion, ſetting up of Idolatry, Baniſhment of good Men, murdering of Saints, and Violation "of all Promiſes made to the Godly; I was, upon Conſideration of the preſent Grief, moved to write many Things therein, "which may be, and be offenſively taken; and which alſo I do miſlike, and would wiſh had not been written. And notwith"ſtanding the which Book ſo by me written, I do proteſt and confeſs, That good and godly Women may lawfully govern "whole Realms and Nations; and do from the Bottom of my Heart allow the Queen's Majeſty's moſt lawful Government, and "daily pray for the long Continuance of the ſame. Neither did I ever mean to affirm, that any Perſon or Perſons, of their "own private Authority, ought or might lawfully have puniſhed Queen *Mary* with Death; nor that the People, of their own "Authority, may lawfully puniſh their Magiſtrates tranſgreſſing the Lord's Precepts; nor that ordinarily God is become Head "of the People, and giveth the Sword into their Hands, tho' they do ſeek the Accompliſhment of the Laws: Wherefore, as "many of theſe Aſſertions as may be rightly collected out of my ſaid Book, them I do utterly renounce and revoke, as none of "mine; promiſing never to write, teach nor preach any ſuch offenſive Doctrine; humbly deſiring, that it may pleaſe your Lord"ſhips to give me your good and favourable Allowance, whereby I ſhall, by God's Grace, endeavour to labour in furthering the "true Service of God, and Obedience to her Majeſty, to the utmoſt of my Power, during my whole Life, to the Satisfaction "of all good Men, and to the Contentation of her Majeſty and your good Lordſhips," *Strype*'s *Annals*. Thus it will be ſeen that this *Chriſtopher Goodman* has been one of the ſame Spirit with our Mr. *Knox*, when we come to give an Account of him and his Writings. But it ſeems tho' *Goodman* made this Recantation, yet Queen *Eliſabeth* and her Council have not thought it expedient to give him Encouragement at home; which very probably hath been the Occaſion of his wandring into our Country. It were to be wiſh'd, our Men at the Helm had equally diſcountenanced ſuch Fire-brands. However, after a great many Years, he returned into *England*: But whether he was in Office there, or no, I know not.

(*d*) Mr. *Knox*, in his Account of the manner of electing the Superintendant of *Lothian*, acquaints us, "how that the Miniſter "declared to the People, That the Lords of ſecret Council had given Charge and Power to the Churches of *Lothian* to chuſe "Mr. *John Spottiſwood* Superintendant." One would think, that if this Charge and Power, and Nomination of the particular Perſon for this Dignity, was given and made at that time by the Lords of Council, there might be little Ground to complain of the ſame Power when lodged in a lawful King.

1560. The Meeting of the Parliament having been fixed to the 10th of *July*, Mr. *Knox* informs us, "That due Advertiſement was made by the Council to all ſuch as by Law and ancient Cuſtom had or might claim to have Title therein." And he obſerves, that "the Aſſembly was great." Abp. *Spottiſwood* gives a general Hint of the Members: But I make no Doubt the Readers will be the better pleaſed to ſee a complete Liſt of this Meeting, that the ſame has never hitherto been made publick; it is as follows,

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A great Difference betwixt the Number of Members in this, from all preceeding Parliaments, appears by the regiſter'd Rolls.

1560.

Rolls in that Reign (for every Parliament has not regiſter'd Rolls) there are always ſome of the leſſer Barons preſent; but, as I could obſerve, never ſo many as thirty, and oft times not near that Number. In the firſt Parliaments of King *James* IV. there are ſtill ſome of the leſſer Barons, twelve at higheſt; but afterwards, no Members of that Rank are at all to be ſeen in the Rolls; tho' after that Period the Rolls are carefully put in the Record. In the Reign of King *James* V. next to none of the leſſer Barons are ſeen; two or three only, once or twice. And during the preceeding Part of the Reign of Queen *Mary*, as few of that Rank, until the Time we are now treating of: So that here is a Space of no leſs than ſeventy ſeven Years, in which ſcarcely had *one* of the inferior Gentry appeared in Parliament. And therefore I know not but it may be deem'd ſomewhat *unuſual*, for a hundred of them to jump all at once into the Parliament, eſpecially in ſuch a Juncture as the preſent was: And that to the King and Queen ſuch an unprecedented gathering of the Lieges together, contrary to all *uſe* and *wont*, as well as to indifferent Perſons, might appear rather to be an inſulting of their Majeſties, than a decent Behaviour from Subjects, newly reconciled to their Sovereigns. The Docquet alſo annexed to the Liſt in the *Cotton* Library by Mr. *Cecil*'s Correſpondent in *Scotland* [*With mony vtheris Baronis, fre Haldaris, and landit Men, but all Armour*] is a plain Indication, that the Faction have made it their Buſineſs, to convene their Friends and Adherents from all Parts of the Kingdom, in order to terrify their Sovereigns with the Sight of ſuch a ſplendid Appearance, and thereby to force out of their Hands a Ratification of all the Acts voted by them in that numerous Aſſembly. And tho' it might be true, that that great Convention of Gentlemen was *without all Armour*, yet their Arms and Armour too might be near enough, tho' not by their Sides and on their Bodies; and they, together with their Dependents, could trample upon the Rights of the Queen at their own Will and Pleaſure.

Whether this was a legal Parliament.

During the Adjournment of the Parliament, from the 10th of *July* to the 1ſt Day of *Auguſt*, 'tis provided, (*Numb.* IV.) "That the Lords Deputies ſhall order a Diſpatch to the King and Queen, to advertiſe them of their having conceded to the ſitting of a Parliament, and to ſupplicate their Majeſties moſt humbly, That they would be pleaſed to agree to that which they have herein accorded." That the Plenipotentiaries for the King and Queen have done their Part of this Stipulation, we can make no Doubt; but that the King and Queen did return a ſatisfactory Anſwer to this Diſpatch, we have no Ground to think: So far on the contrary, that Abp. *Spottiſwood* tells, that "in the Beginning of the Parliament (*i. e.* after the 1ſt Day of *Auguſt*) there was great Altercation; divers holding that no Parliament could be kept, ſeeing their Sovereigns had ſent no Commiſſion, nor authoriſed any to repreſent their Perſons: Others (alledging that Article of the Peace, whereby it was agreed, That a Parliament ſhould be kept in the Month of *Auguſt*, and that the ſame ſhould be as lawful in all Reſpects, as if it were ordained by the expreſs Commandments of their Majeſties) maintained that the ſaid Article was a Warrant ſufficient for their preſent Meeting. And this Opinion by Voices prevailed."

But that the Treaty of Accord could afford no legal Ground for continuing the Parliament, would appear evident, in that the Plenipotentiaries for their Majeſties had carefully ſtipulated, that the Parliament ſhould be prorogued immediately after its down-ſitting, for the Space of three Weeks, *viz.* from the 10th *July* to the 1ſt of *Auguſt*; on purpoſe that in the mean time, the King and Queen might be advertiſed of the Pacification, and might confirm and ratify the ſame (that Part eſpecially which reſpected the holding of a Parliament) if the Stipulations therein contained were found to be agreeable to their Majeſties. But ſo it is, their Majeſties never did ratify the Pacification in Form; and therefore the Parliament, upon the bare Foundation of the Pacification, could not, in Law, be kept: However, as it always falls out in Things of this

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Nature, a Vote was demanded; and by a Majority of Voices, the Meeting was concluded to be lawful. 'Tis nevertheleſs very obſervable, that notwithſtanding this Majority of Voices, the Royal Enſigns of the Kingdom, *viz.* the *Crown*, *Sword* and *Sceptre*, were omitted to be carried into the Parliament, according to Uſe, upon ſuch Occaſions. After a full Week had been ſpent in the Debate concerning the Legality of the Meeting; the firſt Thing which of Courſe came to be treated, was the Election of the Lords of Articles (a): And as 'tis the Privilege of the Nobility to elect a certain Number of the Clergy to ſerve in that Quality, the Noblemen made Choice only of ſuch of that Denomination, as they knew to be well affected to the new Form of Religion. This did not fail to be much complained of by the other Prelates, who likewiſe alledged, that ſome of theſe upon whom the Choice had fallen, were mere Laymen. But, as Abp. *Spottiſwood* obſerves very well, " there was no Remedy, " it behoved *them* to take Law, *who* formerly had given it to others.

A Supplication from the new Preachers preſented.

After this Election was over, a Supplication came before them from the Profeſſors of the New Form, demanding, 1. That the Doctrines of Tranſubſtantiation, Juſtification by Works, Indulgence, Purgatory, Pilgrimage, and Invocation of Saints, be aboliſhed by Authority of Parliament. 2. That the Profanation of the holy Sacraments be prevented, and the Diſcipline of the ancient Church reſtored. 3. That the Pope's uſurped Authority may be aboliſhed, and the Patrimony of the Church employed to the Suſtentation of the Miniſtry, the Proviſion of Schools, and Support of the Poor. Mr. *Knox* ſets down this Paper at length, and then ſubjoins, " This our Supplication being " read in Audience of the whole Aſſembly, divers Men were of divers Judg- " ments; for as ſome there were that uprightly favoured the Cauſe of God (b), " ſo were there many that, for worldly Reſpects, abhorred a perfect Refor- " mation ——— and are unjuſt Poſſeſſors of the Patrimony of the Church." And Mr. *Spottiſwood* ſays, " The laſt Clauſe was not very pleaſing to divers " of the Nobility, who, tho' they liked well to have the Pope's Authority and " Doctrine condemned, had no Will to quit the Church's Patrimony, where- " of in that ſtirring Time they had poſſeſſed themſelves." And ſo without taking any Notice of the laſt Part of the Supplication, the Miniſters were deſired to draw into ſeparate Heads, the Sum of the Doctrine which they wiſh'd to have eſtabliſhed by Law. This was immediately done, and in four Days a *Confeſſion of Faith* (ſo was it term'd) was completed, and afterward preſented to the States, and read in their Hearing (c): And all the Members were deſired to make what Objections they thought proper againſt it; but no Body, they tell us, ſaid the leaſt thing in Oppoſition to it. After this, a Diet was appointed for collecting the Votes; and 'tis remarked, that only the Earl of *Athole* and the Lords *Somervel* and *Borthwick* diſſented. The Earl *Mariſchal* made a Speech in favours of the *Confeſſion*, and declar'd, that to him the profound Silence of the Prelates, ſeem'd to be an irrefragable Teſtimony of its Truth. Thus the *Confeſſion* received the Sanction of the States on the 17th

And their Confeſſion of Faith authoriſed.

P p Day

(a) Theſe Lords of Articles are a ſort of Committee of Parliament, before whom it behoved all Articles or Bills firſt to be preſented and approved, before that they could be brought into full Parliament. I obſerve for 300 Years backward, that they have conſiſted of an uncertain Number of Members, not under three of the Clergy, three of the Barons, and three of the Burrows: But ſometimes there have been about ſixteen Prelates, and as many Barons; tho' the Burrows have not been commonly ſo numerous, by reaſon, I ſuppoſe, that there was ſeldom any large Number of thoſe Members out of which to make an Election. What was the regular Manner of electing the *Articles*, I cannot poſitively aſcertain; tho' 'tis probable they were elected by the Eſtates convened in Parliament, which I ſee once to be marked during the Period of Years before aſſigned. But in later Times we have more Certainty; for in the Parliament 1633, in which King *Charles* I. was preſent in Perſon, I perceive that the Clergy elected eight of the Nobility, the Nobility eight of the Clergy, and theſe two Eſtates jointly elected eight Knights of Shires and eight Commiſſioners of Burghs, in all thirty two, who then compoſed the Committee of Articles, together with the Officers of State; and very probably the ſame Method has been, for the bulk, in uſe at the Time we are now concerned about, ſince we are told, that the Nobility did then make Election of thoſe of the Clergy who were to ſit upon the Articles.

(b) This manner of ſpeaking is much uſed by a certain Set of Men to this Day, to denote their own particular Scheme; and nothing but *that* is either Goſpel or Reformation, according to them.

(c) Mr. *Knox* has given a Copy of this large Confeſſion: And the ſame is likewiſe printed among the Acts of the Parliament in *December* 1567.

1560. Day of *Auguſt*. With reſpect to the Earl *Mariſchal*'s Obſervation, perhaps it may even ſuffer a Queſtion, whether Silence be always a ſure Token of Aſſent? And as to the preſent Affair; tho' the Prelates may not be applauded for their Silence, yet 'tis not eaſy to ſee what good End any Remonſtrance from them could have ſerved. For, allowing the Articles had contained Doctrines quite oppoſite to the Catholick Faith; yet in an Aſſembly, where ſo great a Number of the Voices were before-hand engaged in favour of theſe Articles, (as certainly in this Convention they were) it was perhaps a more prudent Conduct in the Prelates to hold their Peace, and wait a fitter Opportunity for their Purpoſe; at leaſt there is one Senſe in which we may ſuppoſe it was more adviſeable for them to ſay nothing at that Time, ſeeing this Author aſſures us, that *they durſt ſay nothing in the contrare*: For tho' this Expreſſion might not be deſigned by him to be extended to its utmoſt Import, yet 'tis even a Queſtion, whether the Biſhops, by ſpeaking out their Mind, might not have turned againſt themſelves the Engines of this World. The Duke of *Chaſtelherault* threatned with Death his Brother the Archbiſhop of St. *Andrew*'s, if he attempted to ſpeak a Word at this Time *(a)*; and no doubt the ſame Intermination was made to other Prelates.

Three other Acts in their favours.

On the 23d Day of *Auguſt*, an Act was paſt aboliſhing the *Maſs*. In which Act, the *former Clergy* are declared to be nothing elſe but *uſurped Miniſters*; and the *new Preachers* to be the only Perſons that *have Power* to adminiſter the holy Sacraments *(b)*: The Sayers and Hearers of *Maſs* are for the firſt Fault to ſuffer the Confiſcation of all their Goods whatſoever, moveable and immoveable, and a corporal diſcretionary Puniſhment beſides; for the ſecond Fault, Baniſhment out of the Kingdom; and for the third, Loſs of Life: Three Puniſhments well enough calculated for *compelling* Men to come in!

On the 24th, two other Acts were voted; one, againſt the Pope's Authority within this Realm; the other, reſcinding all former Acts not agreeing with the *Confeſſion of Faith* lately ratified and approved by the Eſtates.

Theſe are the only three Acts which our Hiſtorians have taken Notice of in this Parliament: And when the Readers are pleaſed to look back into the preceeding Accord, (*Numb.* XVI.) I ſuppoſe they may be of the Mind, that this Aſſembly, even granting it had received Authority from the King and Queen to ſit and conſult of other Affairs, yet had no Right allowed them to enter upon any Matters touching the Religion; ſince the *Treaty* impowered the Parliament only to ſend a Meſſage to the King and Queen, to lay before them the State of Religion, and ſome other particular Matters. For this very Reaſon therefore, 'tis the leſs to be admired, that the Prelates who ſate in the Meeting, kept a deep Silence in theſe Points, at which they had no Reaſon to touch. Perhaps a Proteſtation againſt any meddling at all in theſe Matters, had been the moſt proper Motion; but except we had been alive, and were acquainted with the Tempers of theſe Times, we may likewiſe ſay, that *perhaps* ſuch

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(*a*) See Appendix, Numb. 25.

(*b*) By this Act, and the whole Behaviour of our firſt Reformers, one cannot help thinking, that they had no Notion of a regular Succeſſion being neceſſary for the Vocation of ordinary Office bearers in the Church of *Chriſt*. That the then Clergy had a regular and valid Ordination, no one can doubt: And how then can they be look'd upon as *uſurped Miniſters?* And *who* or *what* was it that made the new Preachers to be the only Perſons that *have Power* to adminiſter the holy Sacraments? I ſuppoſe they will hardly ſay, that the Parliament had Authority to confer that *Power*. If it was the *Call* of the People, it ſeems to be unheard of till that Time, that the People could conſecrate and ordain any Perſon to the ſacred Offices: Their Conſent and Approbation is quite another Thing. I am therefore inclined to think, they will have Recourſe to a ſpecial immediate Appointment and Deſignation of ſuch Perſons by Almighty God himſelf at that Period; but with how many Difficulties ſuch an Aſſertion may be attended, I need not offer to mention. Thus much at leaſt ſeems to be certain, that ſuch a divine Appointment can have no Weight with another Man to receive thoſe Perſons for his ſpiritual Directors, unleſs he be equally convinced in his own Soul of their extraordinary Vocation. Beſides, even ſuppoſing the divine Vocation to be real; except that ſame extraordinary Vocation be continued in the Church, what better Right have the ſucceeding Perſons, ordained by the extraordinary Miſſionaries, to adminiſter the Sacraments, *&c.* than the eſtabliſhed Clergy at this Time had, whoſe Ordination into their ſpiritual Office did unqueſtionably proceed from the divine Miſſion of the Apoſtles? That Mr. *Knox* and ſome others, who had regular Ordination, did at that Time undervalue their ſacred Orders, and act as Preachers by a new *Call*; and that others of the Preachers never had any Ordination, but the new one, is certain: And 'tis equally certain, that many to this Day have acted as Office-bearers in the Church, merely by virtue of that new Call. May it not therefore be reaſonably doubted, whether ſuch Perſons be really Miniſters of *Jeſus Chriſt*, or no? At leaſt, may not other People, who lay ſome Streſs on the Validity of regular Miniſtrations, make ſcruple to receive from their Hands, the Myſteries of the Covenant of Redemption? Is not the Plea of the *Quakers* more defenſible, every of whoſe Preachers pretends an immediate *Call?*

1560.

ſuch a Motion could not have been made with Security to themſelves, even tho' the Members of the Meeting were, *but all Armour*, and not in Battle-array.

Tho' our Hiſtorians have mentioned no other Acts but theſe three, yet I am enabled from another Quarter *(a)* to inform my Readers of ſome other Things which were enacted at this Time; and which will doubtleſs prove the more agreeable to the Curious, that they are no where elſe to be met with, nor ſo much as mentioned by any Author, ſo far as I have hitherto been able to obſerve. I ſet them down in the very Words I received them.

Heads of Acts made in the pretended Parliament in Auguſt 1560 *(b)*.

Several Heads of Acts made by the Parliament.

IN the firſt, All Actis yat was maid of befoꝛe, foꝛ Cenſuris of curſing, pꝛaying and woꝛſchiping of Saints, ar annullit and oꝛdainit to be deleit furth of the Bukis.

Item, Ye Paip is renuncit and all his Juriſdiction, and ſtatut, Yat na Man in ony Tyme heiraſter ſall ſeik Bull oꝛ Diſpenſation, under the Pain of Barratrie *(c)*.

Item, It is ſtatut and oꝛdanit, That thair be na Meſs ſaid within this Realme; and the Sayar and Hearer thairof ſall foꝛ the firſt Falt loſs all Gudis movable and unmovable, and thamſelfis is to be puniſchit at ye Will of ye Majeſtrate, if they are apprehendit; foꝛ the ſecond Falt, baniſching of ye Realme perpetual; foꝛ the third Falt, Deid. [Death]

Item, It is ſtatut, That na Few, noꝛ Tack of Teind foꝛ this furth, ſett be ye Archbiſchop of St. Andrew's, Biſchops of Dunkeld and Dumblane, Prioꝛs of Whithern, Pluſcardy, Abbot of Croſſraguel, and certane utheris in ſpecial, ſall be of na Avail, but null in the ſelf, without further Pꝛoceſs of Law. And gif ony of thaim hes ſett ony Few oꝛ Tack from the ſaxt of Marche, Anno 1558, the ſame to be callit befoꝛe ye Loꝛdis of Counſel, and maid of nane Avail: And this Act to be publiſhit in everie Boꝛrowſtown.

Item, It is ordeinit, Yat everie Poſſeſſour ſall leid his Teind, oꝛ intromett with it, and tak it in, even as he did ye laſt Zeir: Bot that ſall retein ye Payment thairof in thair awin Handis, quhil they get Commandement of the Counſal quhom to it ſould be payit.

Item, It is ſtatut, Yat becaus na Man comperit of ye Kirkmen that gaif in thair Billis of Complaint, noꝛ nain foꝛ tham, to declare in ſpecial quhairin thay wer hurt, eftir that thai war twyſe callit upon; The Loꝛdis and Nobilite had don thair Duetie confoꝛm to the Articles of Pear, quhilk ſayis, " Gif ony Kirkman war hurt, let him " gif

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(*a*) They are communicated to the Author from the Repoſitory of the *Scottiſh* College in *Paris*, by his worthy and learned Friend Mr. *Thomas Innes* of that College, Author of the late elaborate *Critical Eſſay on the ancient Inhabitants of* Scotland. Several other curious Papers are likewiſe tranſmitted from that Gentleman, which will help to adorn this Work. And that the Reader may at once be informed concerning this Repoſitory at *Paris*, he is to know that *James Bethune* (or *Beaton*) Nephew to the Cardinal of that Name, Archbiſhop of *Glaſgow*, having thought fit, upon account of Religion, to retire into *France* in the Ships which carried the *French* Forces away; the Queen, upon her Return into her own Kingdom the Year enſuing, was pleaſed to cloath this Prelate with the Character of her Ambaſſador at the Court of *France*. He was a Man of ſo much good Senſe and Virtue, that K. *James* VI. (notwithſtanding the Differences of Religion) thought fit to continue the ſame Character with him until the Time of his Death, which happened not until the Year *1603*; during all which Times, he carefully preſerved the Letters, Inſtructions, and other Papers committed to him by his Royal Conſtituents: And theſe are lately gather'd and diſpos'd, according to their proper Dates, and the Matters they contain, in very good Order, by the exceeding Care and Induſtry of this Gentleman and his ſagacious Brother the Reverend Mr. *Lewis Innes*, Rector of the *Scottiſh* College, to which Houſe the Archbiſhop left all his Papers, *&c.* This Prelate was careful likewiſe, when he went from his native Country, to carry along with him all the publick Records of his See of *Glaſgow*: And good had it been, that the other Prelates had taken the ſame Courſe, and thereby preſerved ſome Remembrance of our Nation from the *Knoxian* (and that was more than *Barbarian*) Devaſtation.

(*b*) Memoirs of *Scotland*, Tom. 1. fol. 168, *&c.* in Collegio Scot. *Pariſ.*

(*c*) *i. e.* as it is explained by our Law, *Simony*.

1560. "gif in his Bill to ye Parlement; and he ſuld be anſwerit as Reſſon "wald."

Item, Yair is certan Statutis and Ordonancis maid, in quhat manner Appellationis and Supplicationis *per modum querelæ*, ſould be purſuit befoir the temporal Judge, and na mair befoir ye ſpritual Judge. And ſiclyke, how Letteris ſall be gevin upon Acts without curſing, upon liquidat Dett, and four Formis for fulfilling of an Deid.

Item, It is ſtatut, yat certane Penſions given be the Quene, ſick as ye Erl of Glencarnis, David Murray, Lord Ruthven's Son, and was not providit in Rome, be as valȝeable as and the ſame war confirmit be ye Paip. And the Biſchoprick of Galloway adjugit ſicklik to the Biſchop of Athenis without Bullis.

Item, It is ſtatut and ordainit, thair ſal be certan Commiſſioneris of Burrowis for ye Marchandis Eſtate at every Convention, at leiſt 6 or 8 of thame to gif thair Conſent and Writ to any Taxation (that) beis raiſit, or Weir or Pear tain in hand.

Item, Tweching the Law of Oblivion, it is ratifiet and approvit. Evry Shire hes given in ſa many Namis in ſpecial as thai think ſould joiſs, and haif ye Privilege of ye ſaid Law; and ye reſt ar to be unworthie thairfor. [thereof]

Item, Thair is an Ordinance maid for the Lord of St. John, that he ſuld haif his Lordſchip heretable, and haif na mair ado with ye Paip. And ye Eſtatis ſuld write to the King and Quenis Majeſties to confirm ye ſame.

Item, Thair is 24, conform to the Articlis, choſin to he ſent to the King and Quenis Majeſties. whairof thai ſuld cheis 8, and the Nobilite 6. Thir ar ye Namis of thame that ar choſin, My Lord Duke, Lord Arran, Erlis of Huntlie, Argyle, Glencarn, Morton, Athole, Menteith, Marſhal and Rothes; Lordis, James, Erskin, Ruthven, Lindeſay, Boyd, Ogilvie, St. John, and the Maiſter of Maxwel; Lairdis, Londy, Poterrocht, [*Pitarrow*] Dwn, Cuningham-heid, Dumlanrik, and ȝoung Lethinton.

Item, It is ſtatut in the mein time, quhil ye Commiſſion come haim fra the King and Quenis Majeſties, and that ſho hes choſin her part, that thair ſall remain continuallie within the Town of Edinburgh, 6 at ye leiſt of ye former Counſal, to ordour and miniſter Juſtice, and puniſh Treſpaſſors: And gif thai happin to determin ony thing out with the ſaid Town, thair ſal be na fewer than 16 of the forſaids Perſonis, &c.

How long this Parliament may have kept ſitting after the 24th of *Auguſt*, on which Day they voted the Act againſt the Pope's Authority, I cannot ſay; there being no Indication hereof any where to be found. The Members had already kept together a much longer Space than our Parliaments were wont to ſit, which was uſually a Week or ſo. Before they ſeparated, and when, according to Mr. *Knox*, "theſe and other Things were orderly done in lawful and free "Parliament," they directed a Meſſage into *France* to the King and Queen. But I will not enter upon that now, but chuſe to put an End here to the *Firſt Book* of our *Hiſtory*, as being a proper Period to ſuch a Stop.

BOOK II.

CHAP. I.

Containing an Account of State-Affairs, from the Convention *or pretended* Parliament *in the Month of* Auguſt 1560, *until the Arrival of the Queen from* France *in the Month of* Auguſt 1561.

1560.

IN the preceeding Book we have ſeen great and ſurpriſing Alterations, in the antient Polity both of our *Church* and *State*; the firſt totally ſubverted, the latter only not quite extinguiſhed. In this Book we ſhall meet with Events no leſs, and perhaps the more ſurpriſing, that the new Form of the pure and immaculate Spouſe of JESUS CHRIST, *(a)* ſhall be found to be no Check ſufficient to reſtrain the new Modellers from the committing of ſuch Enormities, as will ever remain a Stain upon the Perpetrators of them.

A Meſſage to *France*, deſiring the Ratification of the Acts voted in Parliament.

By the Treaty of Accord between the Deputies of the King and Queen, and their Subjects in *Scotland*, it is declared, (*Numb.* XVII.) "That the Nobility "of *Scotland* have engaged, that in the enſuing Convention of Eſtates, ſome "Perſons of Quality ſhall be choſen for to repair to their Majeſties, and lay "before them the State of their Affairs, &c. —— at which Time they ſhall "get delivered to them the Ratification done by their Majeſties," &c. In ſome ſort of Conformity to which Article, after the riſing of the Parliament, or Convention of Eſtates, in the Month of *Auguſt*, *Anno* 1560, we are informed by Mr. *Knox* and Mr. *Buchanan*, two Hiſtorians then alive, that Sir *James Sandilands (b)* was directed into *France* with a Copy of the Acts there-

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(*a*) See the Black Acts, Parl. 1. K. *James* VI. Act 12.

(*b*) This Gentleman was ſecond Son to Sir *James Sandilands* of *Calder*. He went and reſided for ſome time in the Iſle of *Malta*, where he was received a Knight of that military Order; and in the Year 1543 was inveſted in the Title and Juriſdiction of *Lord St. John of Jeruſalem within Scotland*. Theſe Knights of *Malta* were at firſt called *Hoſpitallers of St. John of Jeruſalem*, from a Church and Hoſpital founded there in Honour of St. *John Baptiſt*. Afterwards they were erected by *Baldwin*, the Chriſtian King of *Jeruſalem*, into a military Order of Knights, about the Year 1104. After the Chriſtians had been driven out of the Holy Land by the Infidels, theſe Knights ſeized upon the Iſland of *Rhodes*, lying in the Bottom of the *Mediterranean*, *Anno* 1310; and began to get the Appellation of *Knights of Rhodes*. But having been likewiſe beat from that Iſle by the *Turks*, they obtained in Gift from the Emperor *Charles* V. the ſmall Iſle of *Malta*, on the Coaſt of *Sicily*, in the Year 1530: And this laſt Place continues to give them the Denomination of *Knights of Malta*. The Chief of the Order in the ſeveral Kingdoms of *Europe*, goes by the Name of *Lord St. John of Jeruſalem*; for they had Lands pertaining to the Order in all Chriſtian Countries, and continue ſtill to have in the Kingdoms ſubject to the See of *Rome*. They have ſtrongly fortified the Iſle of *Malta*; have a regular Government there; and their Profeſſion is to wage continual War againſt the *Turks*, or Enemies of Chriſtianity. When they go to War, they wear above their common and ordinary black Habit, a red Caſſock, with a large white Croſs both before and behind, without Points; whereas the Croſs on their ordinary Habit hath eight Points. The Knights are all unmarried, and muſt be all nobly deſcended, and their Superior is called the *Grand-Maſter*. Sir *James Sandilands*, Lord *St. John*, of whom we now ſpeak, did afterwards reſign his Lands of *Torphichen*, belonging to the Knighthood, into the Hands of the Queen; and her Majeſty erected them into a temporal Lordſhip for him, on the 24th of *January* 1564.

1560. thereof, in order to obtain a Ratification of them from the King and Queen: But both theſe Writers give broad Hints, and ſeem indeed to ſpeak out plainly enough the Sentiments of the governing Party at home, *viz.* that they were little ſolicitous what might be the Succeſs of this Meſſage; ſince we ſee ſome Expreſſions in the original Inſtructions delivered by the Parliament at this Time *(a)*, which appear not to be very decent from Subjects, and are only ſuitable for thoſe who had continued to hold a Convention under the Form of a Parliament, and to enter upon the Diſcuſſion of ſuch Things as were particularly reſerved from their Conſultations. Upon which Account it is the leſs to be wondred at, that Sir *James Sandilands* was ſent away without any Anſwer from the Queen; and that her Majeſty's Relations of the *Guiſian* Family, ſhould reproach him, who was a Man dedicated to the holy War, for taking upon him to manage the Commands of a Parcel of *Rebels* and *Hereticks*, as Mr. *Buchanan* informs they did. Nay ſo diſpleaſed was the Queen with the late Deportment of her Subjects, that 'tis very obſervable that neither *now* nor at any Time *thereafter*, even when ſhe was returned into her ancient and hereditary Kingdom of *Scotland*, and thereby free from the Influence of her Husband and *French* Relations, could her Majeſty be prevailed upon to own and acknowledge the late Meeting as a lawful Parliament. Nor were the Acts thereof ever allowed to be printed and publiſhed along with the Acts of other Parliaments, during her Majeſty's Adminiſtration *(b)*.

but is rejected.

The bad Reception which the Lord *St. John* met with at the *French* Court, which was then reſiding in the City of *Orleans*, joined to the uncertain Returns which might be made in *England* to the Earls of *Morton* and *Glencairn*, and Mr. *Maitland* younger of *Lethington*, who had likewiſe been ſent thither by the States of Parliament, much about the Time that Sir *James Sandilands* went into *France*, did "greatly trouble the Minds of the Profeſſors, (ſays Abp. *Spottiſwood*) for they were ſenſible of their own Weakneſs, and doubtful of Support from *England*, if *France* ſhould again invade, becauſe of the Loſs the *Engliſh* had received in the late Expedition." But, under Correction, might it not be ſtrongly ſuſpected, that the *Profeſſors* (*viz.* of the New Doctrines, in reality the Oppoſers of the Regal Authority) had little, if any Ground at all, to doubt of repeated Aſſiſtance from *England*? Their Intereſts and Queen *Elizabeth*'s of *England* were more firmly cemented, than to allow that circumſpect Lady to ſuffer her good Friends and Allies to periſh, for want of timeous Relief.

Our Hiſtorians have given ſome Account of this Meſſage into *England*: But the original Commiſſion and Anſwer are of much more Value; *both* which, tho' they have been already publiſhed *(c)*, yet to make this Part of our Hiſtory more complete, I have taken the Freedom to give them a Place here.

The Commiſſion of the Eſtates to move Queen Elizabeth *to take the Earl of* Arran *to her Husband (d).*

Another Meſſage ſent to Q. *Elizabeth.*

"THE Lords of Parliament, and others underwritten, havand Conſideration how the Kingdome of *England* is joynt with this, be an dray March, how puiſſent it is; what Incommodity we and our Forefathers have

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(*a*) In the Manuſcript which I had occaſion to mention in the Cloſe of the former Book, theſe Inſtructions are recorded; and tho' in a great many Places they be ſo ſpoilt as not to be legible, yet there is ſo much ſtill remaining as may render the ſame acceptable enough to the Publick. They are in Appendix, *Numb.* I. This Manuſcript is in the Laigh Parliament-houſe, *Edinburgh.* It is exceedingly much defaced and eaten away at the corners, few Lines only being legible in a great many Places, and ſometimes a few Words only here and there. It contains miſcellaneous Papers of State during the Reign of Queen *Mary.* I ſhall be obliged to quote it frequently, and ſhall call it the *ſhatter'd Manuſcript.*

(*b*) *Rapin de Thoyras* ſays, "the Amneſty of the King and Queen was ſent over into *Scotland*, and ratified by the States; and that likewiſe their Majeſties ordered a punctual Obedience to be paid to the Laws, which the States made in favour of the Reformation." But I ſuſpect it is not in the Power of any Man to ſhew a proper Document for either of theſe Aſſertions. That Author's Readers would do beſt not to credit too eaſily his Information in *Scottiſh* Affairs, about this Period.

(*c*) Bp. *Burnet*'s Hiſtory of the *Engliſh* Reformation, Vol. 3. Collect. p. 308.

(*d*) Taken from the Original at *Hamilton.*

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“ have felt be the continual Weirs betwixt the two Nations; and be the contrar, how profitable their Amytie may be to us, what Welth and Commodity we may obtain therthrow; hes thought good, divyſed and ordained, that the Occaſion preſently opened up to us, ſhall be followed; that is, Sute made to the Queen of *England* in the beſt Manner, that it may pleaſe her Majeſty, for eſtabliſhing of one perpetual Friendſhip, to joine in Marriage with the Earll of *Arran*, being of the lawfull Blood of this Realme; and failzieing of Succeſſion of the Queen our Soverain Ladies Body, next his Father, the Duke's Grace of *Chaſtellerault*, declared be Act of Parliament, ſecond Perſon of the Realme, Air apparant to the Crown: And for that Purpoſe, that honourable Perſons be ſent in Ambaſſate frae them yn Behalf of the Eſtates. And to the Effect, the Sute may be made in the moſt honourable Manner, and to her Majeſty's beſt Contentation, they have deviſed that preſently in plane Parliament it ſhal be deviſed, that certain Ambaſſadours be ſent to her Majeſty, fre the Eſtates, to give her Hieneſs Thanks for the guid Will ſhe has ever born to this Realme, ſen ſhe came to her Crown, and Deſire ſhe hes that it may continue an free Kingdom in thantiant Liberty, ſufficiently of late declared be her Support liberally granted for the Relief therof; and for the guid Quietnes we preſently enjoy, purchaſt to us be her Majeſty's Means and Labours: And they are withall to deſire of her Heeneſs to give ſtrait Commandments to her Wardains and Officers upon the Borders, to continue with ours, for ſuppreſſing of broken Men, and ſtanching of Thift; with ſic other Things as are neceſſar for the common Weel of this Realme: And that the States give Power to the Lords of Articles, and others underwritten, to deviſe ſic Commiſſion and Inſtructions as are neceſſar for that Purpoſe, to be ſealed and ſubſcribed be ſix of the Principals of every Eſtate, whilk ſal be as ſufficient as giff it were ſubſcribed and ſealed by the haill Eſtates; and thereafter the Lords of Articles, and ours [*forte*, others] under ſpecified, to deviſe the Inſtructione and Commiſſion tuching the Heid of the Marriage.”

This Order of Parliament, Biſhop *Burnet* aſſures us, is ſigned by the Archbiſhop of St. *Andrew*'s, the Biſhops of *Dunkeld*, *Galloway*, *Dunblane*, *Argile*, and the Elect of the *Iſles*: And by as many Abbots and Priors, *viz.* the Prior of St. *Andrew*'s, Abbots of *Arbroth*, *Newbottle* and *Culros*; the Commendator of *Kilwinning*, and the Prior of *Lochlevin (a)*. Alſo by the Duke, the Earls of *Argile*, *Athole*, *Morton*, *Crawford* and *Sutherland*; and by the Lords, *Erskine*, *Gordon*, *Salton*, *Hay (b)*, *Vchiltry*, *Innermeth*, *Boyd*, *Lindſay*, *Gray*, and ſome others whoſe Names cannot be read: And by eight Provoſts of Burghs. And the Right Reverend Author makes this Obſervation, after he has ſet down the Names of the Clergy, *viz.* “ So many of the Eccleſiaſtical State of both Ranks concurring, ſhews that they rejoiced in the Deliverance that they had from the Servitude, under which the *French* had almoſt brought them.” But this ſeems to be too liberal an Obſervation; becauſe *one*, and not the leaſt principal Branch of the Meſſage to the Queen of *England* at this Time, was to propoſe a Marriage betwixt her Majeſty and the Earl of *Arran*, to which no doubt the Friends and Relations of the Family of *Hamilton* would greedily give their Concurrence; ſuch as, the Archbiſhop of St. *Andrew*'s and his Brother the Biſhop of *Argile*, the Commendators of *Aberbrothock* and *Kilwinning*. The Biſhop of *Dunblane* likewiſe was well known to have been ſtrongly in our Queen's Meaſures, and ſo not averſe to the maintaining her Authority by Force.

(*a*) There is no ſuch Perſon in the Liſt of this Parliament.

(*b*) This muſt be *William* Lord *Hay* of *Zeſtir*, as in the Liſt of the Parliament.

1560. To the preceeding Commiſſion of the Eſtates of *Scotland*, the Queen of *England* returned the following Anſwer;

The Queene's Majeſties Anſwere, declared to her Counſell, concerninge the Requeſts of the Lords of Scotlande.

Her Majeſtie reduced the Anſwer into three Points. (a)

Her Majeſty's Anſwer thereto.

I. ‘THE *Firſt* was, That where the three Eſtates had ſent the Lords of *Scotland* to preſent their harty Thanks to her Majeſtie for the Benifits receaved this laſt Yere by her Majeſtie's Ayde given to them: Her Majeſtie is very glad to perceave her good Will, and Chardgs ſo well beſtowed, as to ſee the ſame thankfullye accepted and acknowledged; and findeth the ſame to have been ſeaſonablie planted that produceth ſo plentifull Fruct, with the which her Majeſtie doeth ſo ſatisfie herſelf, as if at any Time the like Cauſe ſhall happen wherin her Friendſhip or Ayde ſhall or may profit them for their juſt Defence, the ſame ſhall not be wantinge. And although in former Times it appeared that ſondry Beneficts beſtowed upon divers of the Nobilitye here by her Majeſtie's moſt noble Father, had not ſuch Succes, nor was anſwered with lik Thankfullneſs; yet her Majeſtie doeth now evidently ſe the Cauſe thereof to be, for that the Meaneinge of her Father's Beneficts were interpreted, and ſuppoſed to be to the Diſcomoditye of the Land, and theſe her Majeſtie's be evidentlye ſene to bend directlye to the Safetye of that Realme. And ſo the Diverſitye of the beſtowinge hath made the Diverſitye in the Operacion and Acceptation of them.

II. ‘The *Second* Point is, Where the ſame Eſtates have by their Parlyament accorded, That Suyte ſhould be made for the Marriage with her Majeſtie of the Earl of *Arrayne*; Her Majeſtie cannot interprete that Motion to come but both of a good Meaneinge of the ſame Eſtatis, pretendinge thereby to knit both theis Kingdomes preſently in Amytye, and hereafter to remaine in a perpetual Amytye; and of a great good Will of the ſame Eſtates towards her Majeſtye, offeringe to her the beſt and choiceſt Perſon that they have, and that not without ſome Daunger of the Diſpleaſure of the *French* Kinge in ſo doinge: For Anſwere hereunto, Her Majeſtie findeing herſelf not diſpoſed preſently to marry, (although it may be that the Neceſſity and Reſpect of her Realme ſhall hereto hereafter conſtrayne her) wiſhed that the Earle of *Arrayne* ſhould not forbeare to accept ſuch Mariage as may be made to him for his own Weill and Surety; and that all other Means be uſed to the Continewance of Amytye firmly betwixt theſe Kingdomes; whereunto her Majeſtie thinketh many good Reaſons ought to induce the People of both Realmes, and in a manner to continewe as good Amytye thereby, as by Mariage: For it appeareth, that if every Nobleman of *Scotlande* will well conſider how neceſſarye the Friendſhip of this Realme is to that, for the Preſervation of their Liberties; they ſhall chiefly for Safegard of themſelves, joyne together in Concord with this Realme, and ſo every one particularly minding his own Suretye, of Conſequence the Love and Amytye ſhall be univerſal; by which means her Majeſtie thinketh the Amytye may be well aſſured, though no Marriage be obteyned. And as to the Perſon of the Earle of *Arrayne*, her Majeſtie ſurely hath heard a verie good Report of him, and thinketh him to be a noble Gentleman of great Woordineſſe, and ſo thinketh ſurely that he ſhall prove hereafter.

III. ‘*Thirdly* and *Laſtly*, Her Majeſtye thancketh the ſaid Lords for their Paines and Travell; and although ſhe doubteth nether of their Wiſdome, nor

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(a) *Cotton* Library, Calig. Book 10. fol. 133.

'nor of the Providence of the Eſtates at home in *Scotland*, yet for Demonſtracion of her hearty good Will, her Majeſtie cannot forbeare to require them not to forget the Practices that be paſt, by ſuch as before tyme ſought the Subverſion of them; and nowe much more will do it, if there maye be left any Entry for Corruption, be Reward, or other Scope of Practiſe. And therefore her Majeſtie wiſheth, that they all do perſiſt, firſt in a good Concorde, makinge their Cauſes come amongſt themſelvs; and not to diſſevor themſelvs in any Factions, but to foreſee well Thinges before they chaunce: For that her Majeſtie thinketh this prove verie true, That Darts foreſeen hurt verie little, or not at all. And for her Majeſtie's Parte, there ſhall no reaſonable Thinge be neglected that may furder this comun Action of Defence of both the Realmes, againſt any common Enemye.'

The King of *France*, Huſband to the Queen of *Scots*, dies unexpectedly:

Whilſt Sir *James Sandilands* was at *Paris*, on his Journey homeward, the ſurpriſing and unexpected News arrived there, of the Death of *Francis* II. King of *France*, Huſband to our Queen, who having ſickned on the 19th Day of *November*, departed this Life at *Orleans* on the 4th Day of *December* 1560, in the Seventeenth Year of his Age *(a)*. Upon the certain Account of the Death of the *French* King (" the Cauſe of Joy in *Scotland (b)*," ſays Mr. *Knox*) ſo many of the Nobility of *Scotland* as were near at hand, were advertiſed by the pretended Council to meet at *Edinburgh* on the 15th of *January* 1560-1. In this Meeting the Lord *James Stuart*, Prior of St. *Andrew*'s, was appointed to go to the Queen, and perſwade her Majeſty to return into *Scotland*: And he was admoniſhed by the *Profeſſors*, not to condeſcend that her Majeſty ſhould have Maſs, either publickly or privately within this Kingdom; otherwiſe he would betray the Cauſe of God, and expoſe Religion to the utmoſt Danger. To which Admonition (Mr. *Knox* tells us) the Prior made Anſwer, " That he would never conſent that ſhe ſhould have Maſs pu-" blickly; but to have it ſecretly in her Chamber, who could ſtop her?" This Meeting diſſolved without any other State-Buſineſs, except that they appointed a Convention to meet on the 20th or 21ſt of *May* following. Theſe were the Steps taken by the regnant Party, upon the Incident of the *French* King's Death. But as this was certainly a very nice and critical Juncture; thoſe that had not gone ſo heartily into the late Meaſures *(c)*, did not think fit to be idle neither: Wherefore they meeting together in the moſt ſecret manner they could, did reſolve to ſend into *France John Leſlie (d)*, to make an Offer of their Duty and Fidelity to her Majeſty and to repreſent ſuch other Things to her, as had been communed betwixt them and him.

Hereupon both Parties in *Scotland* ſend Meſſages to the Queen.

In the Beginning of the Year 1561, the Queen of *England* ſent *Francis Ruſſel* Earl of *Bedford* into *France*, to condole on her Part the Death of *Francis* II. and to congratulate the Acceſſion of *Charles* IX. to the Throne of that Realm. This Nobleman had beſides a particular Commiſſion to require from our Queen the Ratification of the Treaty of *Edinburgh (e)*: To which

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(*a*) *Mezeray*.

(*b*) 'Tis ſtrange to ſee what Venom this Writer ſpues out againſt this poor young King, who every Body muſt ſee was not yet arrived to ſuch Age as to deſerve theſe monſtrous Expreſſions; " He was ſuddenly ſtriken with an Apoſthume in that *deaf* " *Ear that never would hear the Truth of God*." And again, " His Glory periſhed, and the Pride of *his ſtubborn Heart* vaniſhed into Smoke." Very ridiculous Expreſſions indeed, and ſo very untrue at the ſame time, that we are told by the *French* Hiſtorians, that this young King had always been troubled with a Fiſtula in his right Ear. Some Men have a Knack of fiſhing miraculous Mercies and Judgments, both from the moſt natural and frivolous Events.

(*c*) They were the Archbiſhop of St. *Andrew*'s, the Biſhops of *Aberdeen*, *Murray* and *Roſs*, the Earls of *Huntly*, *Athole*, *Crawford* and *Sutherland*; beſides a great many other prime Perſons both of the Clergy and Laity.

(*d*) He was for the preſent only Official and Vicar-General of the Dioceſe of *Aberdeen*; but being a Man of a good Stock of Learning, he was afterwards by the Queen made a Privy Counſellor, one of the ordinary Lords, and afterwards Preſident of the Seſſion, and Biſhop of *Roſs*. It was he that wrote the Hiſtory of our Nation in good Latin; which might have been looked upon as pretty elegant, had not Mr. *Buchanan*'s *Roman* Pen outdone both his and perhaps every Body's elſe in *Europe*. But we ſhall have Occaſion to ſay more of this Gentleman afterwards.

(*e*) It hath been already told that the Queen of *England* had ſigned and ratified this Treaty on the 2d Day of *September* laſt. But the King of *France* had ſtill delayed the Ratification of it, upon a Pretext, as I can underſtand, that Queen *Elizabeth* had made a formal Treaty with the rebellious *Scots*, or they with her, in the Month of *February* that Year at *Berwick*.

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which her Majeſty only anſwered in general, That her Council not being then about her, ſhe could make him no direct Anſwer therein.

The Queen of *England* likewiſe ſends Inſtructions into *Scotland*.

In the Month of *March*, the *Engliſh* Queen conſidering the preſent Juncture to be proper for inſinuating ſomething, which highly tended to her Advantage, into the Minds of the States of *Scotland*, as well thoſe who favoured the *ancient*, as thoſe who profeſſed the *new* Form of Religion, diſpatched Mr. *Thomas Randolph* into *Scotland* with the following Inſtructions.

20. March, 1560-1.

A MEMORIAL to Thomas Randolph *to execute diverſe Things for the Service of the Queen's Majeſtie in* Scotland *(a)*.

‘*Imprimis*, You ſhal underſtand that the Princes Proteſtants of *Germany* being aſſembled at *Nuremburg* the 20th of *January* laſt paſt, for the Renovation of the League heretofore made for a mutual Defence of themſelves, againſt the Pope and all his Adherents; have ſent to the Queen's Majeſtie Intelligence of all their Doings, and have required her Majeſtie to continue in her Religion, and to further the like in the Kingdom of *Scotland*, as more at lenth ſhal appear by an Abſtract of the Meſſage ſent from the ſaid Princes to her Majeſtie. In Conſideration whereof, her Majeſtie principally meaning to promote the Glory of God and the Truth of the Chriſtian Religion, wou'd that *Thomas Randolph* ſhou'd declare to ſuch of the Nobility of *Scotland* as be inclin'd to the ſame Cauſe, that her Majeſtie ſeeth daily no Amity nor Intelligence betwixt one Country and another, ſo ſure as that which is grounded upon Unity and Conſent in Chriſtian Religion: And he ſhall ſollicite the ſaid Eſtates to perſevere and to augment the Number, both for the Increaſe of the true Honour of God, and for the Maintenance of the Amity and Good-will betwixt thoſe two Nations. And if he ſhall perceive any to be perplex'd with worldly Fear, he may put them in Remembrance in how good Caſe, to all worldly Reſpects, the Poſſeſſion of true Religion at this Day ſtandeth in *France*, where of late Days great Perſecution was, and now not only ceaſeth by Order and Authority, but alſo Freedom granted for all Perſons to live with free Conſciences, obſerving common Peace and Tranquillity. In *Germany* all the Princes and Eſtates have newly ratified the *Auguſtane* Confeſſion; and therefore the Nobility there in *Scotland* obſerving common Peace amongſt themſelves, and rendring their Duty to their Soverain in Things concerning their Obedience, there is no Cauſe if they will keep Unity in Opinion amongſt themſelves, to fear any Power to offend them: But contrariwiſe, if they ſhou'd, upon a vain Fear, yeild to contrary Practiſes, or ſever amongſt themſelves, their Ruin wou'd ſhortly enſue; and in this manner the ſaid *Randolph* ſhall declare this Advice from the Queen's Majeſtie, as a Matter containing in it nothing more than the Augmentation of God's Honour, the Obſervation of their Duty towards their Soverain, and a Continuance of this good Amity now enjoy'd by both the Nations.

‘*Item*, He ſhal deal with others that be not much affected to the matter of Religion, and yet much given to the Continuance of the Amity, in this ſort following;

‘He ſhal lay this Foundation, That now whilſt their Soverain is unmarried, and out of her Country, and that the Queen's Majeſtie is given to keep Peace with that Realm; the very Time is to make an Accord betwixt theſe two Realms, either for a perpetual Peace, or at the leaſt very long to continue: And therefore it wou'd be deviſ'd, whilſt the Queen of *Scots* and that Realm is free from the unprofitable old League with *France*, that either ſome new League might be made with the Queen's Majeſtie of *England* and her Realm, of the one Part, and the *Scottiſh* Queen and that Realm, of the other Part;

(a) An Original in Cecil's Hand, *Cotton* Library, Calig. Book 10.

1560-1.

‘or at the leaſt, ſome Heads and Articles of the old League in *France*, as were frequent Occaſions betwixt theſe two Realms ——— might be either clearly omitted or qualified. And for the doing therof, her Majeſtie thinketh the Eſtates of *Scotland* have preſently good Opportunity, and may with many ſure and neceſſary Reaſons induce the Queen their Soverain, not only to allow of this Advice, but alſo to be therof, for her own Eſtate, very deſirous. This Time chiefly moveth to have this Matter in Conſideration; for altho' in Times paſt, the Kings of *Scotland* have for the moſt part ſeen what Ruins and Hurts came to them and their People, by the Hoſtility of this Kingdom, which grew only by the Means of the League betwixt *France* and that Realm; yet were they never untill this Time free to remedy the ſame, but always tied with the Band of *France*; which if it ſhal be knit up again, the Queen her ſelf and her Poſterity ſhal moſt repent it.

‘*Item*, The ſaid *Randolph* ſhal alſo put them in Remembrance, how neceſſary it is for them to conſider with whom their Queen ſhal marry; for if ſhe ſhal marry with a Stranger, the ſame Inconveniences which were felt and fear'd in her former Marriage, and perchance more alſo will inſue: And ſurely if ſuch as in this late Time, for Defence of the Liberty of that Country, ſhew'd themſelves moſt earneſt, be not ſoundly reconcil'd to her Favour; the Marriage of her to any Stranger ſhal be their Ruin. Yea, howſoever they be reconcil'd, a Stranger being her Husband, will not lett, both for pleaſing of her, and for compaſſing his own Purpoſes, to rid them out of the Way, and to make one of them an Inſtrument to the Subverſion of the other, and of them both in the End, to make a Prey for himſelf and his own Friends. This is a Policy ſo apparent to inſue, that nothing can be imagin'd otherwiſe to withſtand it, but for the Nobility and States of that Kingdom to conſent altogether to perſwade their Soverain either to marry at home in her own Country, or elſe not marry without ſome great Surety of them which ought to ſucceed.

‘It cannot be thought but the Duke of *Chatellerault* with all his Family, the reſt of the Nobility, and others, both of Burgh and Town, which ſtand in Defence of their Country, ought all to be of this Mind; for that there remaineth to them no Surety in any other Device. And as to the reſt of that Nation which intermeddle not herewith, there can ſeem no probable Cauſe why the Queen their Soverain ſhou'd not take ſuch a Husband, as might bring univerſall Quietneſs in her Kingdom, and ſure Peace with this Realm. In all theſe Matters, the ſaid *Randolph* ſhal, as the Queen's Agent there, proceed to his Diſcretion; and for furtherance of ev'ry Parcel herof, ſhal confer with ſuch as he knoweth well addicted to the Cauſe of Religion, and to the good Amity betwixt theſe two Realms.

By the Queen's Commandment,

W. Cecill.

An Envoy arrives in *Scotland* with Propoſals from the new King of *France*.

In the ſame Month of *March*, *Monſieur Noailles*, a Member of the Parliament of *Bourdeaux*, arrived in *Scotland* with a Commiſſion from the new King of *France*, conſiſting of theſe three Points; 1. That the ancient League betwixt the two Kingdoms might be renewed. 2. That the late Confederacy with *England* ſhould be diſſolved. 3. That the Churchmen ſhould be reſtored to their Places and Benefices. But the *Junto*, unwilling to meddle with Matters of that Importance, thought fit to remit him to the Convention which had been appointed to meet in the Month of *May*.

Mean time the Lord *James* and Mr. *John Leſlie*, deputed by the different Parties to repair into *France* to the Queen, had taken different Routs to ac-

1561.

Mr. *John Leſlie* waits on the Queen, with a Commiſſion out of *Scotland*.

compliſh their Journey: the former departed from *Edinburgh* over-land (a), the 18th Day of *March*; the latter ſailed from the Port of *Aberdeen* to the *Brill* in *Holland*: And both of them made ſuch equal Diſpatch, that Mr. *Leſlie*, by his own Account, arrived at *Vitry* in *Champagne* (b), where the Queen then was, but one ſingle Day before the Lord *James*. The Day of his Arrival was the 14th of *April*. Having been graciouſly received, he declared to her Majeſty the Things wherewith he was intruſted; the Sum whereof, as related by himſelf, was this (c), That her Majeſty would be pleaſed not to allow herſelf to be enſnared by her Brother's crafty Speeches, who would probably adviſe her to bring with her no *French* Forces into *Scotland*, merely on purpoſe, that after he had inſinuated himſelf ſo far into her good Graces, as to obtain under her the chief Management of Affairs, he might with the more Eaſineſs cruſh the ancient Form of Religion within the Realm; which nevertheleſs, Mr. *Leſlie* aſſured the Queen, the Prior had not ſo much at heart, notwithſtanding all his outward Pretences, as to wreſt the Sceptre out of her Hand, and to ſet the Crown upon his own Head. Therefore he humbly entreated her Majeſty, either to cauſe retain her natural Brother in *France*, until ſhe had arrived in *Scotland*, and had ſettled her Affairs at home; or, that ſhe would comply with another Advice of the Nobles that had ſent him, namely, to land with her Ships in ſome Port of the North of *Scotland*, eſpecially at *Aberdeen*, where her Friends could eaſily convene an Army of 20000 Men, with which her Majeſty might with Security advance towards *Edinburgh*, and defeat all the bad Deſigns of her Enemies. After Mr. *Leſlie* had delivered his Commiſſion, he tells us, That the Queen commanded him to remain by her, until ſhe ſhould return to *Scotlana*; and ordered him in the mean time to aſſure by Writ the Lords and Prelates who ſent him, of her Favour towards them, and of her Intention to return home. But 'tis very obſervable, that he ſays not one Word which may imply the Queen's Approbation of his Commiſſion, or that ſhe would comply with what he had adviſed her; which ſeems indeed to create no ſmall Credit to what Sir *James Melvill* relates, *viz.* that "*Meſſieurs de Martigues*, *d'Ozel*, *la Breſſe*, the Biſhop of *Amiens*, and ſuch other *Frenchmen* as were lately carried out of *Scotland* in the *Engliſh* Ships, as well as the reſt of the Queen's Friends, adviſed her, to ſerve the Time, to be moſt familiar with my Lord *James*, Prior of St. *Andrew*'s, her natural Brother, and with the Earl of *Argile*, who had married Lady *Jean Stewart* her natural Siſter, and to uſe the Secretary *Lidington* [i. e. *William Maitland* younger of *Lidington*] and the Laird of *Grange*, moſt tenderly in all her Affairs; and in Sum, to repoſe moſt upon thoſe of the reformed Religion." 'Tis not indeed to be doubted that this laſt was good Advice, had the Queen been reſolved to abandon the *ancient*, and take up with the *new* Model of Religion: But as it appears ſhe had no Intention to come into theſe Meaſures, the former Advice, in all Probability, would have anſwered her Affairs better.

Next Day the Prior of St. *Andrew*'s comes with another Commiſſion.

The next Day after Mr. *Leſlie* had been firſt with the Queen, her natural Brother having before-hand received Intelligence of the Advertiſement ſhe had got to uſe his and his Friends Advice, came and preſented himſelf before her Majeſty at St *Diziers*, likewiſe in *Champagne*, and requeſted her to return home, faithfully promiſing for himſelf to ſerve her to the utmoſt of his Power, and aſſuring her, that the whole *Scottiſh* Nation would obey her as one Man,

without

(a) It has been reported, that the Prior concerted and communicated Matters while he paſs'd and repaſs'd through *England*.

(b) Our Queen after the Death of her Husband, perceiving her Mother-in-law's Countenance (who came now to have a great hand in the Government) to be not kindly towards her, had retired to *Rheims* in *Picardy*, where ſhe remained all the reſt of the Winter with the Cardinal of *Lorrain* Archbiſhop of that City, her own Uncle. In the Spring of the Year, her Majeſty went to viſit the Duke and old Dutcheſs of *Guiſe*, her Grandmother, at *Joinville*; and the Duke of *Lorrain* at *Nancy*. There her Majeſty was taken ill of an Ague; and from thence, for her Health, ſhe returned to *Joinville*. After her Recovery, ſhe went again in the Month of *June* to *Rheims*; and from thence to *Paris*, where ſhe remained until ſhe ſet out for *Calais*, in order to embark for her own Kingdom.

(c) *De rebus geſtis Scotorum, authore Joanne Leſlæo Epiſcopo Roſſenſi.*

without Conſtraint by any foreign Soldiers *(a)*. Mr. *Leſlie* acknowledges, that the Prior ſoon perceived the Queen's Heart to be inclined towards him; and this did probably encourage him to demand from her Majeſty the Earldom of *Murray* to be conferred upon him, in which the Queen promiſed to ſatisfy his Requeſt at her Return into *Scotland*. Matters having ſucceeded ſo well in this Expedition, that Gentleman reſolved to make all the Diſpatch he could in his Journey; ſo that taking his Route through *England*, he arrived again in *Scotland (b)* ſome time in the Month of *May:* About which Time the Earls of *Bothwell* and *Eglinton*, the Biſhop of *Orkney*, and ſeveral other noble Perſons, went over into *France*, to pay their Duty to the Queen.

and returns quickly back into *Scotland*.

Mr. *Knox* takes Notice (whether true or not, no Body can now tell) that there had been a Deſign in *Paris* to aſſaſſinate the Prior; which he eſcaped by the means of ſome good Friends: And he obſerves, "That his Arrival in "*Scotland* was to the great Comfort of many godly Hearts, and to no little "Aſtoniſhment of the wicked; for from the Queen our Sovereign he brought "Letters to the Lords, praying them to entertain Quietneſs, and to ſuffer "nothing to be attempted againſt the Contract of Peace which was made at "*Leith*, till her own home-coming; and to ſuffer the Religion publickly eſta"bliſhed to go forward." And Mr. *Buchanan* ſays, "he brought a Com"miſſion from the Queen, impowering the States to ſit and enact Laws for "the Good of the Publick." But Mr. *Leſlie* mentions none of theſe Things.

At the Convention in *May*, *Monſ. Noailles* received Audience, and had the following Anſwers given to his Commiſſion; with which he ſoon after departed for *France*. And perhaps the States of *Scotland* were the more frank in their Anſwers, that a little before this Time, the Earls of *Morton* and *Glencairn*, and Mr. *Maitland*, had returned from *England*, and had notified the good Acceptance they had met with from that Queen, and the Promiſes ſhe had made to aſſiſt them, in the Defence of the Liberties of the Kingdom, if they ſhould at any Time ſtand in need of her Help.

The particular Anſwers to the French *Ambaſſadors were to this Purpoſe:*

The Anſwers to the *French* Envoy.

1. "THAT *France* had not deſerved at their Hands, that either they or "their Poſterity ſhould enter with them again into any League or Confede"racy offenſive or defenſive; ſeeing that ſo traiterouſly and cruelly they had "perſecuted them, their Realm and Liberties, under Pretence of Amity and "Marriage.

2. "THAT beſides their Conſcience, they could not take ſuch a worldly "Shame, as without Offence committed to break the League, which in God's "Name they had made with *them* [meaning the *Engliſh*] whom he hath "made Inſtruments to ſet *Scotland* at Freedom from the Tyranny of the "*French*, at leaſt of the *Guiſians* and their Faction.

3. And *laſtly*, "THAT ſuch as they called *Biſhops* and *Churchmen*, they "knew neither for Paſtors of the Church, neither yet for any juſt Poſſeſſors "of the Patrimony thereof; but underſtood them perfectly to be Wolves, "Thieves, Murderers, and idle Bellies: And therefore as *Scotland* hath for"ſaken their Pope and Papiſtry, ſo could they not be Debtors to his fore"ſworn Vaſſals *(c)*.

Q. *Elizabeth* renews her Solicitation for ratifying the Treaty at *Edinburgh*.

The Queen of *England* having ſtill greatly at heart our Queen's Ratification of the Treaty of *Edinburgh*, and conſidering that her Majeſty had lately defer'd the ſame until ſhe ſhould hear from her Council in *Scotland*; thought it

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(*a*) If the Prior of St. *Andrew*'s had any Foreſight of Things, it was ſurely convenient that the Queen ſhould not bring foreign Force, or even not have any Force at all about her.

(*b*) *Leſlie* ſays about the Beginning of *May*; but *Knox* ſeems to make it about the End of that Month.

(*c*) *Knox*.

1561. a proper Seaſon, now that her truſty Friend the Prior of St. *Andrew's* was with his Siſter, to renew her Demand concerning the Treaty: For this Purpoſe ſhe ſends Orders to her Ambaſſador in *France*, Sir *Nicholas Throkmorton*, to ſolicite our Queen upon that Head; and her Majeſty returned ſuch Anſwer to that Ambaſſador as ſhe judged expedient at the Time: And perhaps it may not be unfit to inſert here both the one and the other.

A Letter of the Engliſh *Ambaſſador to Queen* Mary *of* Scotland, *for her ratifying the Treaty of* Leith.

Throkmorton's Letter on this Head to the Queen of *Scots.*

(a) ‘PLeaſeth it your Majeſtie. The ſame may remember, that at my Lord of *Bedford*'s being in this Court, he and I demanded of you, on the Behalfe of the Queen's Majeſtie our Miſtreſs, your good Siſter and Couſyne, your Ratification of thaccord latelye made at *Edingborough* in *Scotland* Whereunto you made Anſwer, amonge other Things, That your Counſell being not about youe, namely your Uncle, my Lord Cardinall of *Lorraine*, by whom you are adviſed in your Affaires, and alſo for that your Majeſtie had not heard from your Counſell in *Scotland*, from whom you looked to hear then verie ſhortlye; you could make us no direct Anſwer therin. But that heering from them, and having conſulted with your Counſell heere; you would ſatisfie her Majeſtie in the ſame. Sins whiche Tyme, her Majeſtie having Knowledge of the coming to you of the Lord *James*, your Brother, who paſſed lately through *England* hitherwards, by whom (her Majeſtie judgeth) you will be adviſed, bothe in reſpect of his Ranke and Eſtimacion in your Realme of *Scotland*, and alſo for that he hathe the Honour to be your Majeſtie's Brother, and of good Credite with you: And nothing doubting of your Conſultation with my ſaid Lord Cardinall, and others of your Counſell heere ſins that Tyme; her Majeſtie hathe preſentlie commanded, and authorized me to put your Majeſtie in Remembrance therof againe, and to renew the Demande of your Confirmation of the ſaid late Accord. Therefore I have preſently depechid to you this Gentleman, Bearer heerof, her Majeſtie's Servant; by whom, I beſeeche you, to let me underſtand your reſolute Anſwer in that Behalfe. And uppon Knowledge of your Pleaſure, to delyver me the ſaid Ratification, and of the Tyme and Place; I will not faile (God willing) to reſort, whither your Majeſtie will appoint me to come for that Pourpoſe.

‘By demanding of this Ratification, as the Queen's Majeſtie, my Miſtreſs, your good Siſter, dothe ſhew the great Deſyre ſhe hathe to lyve from henceforth in all aſſured good Love, Peas and Amytie with you and your Realme; ſo, in her Opynion, there is nothing that can argue your reciproke Goodwill to anſwer for the lyke for your Parte agayne, ſo much as the ſtabliſhing the ſame by this Knot of Friendſhip which God hath appointed, and hath been chief Worker therin, for both your Quyetneſſes and Comforts; being now the onlie Refuge of you both. And ſo I pray Almighty God, long to preſerve your Majeſtie in parfaict Healthe, Honour and Filicitie.

From *Paris* the 13th of *Aprill* 1561.

Our Queen's Anſwer to the foregoing Letter being written by her in the *French* Language, and ſo not intelligible to a great many of our *Engliſh* Readers, I have put the ſame in the *Appendix* (b); but ſhall here inſert a Tranſlation of it.

(a) Paper-office, and Burnet, Vol. 3. Collect. p. 313.
(b) Numb. 2.

Monſieur Ambaſſadeur,

1561.

Her Majeſty's Anſwer.

“ I Have read the Letter which you wrote me by the Gentleman who brings you this: And ſeeing I am to leave this Place very quickly, I can't give you a Return 'till I come at *Rheims*, where I expect to be at the King's Coronation. I ſhall only here tell you, that the Lord *James*, who is preſently with me, came only to pay his Duty to me as his Sovereign Lady, without any Commiſſion whatſoever relating to any thing elſe. I pray God to keep you, *Monſieur Ambaſſadeur*.

Nancy this 22d *April* 1562. *Your very good Friend,*

MARIE.

To the above Letters may be fitly joined the Part of another from the ſaid Ambaſſador to his own Queen, as giving ſome farther Light into our Affairs.

Throkmorton's Letter to the Queen of *England*.

(a) ‘ IT maye pleaſe your Majeſtie to be advertiſed, that having written this other Lettre, and being ready to have depeched it to your Majeſtie; Mr. *Somer*, your Highneſs's Servant, arryved heere from *Nanci* in *Lorraine*, from the Queen of *Scotland*, with Anſwer to my Lettre, which (by your Majeſtie's Commandment) I wrote to her, in ſuch ſorte, as I have advertiſed by my former, and therewith ſent to your Majeſtie the Coppies of my Lettres to the ſaide Queen and Cardinall of *Lorrain*. Which her Anſwer being by Lettre, (having alſo ſaid as much by Mouth to Mr. *Somer*) together with the ſaid Cardinall's Anſwer; I ſend your Majeſtie herewith. And though your Majeſtie's ſaid Servant uſed the beſt Speech as he coude, to get ſome direct Anſwer of her, accordinge to her late Promeſſes, putting her in Remembrance of her Words to my Lord of *Bedford*, and to me at *Fontainebleau*: Yet other Anſwer nor Direction then is conteined in her Letter, coude he not gette of her. And ſeeing ſhe hath deferrid to make me further Anſwer, till my next Meetinge with her, which ſhe reckenith ſhall be at *Reims*, at the *French* King's *Sacre*, as appeareth by her ſaid Lettre, where ſhe and the Cardinall told Mr. *Somer*, ſhe mynded to be the 8th of *Maye*; for that it is ſaid the Sacre ſhall be the 15th.—— Sir *Nicholas* after this adviſeth his Miſtreſs to ſend Mr. *Somer* (an Attendant on the Ambaſſador) to receive our Queen's Anſwer, becauſe himſelf was labouring under Sickneſs at the Time. And then he adds, ‘ And tho' I thinke verily that her Anſwer will be ſuch as I have already advertiſed your Majeſtie ſhe made to my Lord *James (b)* (which is Means to draw the Tyme ſtill into greater length) yet the ſame, or anye other, being made to your Majeſtie by her ſelf; you ſhal the better know how to proceede with her in the Matter afterwards.——

‘ I wrote to your Majeſtie, by my Letters of the 23d of this preſent, that the Queen of *Scotland* would authorize my ſaid Lord *James* (as ſhe had told him herſelf) to have the ſpeciall Charge of the Government of the Affaires in *Scotland*, till her comminge thither; and would, for that Purpoſe, give him Commiſſion under her Seale *(c)*. For which Commiſſion, and other Letters, he left a Gentleman of his with the ſaid Queen, to bring it after him to this Towne. The Gentleman is retourned from the Queen with her Letters, but hath brought no Commiſſion: And I underſtande, that ſhe hath now changed her Mynd in that Point; and will appoint none to have Authoritie there, till ſhe come herſelf. And as to ſuch Sutes and Requeſts, as are ‘ made

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(a) Paper-office, and Burnet, Vol. 3. Collect. p. 313.

(b) So it appears the Lord *James* was juſt now employed by the Queen of *England*.

(c) This gains much Credit to the Narrations concerning this Lord, contained in the *Innocence de Marie*; for there 'tis ſaid, that he indirectly, yet with a ſort of Threatning, ſolicited the Queen, by her Uncle the Duke *d'Aumale*, to make him Governor of the Kingdom.

1561. 'made to her for Benefices, and ſuch other Things as are to be beſtowed; ſhe will not diſpoſe of any of them, or make other Anſwer therin, till her comminge thither. Which (it is thought) ſhe dothe, to beſtowe the ſame upon ſome ſuch as ſhe ſhall ſee worthy of her Favour and Preferrmente, and upon others, to winne them the ſooner to her Devocion. The ſpeciall Cauſe why ſhe hath changed her Opinion for my Lord *James* (as I heere) is; for that ſhe coude by no meanes diſ-ſwade him from his Devocion and good Opinion towards your Majeſtie, and the Obſervation of the League between your Majeſtie and the Realme of *Scotland (a)*. And alſo for that ſhe, nor the Cardinall of *Lorraine*, coude not winne nor divert him from his Religion; wherin they uſed verie great Meanes and Perſwaſions. For which Reſpects, the ſaid Lord *James* deſervith to be the more eſtymid of your Majeſtie. And ſeeing he hath dealt ſo plainly with the Queen his Soveraine, on your Majeſtie's Behalfe, and ſhewed himſelf ſo conſtant in Religion, that neither the Feare of his Soveraine's Indignacion coude waver him, nor great Promeſſes winne him: Your Majeſtie may (in myne Opinion) make good Accompt of his Conſtancy towardes you; and ſo deſerveth to be well entertayned and made of, by your Majeſtie, as one that may ſtand you in no ſmall Steade, for the Advancement of your Majeſtie's Deſire. Sins his being heere, he hath dealt ſo franckly and liberally with me, that I muſt beleeve he will ſo contynue after his Return home. And in caſe your Majeſtie wold now in Tyme, liberally and honorably conſider him with ſome good Means, to make him to be the more beholding to your Majeſtie; it wold, in my ſimple Judgement, ſerve your Majeſtie to great Purpoſe *(b)*. He departeth hence homeward about the 4th of *Maye (c)*, by the way of *Diepe*, and myndith to land at *Rye*: Whereof I thought good to advertiſe your Majeſtie, that it may pleaſe the ſame to give Order, for him and his Company, to be receyved and accommodated as apertenith. Which will be well beſtowed upon him, for the good Reporte he made of his late Reception there, and of the great Favour your Majeſtie ſhewed him at his coming hitherwards.

'I underſtand that the Queen of *Scotland* maketh Accompt to fynd a good Partie in her Realme, of ſuch as are of her Religion; and amongs others, the Earle of *Huntley* hath promyſed, that having the Duke on his Side, he, with ſuch other as he holdeth aſſured, will be able enough to make Head to the contrary Parte. And ſo hath he promiſed to bring greate Things to paſſe there, for the Queen's Purpoſe and Affection.——

'I underſtand that the Queen of *Scotland* hath hitherto no great Devotion to *Ledington*, *Grange* and *Balnaves*, whereof I am nothing ſory *(d)*. But ſhe mindeth to uſe all the beſt Meanes ſhe can to wynne them to her, which ſhe truſteth well to compaſſe.——

'Having written thus farre, I underſtand, that wheras it was determined that the King ſhuld have departed the 28th of *Aprill* from *Fontainbleau* towards *Reims*, to his *Sacre*: The ſame is retarded, by reaſon that the Queen-Mother is fallen ſicke of a Catarre. So that both his Departure from thence, and the Time of his *Sacre*, is now uncertain, and dependith wholely upon the ſaid Queen-Mother's Recovery.——From *Paris*, the Firſt of *Maye*, 1561.

Your Majeſtie's humble and moſt

obedient Subject and Servant,

N. Throkmorton.

It

(a) Compare this with Mr. *Knox*'s Account of the Meſſage brought home by this Lord, *p.* 161.

(b) The Queen of *England* was wiſe enough to bind the Subjects of *Scotland* to her Majeſty, by all proper Ties; and no doubt this Perſon got an early Taſte of her Benevolence.

(c) This confirms Mr. *Knox*'s Account, that this Lord did not return to *Scotland* before the End of *May*.

(d) Perhaps the *Engliſh* Miniſtry have found theſe *three* Gentlemen to be, at the bottom, true to the Intereſts of *Scotland*.

1561.

It hath been obſerved already, that our Sovereign had fallen ill of an Ague: Therefore when the Queen of *England* heard of her Recovery, and of her Return to the City of *Paris*, ſhe ordered her Miniſter to compliment her thereupon; and at the ſame time to make a new Requeſt for the Ratification of the forementioned Treaty of *Edinburgh*. This Gentleman's Letter to his Miſtreſs will give the beſt Account of the Matter: which tho' it be ſomewhat prolix, and has been publiſhed formerly by Mr. *Knox*; yet becauſe by it and the other original Letters, we have a plain Series of all the ſeveral Incidents relating to this Affair, which at bottom did breed all the other Differences betwixt the two Sovereign Ladies of this Iſland, I have thought it not amiſs to inſert the ſame here.

The Queen of *England* compliments the Queen of *Scots* upon the Recovery of her Health; and makes a freſh Attack for a Ratification.

Sir Nicholas Throkmorton *his Letter to the Queen of* England, *dated at* Paris, 23*d* June 1561 *(a)*.

MADAME,

‘THE 18th of this preſent *June*, I ſent *Somer* to the Queen of *Scots* for Audience, who appointed me to come to her the ſame Day after Dinner; which I did. To her I did your Majeſtie's hearty Commendations, and declared unto her your Majeſtie's Gladſomnes of her Recoverie of her late Sickneſſe; whoſe want of Health, as it was grievous unto your Majeſtie, ſoe did yee congratulate and greatlie rejoice of the good Tydings of Health ſhe was preſentlie in. After theſe Offices, I putt her in Remembrance againe, what had paſſed from the Beginning of the Matter of your Majeſtie's Demand of Ratification, according to the Purport of the ſaid Treaty, as weill by me at the firſt, as afterward by my Lord *Bedford* at his being heere, and alſo followed ſithence again by me in Audience; and by my Letter to her being in *Lorane*; adding hereto your Majeſtie's farther Commandment and Recharge to me againe, preſentlie to renew the ſame Demand as before had been done: The ſaid Queen made Anſwer, *Monſieur l'Ambaſſadeur, I thank the Queen, my good Siſter, for her gentle Viſitation and Congratulation of this my Recoverie; and though I be not yet in perfyte Health, yett, I thank God, I feel myſelf in verie good Health in comming to. And for Anſwer to your Demand of your Ratification, I doe remember all Things that you have recited unto me; and I would the Queen, my good Siſter, ſould think that I do reſpyte the reſolute Anſwer in this Matter, and performing therof, untill ſuch Tyme as I might have the Advices of the Nobles and Eſtates of mine own Realm; which I truſt ſall not be long a-doing, for I intend to make my Voyage thither ſhortlie. And though this Matter,* quoth ſhe, *doeth touch me principallie, yet doeth it alſo touch the Nobles and Eſtates of my Realm too, and therefore it ſall be meet that I uſe ther Advices therin: Heretofore they have ſeemed to be grieved that I ſould do anie thing without them; and now they would be more offended, if I ſould proceed in this Mater, of my ſelf, without ther Advice. I do intend,* quoth ſhe, *to ſend* Monſieur d'Oſell *to the Queen your Miſtreſſe, my good Siſter, who ſall declare that unto her from me, that I truſt ſall ſuffice her, by whom I will give her to underſtand of my Journey into* Scotland. *I mean to embark at* Calice. *The King hath lent me certane Galleys and Shypes to convoy me home, and I intend to require of my good Siſter theſe Favours that Princes uſe to doe in thoſe Caſes: and though the Termes wherin we have ſtood heretofore have been ſomewhat hard, yet I truſt that from hencefurth we ſall accord together as Couſins and good Nighboures. I mean,* quoth ſhe, *to retire all the* Frenchmen *from* Scotland *who had given Jealouſie to the Queen my Siſter, and Miſcontentment*

(a) *Knox*. Item, *Calderwood*'s large MS.

1561. *to my Subjects, ſo as I will leave nothing undone to ſatisfie all Parties, truſting the Queen, my good Siſter, will doe the like; and from hencefurth none of my diſobedient Subjects ſall find Aid or Support at her Hands.* I anſwered, That I was not deſyrous to fall into Diſcourſe, how theſe hard Termes firſt begane, nor by what Means they were nouriſhed; becauſe therin I moſt charge ſome Party with Injuſtice and Perrell offered to the Queen my Miſtreſſe, which was the very Ground of theſe Matters: But I was well aſſured that there could be no better Occaſion offered to put the former Unkindneſſe in Forgetfulneſſe, then by ratifying the Treaty of Peace; for that ſould repay all Injuries paſt. And, Madame, *quoth I,* when it pleaſeth you to ſuſpend the Ratification till you have the Advices of the Nobles and the Eſtates of your Realm; the Queen, my Miſtreſſe, doth nothing doubt of ther Conformity in this Mater, becauſe the Treaty was made by their Conſents. The Queen anſwered, *Yea by ſome of them, but not by all. It will appear, when I come amongſt them, whether they be of the ſame Minde that you ſay they were then of: But of this I aſſure you,* Monſieur l'Ambaſſadeur, quoth ſhe, *I, for my Part, am very deſirous to have the perſyte and the aſſured Amitie of the Queen, my good Siſter; and I will uſe all the Meanes I can, to give her Occaſion to think that I mean it indeed.* I anſwered, Madame, The Queen, my Miſtreſſe, you may be aſſured will uſe the like towards you, to move you to be of the ſame Opinion towards her. *Then,* ſaid ſhe, *I truſt the Queen, your Miſtreſſe, will not ſupport nor incourage none of my Subjects to continue in their Diſobedience, nor to take upon Things which appertaineth not to Subjects. You know,* quoth ſhe, *ther is much Adoe in my Realm about the Maters of Religione; and though ther be a greater Number of the contrary Religione to me then I would ther were, yet ther is no Reaſone that Subjects give a Law to ther Soveraigne, and ſpeciallie in Maters of Religione; which I fear,* quoth ſhe, *my Subjects ſall take in hand.* I anſwered, Madame, Your Realme is in no other Caſe at this Day, then all other Realmes through Chriſendome are; the Proof whereof you ſee verified in this Realme, and you ſee what great Difficulty it is to give Order in this Mater, though the King and all his Counſell be very deſireous thereunto. Religione is of the greateſt Force that may be: You have been longe out of your own Realme, ſo as the contrarie Religion to yours had win the upper Hand, and the greateſt Part of your Realme: Your Mother was a Woman of great Experience, of deep Diſſimulatione, and keeped that Realme in Quietneſſe, till ſhe begane to conſtraine Mens Conſciences. And you think it unmeet to be conſtrained by your Subjects: Soe it may like you to conſider, the Mater is as intollerable to them, to be conſtrained by you in Maters of Conſcience; for the Duety due to God cannot be given to anie other without Offence off His Majeſty. *Why,* ſaid ſhe, *God commanded Subjects to be obedient to their Princes, and commandeth Princes to read His Law, and governe therby themſelves and the People committed to their Charges.* Madame, *quoth I,* in theſe Things that be not againſt His Commandments. *Weill,* quoth ſhe, *I will be plaine with you; The Religione which I profeſſe, I take to be moſt acceptable to God: And indeed, nather doe I know, or deſire to know anie other. Conſtancie becometh all Folks weill, but none better than Princes and ſuch as have Rule over Realmes, and ſpeciallie in Maters of Religione: I have been brought up,* quoth ſhe, *in this Religione, and who might credit me in any thing, if I ſould ſhew my ſelf light in this Caſe? And though I be young, and not weill learned, yett have I heard this Mater oft diſputed by my Vncle my Lord Cardinall, with ſome that thought they could ſay ſomewhat in the Mater; and I found therein no great Reaſon to change my Opinion.* Madame, *quoth I,* If you judge weill in that Mater, you may be converſant in the Scriptures, which are the Touchſtone to try the Right from the Wronge: Peradventure you are ſo partiallie

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‘ affected to your Uncle's Arguments, that you could not indifferentlie conſider the other Parties: yett this I aſſure you, Madam, *quoth I*, your Uncle my Lord Cardinall in Conference with me about theſe Maters, hath confeſs'd, that there be great Errors come into the Church, and great Diſorder in the Miniſters and Clergie, in ſo much that he deſired and wiſhed there might be a Reformation of the one, and the other. *I have oft heard him ſay the like*, quoth ſhe. Then I ſaid, Weill, I truſt God will inſpire all you that be Princes, that ther may be ſome good Order taken in this Mater, ſoe as ther may be one Unitie in Religion through all Chriſtendome. *God grant*, quoth ſhe: *But for my Part, you may perceive that I am none of theſe that will change my Religione every Year: And as I told you in the Beginning, I mean to conſtraine none of my Subjects, but would wiſh that they were all as I am; and I truſt they ſould have no Support to conſtraine me. I will ſend* Monſieur d'Oſell, quoth ſhe, *to you, before he goe, to know whether yee will any thing into* England. *I pray you ſo order your ſelf in this Mater, betwixt the Queen, my good Siſter, and me, that there may be perfyte and aſſured Amitie betwixt us; for I know*, quoth ſhe, *Miniſters may do much Good and Harm.* I told her, I would faithfullie and truelie make Declaration of all that ſhe had ſaid to me, unto your Majeſty, and truſted that ſhe would ſoe ſatiſfie your Majeſtie by *Monſieur d'Oſell* in all Things, as I ſould heerafter have no more Occaſions to treat with her any thing but of the Encreaſe of Amitie. [She replied] *Ther ſould be no want therin upon her Behalf.* This is the Effect of the Queen of *Scotland*'s Anſwer to your Majeſtie's Demand of her ſaid Ratification, and of my Negociations with her at this Tyme.

The Queen of *England* perceiving by the above Letter of her Reſident, that our Queen had little Intention to yield to her Demand of the Ratification of the Treaty; and that likewiſe her Majeſty in the Conference with Sir *Nicholas Throkmorton* had plainly affirmed, that the Treaty was not made by Conſent of *all* her Nobility; and having ſome Suſpicion, as would appear, that others of the *Scottiſh* Nobility might by the Preſence of their own Sovereign, and by the Expectation of Favours from her, be wrought upon to abandon the Intereſt of their *Engliſh* Ally: Queen *Elizabeth*, I ſay, perceiving and ſuſpecting theſe Things, and that perhaps ſome Contrivance or other might be framing againſt her and her State, ſent the following expoſtulatory Letter to the States of this Realm.

Q. *Elizabeth*, in ſome Suſpicion of the States of *Scotland*, ſends them an expoſtulatory Letter.

The Queen of England's *Letter to the States of* Scotland

‘ RIGHT truſty and Right entirely beloved Couſins, We greet you: We doubt not but as Our Meaning is, and hath always been, ſince Our Reign, in the Sight of Almighty God ſtraight and direct towards the Advancement of His Honour, and Truth in Religion, and conſequently to procure Peace, and maintain Concord betwixt both theſe Realms of *England* and *Scotland*; ſo alſo Our outward Acts have well declared the ſame to the World, and eſpecially to you, being Our Neighbours, who have taſted and proved in theſe, Our Friendſhip and earneſt Good-will, more then We think any of your Anteceſſors have ever received from hence, yea more than a great Number of your ſelves could well have hoped for of Us; all former Examples being well weighed and conſidered. And this We have to rejoice of, and ſo may ye be glad, that where in the Beginning of the Troubles in that Countrey, and of Our Succours meant for you, the Jealouſie, or rather Malice of divers both in that Realm and other Countreys, was ſuch, both to deprive Us in the yielding, and you in requiring our Ayd, that We were noted to have meant the Surpriſe of that Realm, by depriving of your Soveraign the Queen of her Crown; and you, or the greateſt Part of you, to have

1561. intended by Our Succour, the like; and either to prefer ſome other to the Crown, or elſe to make of that Monarchie a Common-weale; Matters very ſlanderous and falſe. But the End and Determination, yea the whole Courſe and Proceſs of the Action on both Our Parts have manifeſted, both to the Slanderers, and to all others, that nothing was more meant and proſecuted, then to eſtabliſh your Soveraign the Queen, Our Couſin and Siſter, in her State and Crown, the Poſſeſſion whereof was in the Hands of Strangers. And although no Words could then well ſatisfie the Malicious, yet Our Deeds do declare, that no other Thing was ſought but the Reſtitution of that Realm to the ancient Libertie, and as it were to redeem it from Captivitie. Of theſe Our Purpoſes and Deeds, there remaineth, among other Arguments, good Teſtimony, by a ſolemn Treaty and Accord made the laſt Year at *Edinburgh*, by Commiſſioners ſent from Us and from your Queen, with full Authority in Writing under both Our Hands, and the Great Seals of both Our Realms, in ſuch manner as other Princes Our Progenitors have always uſed. By which Treaty and Accord, either of Us have faithfully accorded with other, to keep Peace and Amity betwixt Our Selves, Our Countrey and Subjects: And in the ſame alſo a good Accord is made, not only of certain Things happened betwixt Us, but alſo of ſome Differences betwixt the Miniſters of the late *French* King, your Soveraign's Husband, and you the States of that Realm, for the Alteration of Laws and Cuſtoms of that Countrey attempted by them. Upon which Accord there made and concluded, hath hitherto followed, as you know, Surety to your Soveraign's State, Quietneſs to your ſelves, and a better Peace betwixt both Realms, then ever was heard of in any Time paſt. Nevertheleſs how it happeneth We know not (We can, for ſhe in her Conceit thinketh herſelf Queen of both) that your Soveraign either not knowing in this Part her own Felicity, or elſe dangerouſly ſeduced by perverſe Counſel, whereof We are moſt ſorry; being of late at ſundry Times required by Us, according to her Bond with Us, ſigned with her own Hand, and ſealed with the Great Seal of that Realm, and allowed by you, being the States of the ſame, to ratifie the ſaid Treaty, in like manner as We by writing have done, and are ready to deliver it to her, who maketh ſuch dilatory Anſwers thereunto, as what We ſhall judge thereof, We perceive by her Anſwer, it is meet for Us to require of you: For although ſhe hath always anſwered ſince the Death of her Husband, That in this Matter ſhe would firſt underſtand the Minds of certain of you, before that ſhe would make Anſwer; and ſo having now of long Time ſuſpended Our Expectation, in the End, notwithſtanding that ſhe hath had Conference both by Meſſengers, and by ſome of your ſelves being with her; yet ſhe ſtill delayed it, alledging to Our Ambaſſadour in *France* (who ſaid, that this Treaty was made by your Conſent) It was not by Conſent of you all; and ſo would have Us to forbear, untill ſhe ſhall return into that her Countrey. And now ſeeing this her Anſwer depended, as it ſhould ſeem by her Words, upon your Opinions, We cannot but plainly let you all underſtand, that this manner of Anſwer, without ſome more Fruit, cannot long content Us. We have meant well to Our Siſter, your Queen, in Time of Offence given to Us by her. We did plainly, without Diſſimulation, charge her in her own doubtfull State; while Strangers poſſeſſed her Realm, We ſtayed it from Danger. And now having promiſed to keep good Peace with her, and with you her Subjects, We have obſerved it; and ſhall be ſorry if either ſhe or ye ſhall give us contrary Cauſe. In a Matter ſo profitable to both the Realms, We think it ſtrange that your Queen hath no better Advice: And therefore We do require you all, being the States of that Realm upon whom the Burden reſteth, to conſider this Matter deeply, and to make Us Anſwer whereunto We may truſt. And if you ſhall think meet ſhe ſhall thus leave the Peace imperfect, by breaking of her ſolemn Promiſe, contrary to the Order of all Princes, We ſhall be well content to accept your Anſwer, and ſhall be

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as careleſs to ſee the Peace kept, as ye ſhall give Us Cauſe: And doubt not, by the Grace of God, but whoſoever of you ſhall incline thereto, ſhall ſooneſt repent. You muſt be content with Our plain Writing. And on the other Side, if you continue all in one Mind, to have the Peace inviolably kept, and ſhall ſo, by your Advice, procure the Queen to ratifie it; We alſo plainly promiſe you, that We will alſo continue Our good Diſpoſition to keep the ſame in ſuch good Terms as now it is: And in ſo doing, the Honour of Almighty God ſhall be duely ſought and promoted in both Realmes, the Queen your Soveraign ſhall enjoy her State with your Surety, and your ſelves poſſeſs that which ye have with Tranquillity; to the Increaſe of your Families and Poſterity, which by the frequent Wars heretofore your Anteceſſors never had long in one State. To conclude, We require you to advertiſe Us of what Mind you be, eſpecially if you all continue in that Mind, that you mean to have the Peace betwixt both the Realmes perpetually kept. And if you ſhall forbear any longer to advertiſe Us, ye ſhall give Us ſome occaſion of Doubt, whereof more Hurt may grow then Good. From, &c.

The Anſwer to the foregoing Letter by the Council, or Junto.

MADAME,

"PLEASE your Majeſtie, that with Judgement we have conſidered your Majeſtie's Letters: And albeit the whole States could not ſuddainlie be aſſembled, yet we thought expedient to ſignifie ſomewhat of our Mindes unto your Majeſtie. Far be it from us, that either we take upon us that Infamy before the World, or Grudge of Conſcience before our God, that we ſhould lightly eſteem the Obſervation of that Peace lately contracted betwixt theſe two Realmes. By what Motives our Soveraign delayed the Ratification thereof, we cannot tell: But of us (of us, we ſay, Madame, that have proteſted Fidelity in our Promiſe) her Majeſtie had none. Your Majeſtie cannot be ignorant, that in this Realme there are many Enemies; and farther, that our Soveraign hath Counſellors, whoſe Judgements ſhe in all ſuch Cauſes preferred to ours. Our Obedience bindeth us, not only reverently to ſpeak and write of our Soveraign, but alſo to judge and think: And yet your Majeſtie may be well aſſured, that in us ſhall be noted no Blame, if that Peace be not ratified to your Majeſtie's Contentment. For God is Witneſs, that our chief Care in this Earth, next the Glory of God, is, that conſtant Peace may remain betwixt theſe two Realmes, whereof your Majeſtie and Realme ſhall have ſure Experience, ſo long as our Counſel or Votes may ſtop the contrarie. The Benefite that we have received is ſo recent, that we cannot ſuddainlie bury it in Forgetfulneſs. We would deſire your Majeſtie rather to be perſwaded of us, that we to our Powers will ſtudy to leave it in Remembrance to our Poſterity. And thus with lawfull and humble Commendation of our Service, we commit your Majeſtie to the Protection of the Omnipotent. Of *Edinburgh* the 16th Day of *July*, 1561."

Mr. *Knox*, from whom I have tranſcrib'd the two foregoing Papers, obſerves, that "there were ſome other Perſons that anſwered ſome of the Miniſters of *England* ſomewhat more ſharply, and willed them not to accuſe nor threaten ſo ſharply, till that they were able to convince ſuch as had promiſed Fidelity, of ſome evident Crime; which altho' they were able to lay to the Charge of ſome, yet Reſpect would be had to ſuch as long had declared themſelves conſtant Procurers of Quietneſs and Peace."

D'Oyſel ſent to demand a free Paſſage for our Queen: which Q. *Elizabeth* refuſes.

The Readers will remember, that our Queen told the *Engliſh* Reſident, That ſhe was to ſend *Monſ. d'Oyſel* with a Meſſage to her Siſter of *England*. Accordingly we find this Gentleman did come into *England*, to ask in the Name of our Queen a Safe-conduct for her free paſſing by Sea into her own Realm;

1561. and Liberty for himſelf to go by Land into *Scotland (a)*. Mr. *Buchanan* thinks fit to ſay, that "our Queen's Envoy was well entertained at the Court of *England*, and was ſent back preſently into *France* to tell the Queen of *Scots*, That if ſhe pleaſed to paſs through *England*, ſhe ſhould have all the Reſpect which ſhe could deſire from a Kinſwoman and an Ally; and that ſhe would take it as a great Favour beſides: But if ſhe ſhunned the profer'd Interview, ſhe would look upon it as an Affront" But Mr. *Camden* of *England* narrates this Point much more conformable to Truth, when he informs us, that "Queen *Elizabeth* denied both the Requeſts of our Queen; alledging, as the Cauſe of this Denial, that ſhe had not yet ratified the Treaty of *Edinburgh*." *Monſ. d'Oyſel* returned into *France* about a Week only before our Queen ſet out from *Paris*, upon her Return into *Scotland*; and thereupon followed a large Conference betwixt our Queen and the Reſident of *England*, concerning *D'Oyſel*'s Meſſage, which I chuſe to lay before the Reader in that Miniſter's own Words.

Whereupon enſued a large Conference betwixt our Queen and the Miniſter of *England*.

Sir Nicholas Throkmorton, *then Ambaſſador in* France, *To Queen* Elizabeth, *touching a free Paſſage for the Queen of* Scots *through* England *into* Scotland *(b)*.

'It may pleaſe your Majeſtie to underſtand, that the 17th of *July* I received your Letters at *Poiſey*, of the 14th of the ſame, by *Franciſco* the Bearer; and for that I could not, according to your Majeſtie's Inſtructions in the ſame Letters, accompliſh the Contents of them, untill *Monſ. d'Oyſel* had delivered your Letters to the *French* King, the Queen of *Scotland*, and the Queen-Mother (who did not arrive at this Court till the 20th of this preſent) I did defer to treat with any of the Princes, of your Majeſtie's Anſwer to the ſaid *Monſ. d'Oyſel*. Nevertheleſs the 18th of this Moneth I required Audience of the *French* King, which was granted me: The ſame Day in the Afternoon, I repaired to his Court being at St. *Germains*; and there the Queen-Mother, accompanied with the King of *Navarre*, and ſundry other great Perſonages, was in the Place of State, to hear what I had to ſay to the King her Son who was abſent; unto her I declared your Majeſtie's Pleaſure according to my Inſtructions, concerning your Acceptation of the Hoſtages already received and hereafter to be received, ſignified to me by your Majeſtie's Letters of the 17th of *June*; and as I wrote to your Majeſtie lately, brought to me by *Monſ. de Noailles* the 16th of *July*: For Anſwer whereunto, the Queen-Mother ſaid, *Monſieur l'Ambaſſadour*, We marvail greatly how it cometh to paſs, that the Queen your Miſtreſs doth not make more Stay to receive the King my Son's Hoſtages, than ſhe hath done heretofore; for from the Beginning, ſince the Hoſtages were ſent into *England*, neither the King my late Lord and Husband, nor the late King my Son, did either recommend the Sufficiency of their Hoſtages by their Letters, or cauſe their Names to be recommended unto you the Ambaſſador; but the Preſentation of them by our Ambaſſador in *England* did ſuffice. Thereunto I ſaid, Madam, You know they be Hoſtages for a matter of ſome Moment; and if they ſhould neither have the King's Aſſurance for their Validity, nor the Queen my Miſtreſs's Ambaſſadors Allowance of their Sufficiency, ſome Perſonages might be ſent which were neither meet for the King to ſend, nor for the Queen my Miſtreſs to receive; and yet, Madam, the Queen my Miſtreſs doth not require the manner of recommending the Sufficiency of the Hoſtages, for any Doubt ſhe hath that unmeet Perſons ſhould be ſent; but rather, becauſe a friendly and ſincere Faſhion of Dealing ſhould be betwixt her good Brother and her, with whom her Majeſtie is ſo deſirous to

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(a) Bp. *Leſlie* acquaints us, that the Intention of the King of *France* by ſending *Monſ. d'Oyſel* into *Scotland*, was, to take care that the Forts of *Dunbar* and *Inch keith* ſhould be preſerved by the *French* Soldiers, until our Queen was ſafely arrived.

(b) Taken from the *Cabala*, Edit. 1663.

have a perfect and aſſured Amity. I ſaid alſo, That the King her Son had notified both to my Lord of *Bedford* at his being here, and unto me, the Names of ſome of the Hoſtages; as the Count of *Benon* before his going into *England*, as *Monſ. de Sualt*, who had the Charge ſo to do, could well inform her; ſo as this Motion need not ſeem ſtrange for the Newneſs. The Queen anſwered, *Monſieur l'Ambaſſadour*, We ſhall be well pleaſed, ſeeing your Miſtreſs doth require it, that from henceforth either the Hoſtages ſhall have the King my Son's Letters of Recommendation, or elſe their Names ſhould be notified unto you, or any other her Ambaſſador here: And I pray you, *Monſieur l'Ambaſſadour (quoth ſhe)* give the Queen your Miſtreſs, my good Siſter, to underſtand from me, That if there be any thing in this Country that may pleaſe her, ſhe ſhall have it, if I may know her liking. I told the ſaid Queen, That I was ſure your Majeſtie was of the ſame Mind towards her, for any Pleaſures to content her in your Realm. And ſo I took my Leave of her for that Time.

' It may farther pleaſe your Majeſtie, Having Intelligence that *Monſ. d'Oyſel* had advertiſed the Queen of *Scotland*, by *Rollot* her Secretary, the 17th of this preſent, what Anſwer your Majeſtie had made him; and hearing alſo of the ſundry Praiſes and Diſcourſes made here, of that your Majeſtie anſwered, I ſent to *Dampier* (a Houſe of the Cardinal of *Lorrain*'s) the 19th of this Moneth, to the Queen of *Scotland*, to require Audience of her, which ſhe appointed me to have the next Day in the Afternoon at *S. Germains*; She was accompanied at *Dampier* with her Uncles the Cardinals of *Lorrain* and *Guiſe*, and the Duke of *Guiſe*; there was alſo the Duke of *Nemours*, who the ſame Day arrived there in Poſt out of *Savoy*, and viſited the ſaid Queen before he came to this Town.

' The 20th of this preſent, in the Afternoon, I had Acceſs to the ſaid Queen of *Scotland*, with whom I found *Monſ. d'Oyſel* talking when I entred into her Chamber: She diſmiſs'd *Monſ. d'Oyſel*, and roſe from her Chair when ſhe ſaw me; unto whom I ſaid, Madam, Whereas you ſent lately *Monſieur d'Oyſel* to the Queen my Miſtreſs, to demand her Majeſtie's Safe-conduct for your free Paſſage by Sea into your own Realm, and to be accommodated with ſuch Favours as upon Events you might have need of upon the Coaſt of *England*, and alſo did farther require the free Paſſage of the ſaid *Monſieur d'Oyſel* into *Scotland* through *England*; The Queen my Miſtreſs hath not thought good to ſuffer the ſaid *Monſ d'Oyſel* to paſs into *Scotland*, nor to ſatisfie your Deſire for your Paſſage home; neither for ſuch other Favours as you required to be accommodated withall at her Majeſtie's Hands, in as much as you have not accompliſhed the Ratification of the Treaty accorded by your Deputies in *July*, now twelve Months ago at *Edinburgh*, which in Honour you are bound many ways to perform; for beſides, that you ſtand bound by your Hand and Seal, whereby your Commiſſioners were authoriſed, it may pleaſe you, Madam, to remember, that many Promiſes have been made for the Performance thereof, as well in the King your Husband's Time, as by yourſelf ſince his Death; and yet notwithſtanding, the Treaty remaineth unratified as before, a whole Year being expired ſince the Accord thereof, which by your Commiſſioners was agreed to have been ratified within ſixty Days: So as upon this unamicable and indirect Dealings, the Queen my Miſtreſs hath refuſed you theſe Favours and Pleaſures by you required, and hath grounded this her Majeſtie's Strangeneſs unto you, upon your own Behaviour, which her Majeſtie doth unconfortably, both for that your Majeſtie is, as ſhe is, a Queen, her next Neighbour and next Kinſwoman. Nevertheleſs, her Majeſtie hath commanded me to ſay unto you, Madam, *(quoth I)* That if you can like to be better adviſed, and to ratify the Treaty, as you in Honour are bound to do, her Majeſtie will not only give you and yours free Paſſage, but alſo will be moſt glad to ſee you paſs through her Realm, that you may be accommodated with the Pleaſure thereof, and

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(a) 'Tis remarked by the *Engliſh* Hiſtorians, that Q. *Elizabeth* made Choice to deny our Queen's Suit to her by *D'Oyſel*, in the Preſence of a numerous Attendance: Which is not reckoned to be very decent.

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‘ *(quoth ſhe)* my Uncles being, as you know, of the Affairs of this Realm,
‘ do not think meet to adviſe me in my Affairs; neither do my Subjects, nor
‘ the Queen your Miſtreſs, think meet that I ſhould be adviſed by them, but
‘ rather by the Councel of my own Realm: Here are none of them, nor none
‘ ſuch as is thought meet that I ſhould be counſelled by; the Matter is great,
‘ it toucheth both them and me; and in ſo great a Matter, it were meet to uſe
‘ the Advice of the wiſeſt of them. I do not think it meet in ſo great a Matter
‘ to take the Counſel of private and unexpert Perſons, and ſuch as the Queen
‘ your Miſtreſs knoweth to be moſt acceptable to ſuch of my Subjects as ſhe
‘ would have me be adviſed by: I have *(quoth ſhe)* often times told you, that
‘ aſſoon as I had their Advices, I would ſend the Queen your Miſtreſs ſuch an
‘ Anſwer as ſhould be reaſonable. I am about to haſte me home as faſt as I
‘ may, to the Intent the Matter might be anſwered; and now the Queen your
‘ Miſtreſs will in nowiſe ſuffer neither me to paſs home, nor him that I ſent,
‘ into my Realm; ſo as, *Monſieur l'Ambaſſadour (quoth ſhe)* it ſeemeth the
‘ Queen your Miſtreſs will be the Cauſe why in this manner ſhe is not ſatisfied,
‘ or elſe ſhe will not be ſatisfied, but liketh to make this Matter a Quarrel ſtill
‘ betwixt us, whereof ſhe is the Author. The Queen your Miſtreſs ſaith, that
‘ I am young; ſhe might as well ſay, that I were as fooliſh as young, if I
‘ would in the State and Country that I am in, proceed to ſuch a Matter of my
‘ ſelf, without any Counſel: For that which was done by the King my late
‘ Lord and Huſband muſt not be taken to be my Act; ſo as neither in Honour,
‘ nor in Conſcience, I am bound, as you ſay I am, to perform all that I
‘ was by my Lord and Huſband commanded to do; and yet *(quoth ſhe)* I will
‘ ſay truly unto you, and as God favours me, I did never mean otherwiſe unto
‘ her than becometh me to my good Siſter and Couſin, nor meant her no more
‘ Harm than to my ſelf: God forgive them that have otherwiſe perſwaded her,
‘ if there be any ſuch. What is the Matter, pray you, *Monſieur l'Ambaſſadour*
‘ *(quoth ſhe)* that doth ſo offend the Queen your Miſtreſs, to make her thus
‘ evil affected to me? I never did her Wrong, neither in Deed nor Speech: It
‘ ſhould the leſs grieve me, if I had deſerved otherwiſe than Well; and though
‘ the World may be of divers Judgments of us and our Doings one to another,
‘ I do well know, God that is in Heaven can and will be a true Judge both
‘ of our Doings and Meanings. I anſwered, Madam, I have declared unto
‘ you my Charge commanded by the Queen my Miſtreſs, and have no more
‘ to ſay to you on her Behalf, but to know your Anſwer for the Ratification
‘ of the Treaty.

‘ The Queen anſwered, I have afore time ſhewed you, and do now tell you
‘ again, that it is not meet for to proceed in this Matter, without the Advice
‘ of the Nobles and States of mine own Realm, which I can by no means have
‘ untill I come amongſt them. You know *(quoth ſhe)* as well as I, there is
‘ none come hither ſince the Death of the King my late Huſband and Lord,
‘ but ſuch as are either come for their private Buſineſs, or ſuch as dare not tarry
‘ in *Scotland*. But I pray you, *Monſieur l'Ambaſſadour (quoth ſhe)* tell me
‘ how riſeth this ſtrange Affection in the Queen your Miſtreſs towards me?
‘ I deſire to know it, to the Intent I may reform my ſelf, if I have failed. I
‘ anſwered, Madam, I have, by the Commandment of the Queen my Miſtreſs,
‘ declared unto you the Cauſe of her Miſcontentation already: But ſeeing you
‘ ſo deſirous to hear how you may be charged with any deſerving, as one that
‘ ſpeaketh of mine own Mind, without Inſtruction, I will be ſo bold, Madam,
‘ by way of Diſcourſe, to tell you. Aſſoon as the Queen my Miſtreſs, after
‘ the Death of her Siſter, came to the Crown of *England*, you bore the Arms
‘ of *England* diverſly quartered with your own, and uſed in your Country
‘ notoriouſly the Stile and Title of the Queen my Miſtreſs, which was never
‘ by you put in Ure in Queen *Mary*'s Time: And if any thing can be more
‘ prejudicial to a Prince, than to uſurp the Title and Intereſt belonging to them,
‘ Madam, I do refer it to your own Judgment. You ſee, ſuch as be noted

1561. 'Uſurpers of other Folks States cannot patiently be born withall for ſuch Doings; much more the Queen my Miſtreſs hath Cauſe to be grieved (conſidering her undoubted and lawful Intereſt) with the Offer of ſuch Injury. *Monſieur l'Ambaſſadour (ſaid ſhe)* I was then under the Commandment of King *Henry* my Father, and of the King my Lord and Husband, and whatſoever was then done by their Order and Commandments, the ſame was in like manner continued untill both their Deaths; ſince which Time, you know, I neither bore the Arms, nor uſed the Title of *England*. Methinks *(quoth ſhe)* theſe my Doings might aſcertain the Queen your Miſtreſs, that that which was done before, was done by Commandment of them that had Power over me; and alſo in Reaſon ſhe ought to be ſatisfied, ſeeing I order my Doings as I tell you. It were no great Diſhonour to the Queen my Couſin, your Miſtreſs, though I, a Queen alſo, did bear the Arms of *England*; for I am ſure, ſome inferior to me, and that be not on every Side ſo well apparented as I am, do bear the Arms of *England*. You cannot deny *(quoth ſhe)* but that my Grandmother was the King her Father's Siſter, and (I trow) the eldeſt Siſter he had. I do aſſure you, *Monſieur l'Ambaſſadour*, and do ſpeak unto you truly as I think, I never meant nor thought matter againſt the Queen my Couſin. Indeed *(quoth ſhe)* I know what I am, and would be loth either to do others Wrong, or ſuffer too much Wrong to my ſelf: And now that I have told you my Mind plainly, I pray behave your ſelf betwixt us like a good Miniſter, whoſe Part is to make Things betwixt Princes rather better than worſe. And ſo I took my Leave of the ſaid Queen for that Time.

'The ſame Day, after this my Audience, I required Audience in like manner of the *French* King, which was aſſign'd me, on the 21ſt of this preſent, at Afternoon: At which Time I did ſet forth, as well as I could, to the Queen-Mother, the good Reaſons and juſt Occaſions, according to your Majeſtie's Inſtructions, why your Majeſtie did refuſe the Queen of *Scotland* your Safe-conduct for her free Paſſage into her Country; and declared, at good length, the Cauſes why your Majeſtie did not accommodate the ſaid Queen of *Scotland* with ſuch Favours as ſhe required in her Paſſage; not forgetting the Reaſons that moved your Majeſtie to return *Monſ. d'Oyſel* back hither again.

'The Queen-Mother anſwered, *Monſieur l'Ambaſſadour*, The King my Son and I are very ſorry to hear, that the Queen my good Siſter, your Miſtreſs, hath refuſed the Queen my Daughter free Paſſage home into her own Realm; this may be an Occaſion of further Unkindneſs betwixt them, and ſo prove to be a Cauſe and Entry into War. They are Neighbours and near Couſins, and either of them hath great Friends and Allies; ſo, as it may chance that more Unkindneſs ſhall enſue of this Matter than is to be wiſhed for, or than is meet to come to paſs. Thanks be to God *(quoth ſhe)* all the Princes of Chriſtendom are now in Peace, and it were great Pity that they ſhould not ſo continue: And where *(ſaid ſhe)* I perceive the matter of this Unkindneſs is grounded upon the Delay of Ratification of the Treaty, the Queen my Daughter hath declared unto you, That ſhe doth ſtay the ſame, untill ſhe may have the Advice of her own Subjects; wherein methinks *(ſaid ſhe)* my Daughter doth diſcreetly, for many Reſpects: And though ſhe have her Uncles here, by whom it is thought (as Reaſon is) ſhe ſhould be adviſed, yet conſidering they be Subjects and Counſellors to the King my Son, they be not the meeteſt to give her Counſel in this Matter; the Nobles and States of her own Realm would neither like it, nor allow it, that their Sovereign ſhould reſolve, without their Advice, in matter of Conſequence: Therefore, *Monſieur l'Ambaſſadour (quoth ſhe)* methinks the Queen your Miſtreſs might be ſatisfied with this Anſwer, and accommodate the Queen my Daughter, her Couſin and Neighbour, with ſuch Favour as ſhe demandeth. I anſwered, Madam, the Queen my Miſtreſs truſteth you will, upon the Rea-

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‘ſons before by me declared, as her good Siſter and Friend, interpret the Matter as favourably on her Part, as on the Queen of *Scotland*'s; and that you will alſo indifferently conſider how much it importeth my Miſtreſs, not to ſuffer a Matter ſo dangerous to her and her State, as this is, to paſs unprovided for; it ſeemeth by the many Delays which in this Matter have been uſed, after ſo many fair and ſundry Promiſes, that the Queen of *Scotland* hath not meant ſo ſincerely and plainly as the Queen my Miſtreſs hath done; for by this Time the ſaid Queen might have known the Minds of her Subjects in *Scotland*, if ſhe liked to propound the Matter unto them. There have been ſince the Death of the King your Son and her Husband, two or three Aſſemblies of the Nobles and States in *Scotland*; and this Matter was never put forth amongſt them: Hither have come out of *Scotland* many of ſundry Eſtates, and ſome that the Queen did ſend with Commiſſion thither, as the Lord of *Finlater*, to treat on her Behalf with the Eſtates of that Realm, and of other Matters; ſo as if ſhe had minded an End in this Matter of the Treaty, before this Time ſhe might have heard her Subjects Advices. Thereto the Queen-Mother ſaid, The King my Son and I would be glad to do Good betwixt the Queen my Siſter, your Miſtreſs, and the Queen my Daughter, and ſhall be glad to hear that there were good Amity betwixt them; for neither the King my Son, nor I, nor none of his Council, will do Harm in the Matter, nor ſhew our ſelves other than Friends to them both.

‘After this, I took my Leave of the ſaid Queen-Mother, and addreſſed my Speech to the King of *Navarre*; unto whom I declared, as I had done to the Queen-Mother, adding, That your Majeſtie eſteemed his Amity and Friendſhip entire; that you did not doubt of his good Acceptation of your Doings and Proceedings with the Queen of *Scotland*; and ſaid further, That for your Majeſtie's Purpoſe to have Reaſon at all Times, and in all Things, of the Queen of *Scotland*, it were better ſhe were in her own Country than here. The ſaid King conceived, that your Majeſtie needed not doubt, that the King his Sovereign would ſhew himſelf, in this Matter, more affectionate to the Queen of *Scotland*, than to you his good Siſter. And thereof he bade me aſſure your Majeſtie. Then taking my Leave of the ſaid King of *Navarre*, I went to the Conſtable, and declared unto him, as I had done unto the King of *Navarre*, on your Majeſtie's Behalf The Conſtable humbly thanked your Majeſtie, that you would communicate your Affairs with him, which argued your good Opinion of him: He ſaid, he truſted that your Expectation ſhould not be deceived of him; but would rather ſo behave himſelf towards your Majeſtie, as your good Opinion of him ſhould be increaſed. As to the Matter of the Queen of *Scotland*, he was ſorry that the Occaſions were ſuch, as your Majeſtie could not beſtow ſuch Kindneſs on her, as was meet betwixt Princes, ſo near Neighbours and Kinsfolks; but he truſted that time would repair theſe Unkindneſſes betwixt you. As for his Part, he prayeth your Majeſtie to think, that he would never give other Advice to the King his Sovereign, but ſuch as ſhould rather increaſe the good Amity betwixt both your Majeſties, than diminiſh it; and ſo prayed me to preſent his moſt humble Commendation and Service to your Majeſtie, wherewith I took my Leave of him.

‘And to the Intent I might the better decypher, whether the Queen of *Scotland* did mind to continue her Voyage, I did, the ſame 21ſt of *July* (after my former Negociations finiſhed) repair to the ſaid Queen of *Scotland*, to take my Leave of her; unto whom I then declared, That in as much as I was your Majeſtie's Ambaſſador, as well to her, for the Matters of *Scotland*, as to the *French* King, your good Brother, and hearing, by common Bruit, that ſhe minded to take her Voyage very ſhortly, I thought it my Duty to take my Leave of her, and was ſorry ſhe had not given your Majeſtie ſo good Occaſion of Amity, as that I, your Miniſter, could not convenient-

1561. ly wait upon her to her Embarquing. The ſaid Queen made Anſwer, *Monſieur l'Ambaſſadour*, If my Preparations were not ſo much advanced as they are, peradventure the Queen your Miſtreſs's Unkindneſs might ſtay my Voyage; but now I am determined to adventure the Matter, whatſoever come of it. I truſt *(quoth ſhe)* the Wind will be ſo favourable, as I ſhall not need to come on the Coaſt of *England*; and if I do, then, *Monſieur l'Ambaſſadour*, the Queen your Miſtreſs ſhall have me in her Hands to do her Will of me; and if ſhe be ſo hard-hearted as to deſire my End, ſhe may then do her Pleaſure, and make Sacrifice *(a)* of me: Peradventure that Caſualty might be better for me than to live; in this Matter *(quoth ſhe)* God's Will be fulfilled. I anſwered, She might amend all this Matter, if ſhe would, and find more Amity of your Majeſty and Realm than of any other Prince or Country. The Queen anſwered, I have (methinketh) offered and ſpoken that that might ſuffice the Queen my Siſter, if ſhe will take any thing well at my Hand: I truſt *(ſaid ſhe)* for all this, we ſhall agree better than ſome would have us; and, for my Part, I will not take all Things to the worſt. I hope alſo *(ſaid ſhe)* the Queen, my Siſter and Couſin, will do the like; whereof *(quoth ſhe)* I doubt not, if Miniſters do no Harm betwixt us. And ſo the ſaid Queen embraced me.

‘ This is the Sum of my Negociations, at theſe my laſt Audiences with the *French* King, the Queen-Mother, the King of *Navarre*, the Queen of *Scotland*, and the Conſtable; whereof I have thought meet to enlarge to your Majeſty, in ſuch ſort as the ſame paſſed and was utterred betwixt us. As far as I can perceive, the ſaid Queen of *Scotland* continueth her Voyage ſtill; and I hear that *Villageigmon* and *Octavian* have the principal Order of her ſaid Voyage *(b)*, and mean to ſail along the Coaſt of *Flanders*, and ſo to ſtrike over to the North Part of *Scotland*, as the Wind ſhall ſerve: She did once mean to uſe the Weſt Paſſage, but now ſhe dares not truſt the Duke of *Chaſtelberault*, nor the Earl of *Argyle*, and therefore dareth not to paſs by the Weſt Seas.

‘ The ſaid Queen, as I hear, deſireth to borrow of the *French* King an hundred thouſand Crowns, the ſame to be received again of her Dowry, which is twenty eight thouſand Crowns by the Year: The Queen-Mother is willing to help her; the King of *Navarre* doth not further the Matter, but ſeeketh to abridge the Sum. After I had done my Negociations at the Court, I was conſtrained to diſlodge from *Poiſey*, for the Aſſembly of the Clergy, who meet there to the End of this Moneth; and the Ambaſſadors are now appointed to lodge at *Paris*.

‘ The Queen of *Scotland* departed from St. *Germains* yeſterday, the 25th of *July*, towards her Voyage, as ſhe bruiteth it; ſhe ſendeth moſt of her Train ſtraight to *New-haven* * to embarque, and ſhe herſelf goeth ſuch a Way between both as ſhe will be at her Choice, to go to *New-haven* or to *Calice*. Upon the ſuddain, what ſhe will do, or where ſhe will embarque, ſhe will be acknown to never a *Scotch-man*, and but to few *French*: And, for all theſe Shews and Boaſts, ſome think ſhe will not go at all; and yet all her Stuff is ſent down to the Sea, and none other Bruit in her Houſe but of her haſty going. If it would pleaſe your Majeſtie, to cauſe ſome to be ſent privily to all the Ports on this Side, the Certainty ſhall be better known to your Majeſtie that way, by the laying of her Veſſels, than I can advertiſe it hence. She hath ſaid, that at her coming into *Scotland*, ſhe will forthwith rid the Realm of all the *Engliſh-men* there, namely of your Majeſtie's Agent there *(c)*; and forbid mutual Traffick with your Majeſtie's Subjects. If ſhe make the Haſte

* i. e. *Havre de Grace.*

(a) In this the poor Queen preſages but too truly; for ſuch was indeed her Fate, ſeveral Years after.

(b) *Monſ. Brântome* aſſures us, that the Galley in which the Queen ſailed, was commanded by one *Meuillon*, and that the Captain of the other Galley was one *Albize*. Beſides, we know that her Majeſty's Uncle the Grand Prior, and General of all the Galleys of *France*, ſailed with her to *Scotland*.

(c) This is ſtill a farther Proof, that Mr. *Randolph* was now in *Scotland*, trafficking for his Miſtreſs with our Queen's Subjects.

'Haſte to embarque that ſhe ſeemeth to do, ſhe will be almoſt ready to embarque by that time this ſhall come to your Majeſtie's Hands. Two or three Days ago the *French* King was troubled with a Pain in his Head, and the ſame beginneth to break from him, by bleeding at the Noſe, and running at his Ear: It is taken to be the ſame Diſeaſe in his Head whereof his Brother died; but by voiding it (which the other could not do, that Organ being ſtopped) this King is well amended.

'At the Diſpatch hereof, the King of *Navarre* was diſquieted by a Flux and a Vomit, and the Queen-Mother with a Fever. I hear that in *Gaſcoigny* the People ſtir apace for Religion (as they do in many other Places) and being there aſſembled, to the Number of four thouſand, have entred a Town, thrown down the Images, and put out the Prieſts, and will ſuffer no Maſs to be ſaid there.

'My Lord of *Leviſton* being ready to go homewards into *Scotland* through *England*, went to the Queen of *Scotland* for her Leave ſo to do; but ſhe hath commanded him to tarry and wait on her, and to meet her at *Abbeville*, without letting him know any thing elſe: He, in doubt what ſhe will do, is content to expect her coming thither, and to do then as ſhe ſhall command him; and ſeeing no Likelihood of her ſhort paſſing (which, he ſaith, is uncertain) but that ſhe will go to *Calice*, there to hover, and hearken what your Majeſtie doth to ſtop her, and according thereunto to go or ſtay. He mindeth to get him home: He hath required my Letters of Recommendations to your Majeſtie's Officers, at his landing in *England*; which, for his good Devotion towards your Majeſtie, and for that he is one that wiſheth the ſame well, I have not refuſed him; and ſo I humbly beſeech your Majeſtie's good Favour towards him, at his coming to your Majeſtie for his Paſſport. Here is a Bruit, that the *Turk* is greatly impeached, both by a ſort of *Jews* within his own Country, and alſo by the *Sophy*. And thus I pray God long to preſerve your Majeſtie in Health, Honour, and all Felicity.

Your Majeſtie's moſt humble and moſt
obedient Subject and Servant,

Paris, July 26.
1561.

N. THROKMORTON.

Our Queen ſends for and confers with the *Engliſh* Miniſter at *Abbeville*.

Our Queen having ſet forth toward the Sea-Coaſt, in order to her Embarkation, was pleaſed, according to Mr. *Cambden*, to ſend for this Miniſter to *Abbeville* (a Town about half-way betwixt *Paris* and *Calais*) where ſhe talked to him again, concerning the Methods whereby ſhe might ſatisfy his Royal Miſtreſs: But ſince I have met with no original Paper that gives an Account of this Conference, I muſt leave my Readers to take an Abſtract of it from this Author. He tells us then, that our Queen mildly demanded of him, *By what Methods ſhe might ſatisfy his Royal Miſtreſs? By confirming,* returns he, *the Treaty of* Edinburgh, *as I have more than once told your Majeſtie.* To which ſhe replied, *I deſire you to hear me, and then judge whether they be not very cogent Reaſons, which the Queen takes for vain Excuſes and Delays. The* I. *Article in that Treaty, for confirming the Truce at* Cambray, *does not in the leaſt concern me. The* II. *which relates to ſigning the Treaty there made, between the* Engliſh *and* Scots, *was ratified by my Husband and my ſelf, and cannot be repeated, unleſs in my Name only, whereas my Husband is expreſly nam'd therein. The* III. IV. *and* V. *Articles are already anſwered and fulfilled; for there are no farther warlike Preparations; the* French *Garriſons are remanded from* Scotland; *the Fort at* Aimouth *is razed to the Ground; I have, ſince my Husband's Death quitted the Arms and Title of* England: *To raze and ſtrike them out of all the Moveables, Buildings, and Charters in* France, *is a Thing no way in my*

1561. *Power: and 'tis more than I can do, to ſend back the Biſhop of* Valence *and* Randan, *who are no Subjects of mine, into* England, *to appear at a Conference about the* VI. *Article. As for the* Laſt *Article, I hope my Rebel Subjects will not complain of any great Severity toward them. But ſhe, I perceive, deſigns to prevent any Proofs I might ſhow of a merciful Diſpoſition towards them, by reſolving to hinder my Return. What is there now behind in this Treaty, that can any way prejudice the Affairs of your Miſtreſs? Nevertheleſs, to give her the fulleſt Satisfaction I can, I deſign to write to her about theſe Matters with my own Hand, tho' ſhe would not vouchſafe me an Anſwer but by her Secretary. But I would adviſe you who are an Ambaſſador, to act ſuitably to that Character; I mean, rather to qualify and compoſe Matters, than to aggravate and make them worſe (a).*

This, according to Mr. *Cambden*, was the Subſtance of our Queen's Conference at this Time with Sir *Nicholas Throkmorton:* But he remarks that the ſame " had not the deſired Effect on Queen *Elizabeth*, who could not ſo ea-" ſily forget the Uſurpation of her Arms and Title; and he adds, that ſhe be-" gan to be ſomething uneaſy, leſt ſhe [the Queen of *Scots*] ſhould aſſume " them a ſecond Time, were ſhe not bound by a ſolemn Oath and ſigning of " the Treaty, to forbear the Encroachment." Certainly there is no Doubt to be made, that this was the very Point which touched the Queen of *England* ſo ſharply, and which obliged her to preſs our Queen ſo much both *now* and *afterwards*, to ratify the Treaty of *Edinburgh*. And as little Doubt is there, that the ſame was the Point which our Queen wanted by all Means to evade, and which made her late Huſband likewiſe, the King of *France*, refuſe to confirm the Treaty: And whatever Pretexts either he or our Queen might offer for their Refuſal or Delay, yet this was ſtill the true Difficulty at the bottom. The Queen of *England* was too ſenſible of the Note of *Illegitimacy* imputed to her Birth, not to foreſee that the Queen of *Scots* would be ever ſupported as the lineal and righteous Heir of the Crown of *England*, by all her particular Fautors and the *Roman* Catholick Princes. For obviating hereof, the *Engliſh* Commiſſioners in the late Treaty, had ſo blinded the *French* Plenipotentiaries, as to get it engroſs'd in the ſame (*Numb* VI.) That the King and Queen of *France* and *Scotland* ſhould abſtain *in all Times coming* from uſing the Title and Arms of *England:* An Article which our Queen had no Mind to ratify. She was eaſily perſwaded to abſtain from uſing *theſe* for the *preſent*; but ſhe could not think to oblige herſelf *never hereafter* to uſe them. But the *Firſt* was not ſatisfactory to Queen *Elizabeth*; and therefore ſhe always continued to demand the *Second*. And ſo this *Demand* on the one Side, and *Refuſal* on the other, was the true Fountain, as I have already noticed, from whence did iſſue all the ſecret Animoſities and open Differences which afterwards appeared betwixt theſe two Queens.

The true Ground why her Majeſty delayed the Ratification of the Treaty of *Edinburgh*, & conſequently of the Variance between her and the Queen of *England*.

A Squadron of *Engliſh* Ships ſent to intercept our Queen.

The Ground of our Queen's ſending for Sir *Nicholas Throkmorton* while ſhe was on her Journey to the Sea-coaſt, would appear to have been, that her Majeſty was ſtill apprehenſive leſt by ſome Accident or other, by Fraud or by Force, ſhe might fall into the Hands of the Queen of *England:* And truly the Event proved that ſhe had but too good Ground for her Suſpicion, ſince 'tis an undoubted Fact *(b)* that a Squadron of *Engliſh* Ships was at that Time ſent

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(*a*) The Readers having now peruſed ſeveral original Conferences, *&c.* betwixt the Queen of *Scots* and the *Engliſh* Miniſter, relating to this Point of the Ratification, will, I ſuppoſe, clearly diſcern the fine Spirit and Genius of that Princeſs, who was yet but in the Nineteenth Year of her Age; and diſcover likewiſe what Sentiments her Majeſty then entertained, both of the Queen of *England* and of her own Subjects; namely, that the one ſupported Rebellion in a neighbouring Country, and that the other were ſtill Rebels in her Eſtimation.

(*b*) The *Engliſh* Hiſtorian *Holinſhed*, who lived in the Time, ſays, " The Queen of *England* ſet forth ſome of her great Ships " to the Seas." And *Buchanan*, " The *Engliſh* Queen had prepared a great Fleet, *claſſem ſatis amplam*." 'Tis true, the Queen of *England* in her Letter, to be inſert a little after this, diminiſhes the Matter as far as ſhe can: But let Sir *Nicholas Throkmorton's* preceeding Letter, and the Acknowledgment of the Hiſtorians of both Nations, be all laid together; and then the Readers may be able to form a pretty exact Judgment concerning the Intention of theſe Ships, which allowing them to have been but *ſmall*, (as the *Engliſh* Queen ſays) might for all that have been an Over-match for our Queen's two Galleys: And Q. *Elizabeth* was very well appriſed of the weak Force that conducted her Couſin homeward.

ſent out to Sea; and the Hiſtorians of both Nations make little Scruple to inſinuate, that whatever was pretended, the real Deſign was to have intercepted our Queen's Paſſage. Tho' Mr. *Cambden*, when writing of this particular Point, may appear ſomewhat too heavy in the Charge he lays to Lord *James* our Queen's baſtard Brother, and to Mr. *Maitland* of *Lethington*; yet when this laſt named Gentleman's Letter of the 10th of *Auguſt* this Year is peruſed *(a)*, perhaps the Readers may alter their Mind into Favour of this Author's Repreſentations. And I will take the Freedom to declare here once for all, that upon due Search it will be found, that Mr. *Cambden*'s Narrations are more conformable to original Letters and Records, than theſe of any other Author that treats of our *Scottiſh* Affairs. A *French* Gentleman, who was lately employed in compiling a very partial Hiſtory, ſo far as concerns the *Scottiſh* Affairs of this Period, labours what he can to diſcredit Mr. *Cambden*'s Narrations, as being unſupported by Authorities: In which Attempt he has only diſcovered his own Unacquaintedneſs with our Records, and affected Malice againſt Mr. *Cambden*; in the firſt whereof that Foreigner may be eaſily pardoned, tho' not in the other. If Mr. *Cambden* has not always produced his Authorities, *that* did not proceed from his want of Authorities, but becauſe the laudable Practice of inſerting Authorities at full length, was not introduced in his Days.

A ſhort Account of her Progreſs and Voyage.

After this ſhort Digreſſion which I have made merely for the ſake of Truth, I reckon it may not be unacceptable to ſhut up this tedious Chapter with a ſhort Account of our Queen's Journey and Voyage homeward; ſince I have obſerved, that the ſmalleſt Particulars relating to Princes, are received with abundance of Satisfaction. Our Sovereign left the City of *Paris* on the 21ſt Day of *July*, accompanied to the Village and Palace of St. *Germains* by the King of *France* and the Queen-Mother, the Duke of *Anjou* Brother to the King; the King of *Navar*, and a great many other Perſons of the firſt Rank. After ſome Days ſtay there, the Family of *France* took Leave of her Majeſty; and ſhe ſet forward about the 25th of the Month, attended by her ſix Uncles, *viz.* the Duke of *Guiſe*, the Cardinals of *Lorrain* and *Guiſe*, the Duke *d'Aumale*, the Marquis *d'Elbeuf*, and the Grand Prior, who was likewiſe General of the *French* Galleys; the Duke *de Nemours*, *Monſ. Danville*, and other Nobles of both Sexes, who all conveyed her to *Calais*; in which Port were two Galleys *(b)* ready to attend her Majeſty, and two other Veſſels for Carriage. In this Town ſhe remained the Space of ſix Days *(c)*, and then embarked in one of the Galleys. All that Day the Queen ceaſed not to direct her Eyes toward the Shore of *France*, until the Darkneſs intercepted her View. At Night ſhe ordered a Couch to be ſpread for her under the open Air, and charged the Pilot to awaken her how ſoon the Morning Light ſhould advance, if the Land of *France* were ſtill in View. It chanced there was a Calm in the Nighttime; ſo the Ships having made but little Way, her Majeſty had the Pleaſure once more to behold the *French* Coaſt: Whereupon ſhe ſate up in the Bed, and ſtill looked to the Land, often repeating theſe Words, *Farewell France, Farewell, I ſhall never ſee you more!* The Wind afterward proving favourable, and the Weather foggy *(d)*, her Majeſty had, by the Divine Providence

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(a) See it in the Appendix, Numb. 3.

(b) *Meſſieurs de Caſtelnau* and *Brantôme*, who were both of the Queen's Retinue, and accompanied her into *Scotland*, tell us, that theſe two Galleys had Orders to repair to *Calais* from *Nantes*, whither they had arrived the Year before, from the Port of *Marſeilles*, with ſome other Galleys under the Command of the Grand-Prior; with an Intention to have brought Aſſiſtance to the Queen Regent, at the Time that *Leith* was beſieged. But they met with ſo much bad Weather, that the Capitulation, or Treaty of *Edinburgh*, was ſigned, before they arrived at *Nantes*.

(c) So ſays expreſly *Monſ. Brantôme*. But Bp. *Leſlie*, who was likewiſe in the Queen's Company, ſays, her Majeſty arrived at *Calais* on or about the 15th of *Auguſt*; in which Event, ſhe muſt have embark'd the ſame or next Day after her Arrival in that Town.

(d) Bp. *Leſlie* and *Monſ. Brantôme*, who were both in the Ship with the Queen, affirm moſt expreſly that there was a Fog: Why then ſhould *Rapin Thoyras* ſeem to make a Doubt thereof? If his Doubt be only concerning the Queen's Eſcape by means of the Fog; it may be ſaid that Conjecture is founded on very violent Preſumptions.

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and her ſafe Arrival.

dence (*a*), the good Fortune to eſcape the *Engliſh* Ships, and to land ſafe at the Port of *Leith* in *Scotland*, about Seven a-clock in the Morning on the —— Day (*b*) of *Auguſt*, in the Year 1561. One Ship however, in which was the Earl of *Eglinton*, was taken by the *Engliſh* Ships, and carried into their Ports; but was ſoon after ſet at Liberty, becauſe, as may be rationally ſuppoſed, they had fail'd of their principal Aim.

CHAP. II.

A Continuation of State-Affairs, from the Queen's Arrival in Scotland *in the Month of* Auguſt 1561, *till the Beginning of the Year* 1561-2.

THE Ships that convoy'd *MARY STEWART* the Queen-Dowager of *France*, from that Kingdom into her own hereditary Kingdom of *Scotland*, being arrived in the Road of *Leith*, and having given the Signal of the Arrival of her Royal Perſon, by a Diſcharge of their Guns; the People immediately flock'd to the Shore. The only Perſons of Diſtinction that came along with her Majeſty, were three of her Uncles, *viz.* the Duke *d'Aumale*, the Grand-Prior, and the Marquis *d'Elbeuf*; and beſides theſe, *Monſ. Danville* Son and Heir to the Great Conſtable *Montmorency*, and then a Mariſchal of *France*, *Meſſieurs de Stroſſy*, *la Noue*, *la Guiche*, and other Gentlemen of inferior Note. She brought along with her many precious Jewels; and in the Month of *October* arrived the Hangings and other Furniture of her Houſe. Such of the Nobility as were at *Edinburgh*, repaired in all Haſte to kiſs her Majeſty's Hands, and welcome her into her antient and hereditary Kingdom (*c*). The Queen repoſed herſelf in the Town of *Leith* 'till the Evening of that Day ſhe arrived; and then her Majeſty went up to her Palace of *Holy-rood-houſe*, where all Demonſtrations of Joy did quickly appear. The People reſorted thither immediately, and received her with Bonefires, Muſick and Dancing; and ſo univerſal a Mirth was ſeen in the Faces of all her Subjects, that ſhe appeared extremely ſatisfied with her Reception. Mr. *Buchanan* makes hereupon a very handſome Recapitulation of her Majeſty's continued Miſfortunes from her youngeſt Infancy, and theſe he looks upon to be ſufficient Grounds now for the Joy of her People upon her Arrival; and then he adds, "Furthermore, beſides the Variety of her Dangers, the Excellency of her Mien, the Delicacy of her Beauty, the Vigour of her blooming Years, and the Elegancy of her Wit, all theſe join'd in her Recommendation" (*d*). But this Writer cloſes all theſe good Words with ſuch

The Queen meets with a very kind Reception at home.

(*a*) *Buchanan* calls this Miſt an Effect of God's Providence, or *good Fortune* at leaſt. But *Knox* terms it the Effect of God's Diſpleaſure. Men will never be of one Mind.

(*b*) Mr. *Knox* fixes the Queen's Arrival on the 19th, *Buchanan* on the 21ſt, *Spottiſwood* and *Calderwood* on the 20th, and Bp. *Leſlie*, I ſhould reckon, places it likewiſe on the 20th; for his Words are, *ad 18 Kal. Septemb. Caletum pervenit —— ac proſpera navigatione ſexto die ad Lethi portum appulit. Caſtelnau* ſays, *le huitieme jour aprés ſon embarquement elle arriva.* Perhaps this Gentleman *includes*, and Bp. *Leſlie excludes* both the Day of the Queen's Embarkation and Arrival. By *Brantôme*'s Words one might conſtruct, that the Queen arrived on a *Tueſday*; which Day of the Week was certainly the 19th Day of the Month that Year: He ſays, *Faut noter qu' un jour avant, un Dimanche matin, que nous arrivames en Eſcoſſe, il s' eleva un ſi grand brouillard, que nous ne pouvions pas voir depuis la poupe juſques à la proue —— ce brouillard dura tout le long d'un jour, & toute la nuit juſques au lendemain matin à huit heures —— ayant donc reconnu & veu le matin de ce brouillard levé le terrein d'Eſcoſſe —— nous allâmes entrer & prendre terre.*

(*c*) Bp. *Leſlie* mentions the Duke, the Earls of *Huntly*, *Athole*, *Crawford*, *Mariſchal*, *Rothes*, and many other Barons and Gentlemen: But theſe Noblemen were not all preſent at firſt.

(*d*) *Mezeray*, the *French* Hiſtorian, ſays thus of her Majeſty, "Nature had beſtowed upon her every thing that is neceſſary to form a complete Beauty. And beſides this, ſhe had a moſt agreeable Turn of Mind, a ready Memory, and a very lively Imagination. All theſe good-natural Qualities ſhe took Care likewiſe to embelliſh, by the Study of the liberal Arts and Sciences, eſpecially Painting, Muſick and Poetry; inſomuch that ſhe appeared to be the moſt amiable Princeſs in Chriſtendom." And *Caſtelnau* in his *Memoirs* tells, "That when he returned firſt into *Scotland*, to propoſe to our Queen a Marriage with the Duke of *Anjou* he found her Majeſty in the Flower of her Age, eſteemed and adored by her Subjects; and that ſhe was endowed with ſuch Excellencies, and with greater Perfections of Beauty than any other Princeſs of her Time."

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ſuch ſarcaſtic Reflections, as do ſufficiently diſcover both the Temper and Deſign of the Man. He praiſed her much, that he might diſpraiſe her the more.

On the 22d of *Auguſt* 1561, I find an Indenture entred into by the Wardens of the Weſtern Marches of the reſpective Kingdoms (*a*).

The Queen of *England* congratulates our Queen upon her Arrival.

Immediately after our Queen's Arrival, her Couſin the Queen of *England* omitted not to congratulate her Majeſty, and to give her formal Aſſurances, that ſhe had not in the leaſt attempted to intercept her paſſing into her own Kingdom; but forgot not at the ſame time, to inſiſt ſtrongly on the Ratification of the Treaty of *Edinburgh*. The Queen of *England*'s Letter was delivered by Mr. *Randolph*, who had been in *Scotland* for ſome time before our Queen's Arrival, probably ſince the Time he was ſent hither with the above mentioned Commiſſion to the Eſtates, 20th *March* bypaſt. This Gentleman received now a publick Character from his Miſtreſs to negotiate her Affairs with our Queen, and in that Character he did reſide here in *Scotland* for a conſiderable Space thereafter: And a great many of his Letters tranſmitted from this Kingdom to his own Queen and the Secretary of *England*, being ſtill on Record, I ſhall often take Occaſion to make uſe of them, not only as being a ſure Foundation of intervening Facts, but moreover as containing ſundry Particulars relating to our *Scottiſh* Affairs, which are no where elſe to be met with. Mr. *Buchanan* has taken notice, that Mr. *Maitland* of *Lethington*, the *Scottiſh* Secretary, was ſent into *England* not long after our Queen's Return; and that he carried Letters both from our Queen and from the Nobility of *Scotland*, the general Contents whereof he deſcribes exactly enough. But I may preſume my Readers will be better ſatisfied with a diſtinct Knowledge of the publick Tranſactions of that Time from original Papers, ſo far as they are come to our Hands.

Queen of England *to the Queen of* Scotland (*b*).

Letter by the *Engliſh* to the *Scottiſh* Queen.

'——for the Refuſall quhairof we——ſpecially conſidering we covet nothing but that quhilk is in zour Power as Quene of *Scotland*; That quhilk zour ſelf in Wordis and Speache dois confeſſe; That quhilk zour——Huſbandis our gude Brotheris Ambaſſadoris and zouris concludit; That quhairunto zour awin Nobilite and People war made privie; That quhilkis in Dede maid the Peax and Quietneſſe betwix us; yea yat without quhilk na perfite Amytie can continew betwix us, as giff it be indifferently weyed, we doubt nocht bot ze will perceve, allow and accompliſh. As for uther Partes of the Treaty that concernit zour late Husband as *Frenche* King, we regard nocht; only we require to have the Treaty ratified be zow, and that to be takin of ſik Force as ſall concerne zou. Nevertheleſs perceaving be the Report of the Bringar, That ze mean furthwith upon zour cumming hame to follow heirin the Adviſs of zour Counſall in *Scotland* (*c*), and yairwith to procede to the Ratification; we are content to ſuſpend our Concept of all Unkindneſſes hitherto be yis Delay offerd unto us, and ar reſolvit upon this, being as it aucht to be performit, to leif in Nychbourhead with zou as quietly, friendly, zea, as aſſuredly in the Knot of Freindſchip, as we be already in the Knot of Nature and Bloode; and herein we will ſa determyne with ourſelf, that the Warld ſall ſee gif the contrary ſuld follow (quhilk God forbid) the verie Occaſioun to be in zou, and nocht in us. Finalie, quhair it ſemis that Report hes bene maid unto zou, That we had ſent our Admirall to the Seas with our Navy, to empeſche zour Paſſage; both zour Servandis heir do welle underſtand how fals that Report wes, conſidering for a Trewth that

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(*a*) See Appendix, Numb. 4.

(*b*) Shatter'd MS. a Copy.

(*c*) It would appear by this, and other Expreſſions in this Letter, that perhaps it had been conveyed to our Queen by the Hands of the Abbot of St. *Colm*'s *Inch*, who, according to Mr. *Holinſhed*, was ſent into *England* to deſire a Safe-conduct, after it had been heard in *France* that ſome large Ships were ſet forth to the Sea: And by the Tenor of it, this Letter ſeems to have been written at a Time when our Queen might be on her Way homeward, but not yet actually arrived at home.

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'we have nocht—mo nor twa or thre ſmall Barkis upon the Seyis to apprehend certaine Pyrattis, being thairto intrettit and in a manner compellit be the earneſt——of the Ambaſſador of our gude Bruther the King of *Spaine*, maid to us of certaine zour Subjectis *Scotiſhmen*, hanting our Seyis as Pyrattis; under Pretens of Letters of Marque. Of quhilk Matir alſo we earneſtlie require zou now at zour cummyng to zour Realme, to have ſume gude Conſideratioun; the rather for——

Another Letter from the Queen of England *to the Queen of* Scotland, *25th* Auguſt *(a)*.

Another Letter from the ſame to the ſame.

'RIcht excellent, Richt heich and michtie Princeſs, our Richt deir and Richt weil-belovit Couſin and Siſter, we grete zow wele: Our gude Brother the King of *Spaine* hes at ſundrie Tymis, now of lait advertiſt ws, That nocht onlie the Subjectis of the King of *Portingall*, bot alſo his awin alſwele of *Spaine* as of his laich Cuntreis, be from Tyme to Tyme ſore ſpoylit upon the Sey be certaine Pyrattis, quhairof ſum beir the Name of *Ingliſhmen*, and the moir pert of *Scotismen*, hanting owr Seyis towertis baith the Sowth and the North. The ſame Complaint wes alſo in this laſt Moneth of *July* ſo erneſtlie renewit be his Ambaſſador heir Reſident with ws, yat he addit yairto, Gif owr Seyis wer nocht according to the Leagis betwene him and ws, bettir preſervit from ſic frequent Rubberys and Pyracys, his Maſter muſt be forcit for the Ayd of his Subjectis to arme ſum Power to the Seyis. Upon quhilk Mattir ſo erneſtlie ſet furth, altho we had be certaine new Orderis newly publiſſit in all owr Portis providit——require zow to haif ſum gude Regairde thairto.' And that the Occaſioun of the Cullor of yaime in that Cuntrie may be redreſſit, quhilk is a Pretence of a Letter of Marque. And for that owr Servandis being now on the Seyis inform ws, That amangis otheris of owr Subjectis being notable Pyrattis, reſyde thair in yat Realme; that is to ſay, one namit *Marychurche*, ane other namit *John Quhitheid*, a third callit *Johnſton*, with thair Complices: We erneſtlie deſyre zow, that owr truſty and wele belovit Servande *Thomas Randulphe* now being appoyntit to preſent yis owr Lettere to zowr Handis, may ſolicite the Delivery of the ſaids Pyrattis unto him in Saiftie, and yat he may haif zour Favour and Ayd to procure thame to be ſaulſlie without Reſcuſſe conductit to owr Toun of *Berwick*; and in this and ony uther thing quhilk we ſall direct to zow be owr ſaid Servande, we require zow to give him firme Credyt on owr Behalf. And thus richt heich and michtie Princeſs, owr deire Siſter and Couſin, owr Lord have zow in his bleſſit Keping. Given under owr Signet att owr Mannor of *Leighes*, in owr Cuntrie of *Eſſex*, the xxvth Day of *Auguſt*, in the third Zeir of owr Reign.

Zour gude Siſter and Couſin,

ELIZABETH R.

A Letter from Mr. Randolph, *To the Queen of* England, *6th* September 1561 *(b)*.

May it pleaſe your Majeſtie,

Letter from the *Engliſh* Miniſter to his own Queen.

'THE 1ſt of this inſtant, in the Morning, I received your Majeſtie's Letters *(c)* unto the Queen's Grace here. I gave Knowledge incontinent thereof to the Lord *James*, and deſir'd that I might know from his Lordſhip when her Pleaſure ſhould be that I ſhould attend upon her Majeſtie.

(a) Shatter'd MS. a Copy.
(b) *Cotton* Library, an Original.
(c) That is the Letter which is here above, dated the 25th *Auguſt*.

‘ I received Anſwer, that her Will was to ſpeak with me that Day at Four of
‘ the Clock. At the Hour appointed I was ſent for by the Laird of *Pitar-*
‘ *row*, and brought unto the Preſence by the Lord *James*. After that I had
‘ preſented your Majeſtie's Commendations, and ſomething ſaid as I thought
‘ fit for the Time, wherein I would that her Grace ſhould underſtand how hap-
‘ py that Country was, that after ſo long Abſence had at length received their
‘ natural Prince, wiſhing her a proſperous Reign, and of long Continuance,
‘ with due Obedience of her Subjects: I delivered your Majeſtie's Letters,
‘ which ſhe did read herſelf to the End, and in ſuch Places where ſhe was
‘ not acquainted, either with the Hand or Terms, ſhe uſed me.

‘ After ſhe had conſidered the Contents thereof, it pleaſed her thus to ſay,
‘ *I muſt needs accept in very good Part the Queen your Miſtreſs, my dear*
‘ *Siſter's Commendations, and am glad that ſhe is in good Health, as I truſt*
‘ *ſhe is of mine, which you ſee in what Caſe it is. For that you rejoyce in*
‘ *my Return, and wiſh me ſo well; I thank you heartily, and truſt that*
‘ *I ſhall find none other Occaſion of my Subjects but as loving and obedient,*
‘ *and I towards them a good Princeſs. Touching the Queen your Miſtreſs's*
‘ *Letters, becauſe I am unacquainted with the Matter, I will talk with*
‘ *my Council, and ſpeak with you again.* There were then preſent of her
‘ Majeſtie's Council, the Earl of *Huntly*, the Earl *Mariſchal*, the Earl of
‘ *Athole*, and Lord *James*. After ſome Conference had with them, ſhe ſaith
‘ unto me again thus, *I have heard the Opinion of theſe whom you ſee pre-*
‘ *ſent of my Council, who tell me, That they have at other Times done ſome-*
‘ *what concerning the ſame Matter that the Queen my Siſter writes of; and*
‘ *I, for my Part, do promiſe, and will write the ſame unto the Queen your*
‘ *Miſtreſs, That they of whom ſhe writes in her Letter, nor no other Pi-*
‘ *rates, ſhall have Support or Refuge within my Realm, but that I will do*
‘ *my Endeavour, to the uttermoſt, to have ſuch as are here to be apprehended,*
‘ *as well my own Subjects as thoſe of* England; *for that I know it my Part*
‘ *ſo to do, and am willing thereunto.* And preſently in my Hearing gave
‘ Commandment to the Juſtice-Clerk to make Inquiſition through the whole
‘ Country for ſuch Offenders *(a)*.

‘ After that I had received this Anſwer of her Majeſtie, ſhe required me,
‘ within a Day or two, to come again for her Letters unto your Highneſs;
‘ which your Majeſtie ſhall herewith receive *(b)*. She ſpake nothing to me
‘ at any Time of my tarrying here, but after my Departure told my Lord
‘ *James*, ſhe *perceived that your Mind was, that I ſhould remain here.*
‘ And after ſome Words, both in Earneſt and Mirth, had between them of
‘ my Doings here in Times paſt *(c)*; *Well*, ſaith ſhe, *I am content that he*
‘ *tarry; but I'll have another there as crafty as he (d)*. I threatned upon
‘ the Lord *James*, that theſe Words were rather his than her Majeſtie's: But
‘ however it be, there is one preſently of hers with your Majeſtie that can play
‘ his Part with Craft enough.

‘ The *Thurſday* after, *viz.* the 4th of this Month, I preſented my ſelf
‘ unto her Grace for her Letters; ſhe willed the Lord *James* to put her in
‘ Remembrance of them, and me to return the Morrow. At my being with
‘ her the next Day, ſhe ſaith unto me, That *her Secretary ſhall bring you*
‘ *the Letters unto your Miſtreſs; and I pray you let her know from me,*
‘ *that I deſire heartily that we may live together like good Friends and*
‘ *Neighbours; and that for her Part ſhe deſireth nothing but Peace and*
‘ *Amity, whereunto ſhe ſeeth her People ſo inclined, that ſhe is glad thereof.*
‘ I anſwered again, That I doubted not but when your Majeſtie ſhould under-

‘ ſtand

(*a*) On the 8th *September*, after her Majeſty had ſettled a regular Council; the Letters of Marque, given by her moſt noble Progenitors againſt the *Portugueſe*, are called in.

(*b*) The ſaid Letter ſhall be here likewiſe ſubjoined.

(*c*) By the firſt Words of this Letter, as well as by theſe, we know for certain that Mr. *Randolph* muſt have been in *Scotland* at the Time the Queen arrived.

(*d*) Meaning Mr. *Maitland* the Secretary.

1561. ſtand her good Inclination to ſo godly a Purpoſe, as to ſeek Amity where great and ancient Debates have been, ſhe ſhould find your Majeſtie ready to condeſcend to any Reaſon that might be offered. The ready way thereunto was, not lightly, nor at the firſt Report, to give Credit to every Tale that ſhould be brought unto her Majeſtie's Ears, by ſuch as had been ever and would ever be Sowers of Diſcord between the Princes of theſe two Realms, who for Gain and Lucre were content to betray the whole World. This I ſpake, becauſe *Sarlabas (a)*, not two Nights before, told her Grace, That there were above 50 of your Majeſtie's Ships upon the Seas, and that the Lord *Gray* was coming towards *Berwick* with 10000 Soldiers, and that it were good to take heed to *Heymouth* and *Dunbar*. She lik'd very well this Motion, and willed to aſſure your Majeſtie that it ſhould be well obſerved. I received alſo for my ſelf good Words, and alſo from her Uncles. I ſhewed the Grand Prior and *Monſ. Danville* of their Paſs-ports, as your Majeſtie commanded me. This was the Effect of my Doings with her Majeſtie for this preſent. Touching the Treaty *(b)*, I had no Purpoſe with her Majeſtie, becauſe of the L. of *Lidington*'s being with your Highneſs *(c)*. With others I have ſomewhat talk'd; they doubt not but Things will ſucceed unto your Majeſtie's Contentation. I am given to believe that her Meaning is as her Words are.

'I truſt that it ſhall be a ſufficient Declaration of my Duty unto your Majeſtie, faithfully to ſet forth your Majeſtie's Commandments, and truly to report of Things as I do hear and find, leaving unto your Majeſtie's Wiſdom the Judgment thereof. What other Things there are preſently to be known from hence, I will rather write unto Mr. Secretary than trouble your Majeſtie any further. The Lord God preſerve your Majeſtie long in Health, to the Increaſe of whatſoever will ſtand with his Will to your Joy, and Comfort of your Majeſtie's Subjects. At *Edinburgh* the 6th of *September* 1561.

Your Highneſs's moſt humble
and obedient Servant,

THO. RANDOLPHE.

Letter, Queen Mary *to Queen* Elizabeth, *6th* September 1561 *(d)*.

Letter from the *Scottiſh* to the *Engliſh* Queen.

“Richt excellent, Richt heich and michtie Princeſs, our Richt deir and Richt wele belovit Siſter and Couſing, we grete zow hartlie: Wele belovit, We have reſſavit zour Lettere frae zowr Servand *Thomas Randolphe*——daitit at zowr Mannor of *Leighes* the xxv. of *Auguſt* laſt——that oure gude Bruther the King of *Spaine* hes ſend zow ſundrie Advertiſements, that nocht only the Subjectis of *Portugall*——ſa to convene oure Liegis undir ane Obedience, yat nane have juſt Cauſe of yame to compleyn; and quhare as ye deſire the apprehending of certain zowr Subjectis, namyt *Marychurch*, ane *Quhiteheid*, and ane *Johnſton*, as being heir, and delivering of thame——ſaid Servand *Thomas Randolphe:* We have givin ſtrait Charge to ſherche and ſeke thame quhairever thay can be fund within oure Realme; and being apprehendit, ſall ſatisfie zowr Deſyr in that Behalf: For we haif commandit, that na Pyrattis of quhatſumevir Natioun thaye be of, nocht avowit be yair awin Prince, ſall be harbryt, reſet, ſupportit or aydit within any our Portis and Havynis, or yat ony of oure Subjectis be ſa bald as

“ to

(*a*) He was the chief Commander of the few *French* Soldiers who were left in *Scotland*.

(*b*) That is, the Treaty of *Edinburgh*.

(*c*) This ſhews that Secretary *Maitland* has been ſent into *England*, immediately after Mr. *Randolph* had delivered his Queen's Letter, on the 1ſt Day of *September*; according as our Queen had ſaid, That *ſhe would have a crafty Perſon in* England.

(*d*) Shatter'd MS. a Copy.

1561.

“to buy and ſell with thame; bot that thair Schippis and Gudis be with all Spede arreiſtit, and yair Perſonis preſentit to our Juſtice, to ſuffer for yair Demerits. Aſſuring zow, deireſt Siſter, that likeas we meane in the Preſenſe of God nawiſs to gif Libertie to ſic Tranſgreſſouris to offend, evin ſa be God's Permiſſion ſall we mak Demonſtratioun of our juſt Intentioun, be outwart Executioun and Puniſchment of all ſic Rubberis, as heireſtir ſall happin to cum in our Handis. Sa yat on our Part nathing ſall be permittit, that to the Office of Amytie and interteinyng of Criſtian Peax and publick Tranquillitie apertenis, as fordir we have declarit unto zour ſaid Servand. Thus, Richt excellent, Richt heich and michtie Princes, our Richt deir and Richt weil belowit Siſter and Couſin, We commit zow to the Protectioun of Almichtie God. Gevin undir our Signet at our Palace of *Haly-rudhouſe* the ſext Day of *September*, and of our Reigne the nyntene Zeir” *(a)*.

Inſtructions by the Queen of Scots *to Mr.* William Maitland, *younger of* Lethington, *her Secretary of State, when he was ſent into* England, *in the Beginning of* September 1561 *(b)*.

The *Scottiſh* Secretary is ſent into *England* with Inſtructions.

‘——to extend hir Benignite, Favour and Clemency——embrace yame as hir lovit Subjectis, and ſa to leif heirafter, that the Memorie of Thingis paſt (quhairas hir Majeſtie had Occaſioun to miſlyke) being extinguiſhit, a gude and politik Unioun of the Heid and Memberis may from this furth indure; Quhilk hir Hienes Determination hes alreddy takin ſic Begynning as culd be wyſſit, and hir hale People, als wele the Nobilitye, Gentilmen, as the common ſort, hes evin at the firſt reſſavit hir Hienes with ſic Gladneſs, Devoir and Reverence, yat it hes wele apperit how anoyus hir lang Abſence hes bene, and how glade and confortable hir cumyng is unto thair Hartis. Quhilk reciproque Gudewill of hir Subjectis, quhen hir Majeſtie conſideris, ſche doubtis not bot the End ſall correſpond to yis gude Begynnyng.

‘He ſall alſua declair, Yat hir Hienes wald not omit the mutuall Offices of Amytie accuſtomat to pas amangis Princis, Frendis, Allyas and gude Nichboris, of quhom hir Majeſtie eſtemis the Quene of *England* hir gude Siſter and Cuſen, ane of the maiſt ſpeciall to hir, and yairfore hes purpoſlie directit hir ſaid Secretar to viſite hir upoun the Behalf of hir Majeſtie, declair hir proſperous Journey, and ſaulf Arrival in this Realme, communicat unto hir hir Majeſtie's preſent gude Eſtait, and impart this Joy quhilk hir Hienes hes conſavit of this happy Begynnyng.

‘He ſall alſua declair, Yat hir Majeſtie is fully reſolvit to leif in gude Nychtborheid with the ſaid Quene hir gude Siſter and Couſin, to keip gude Peax and Amytie with hir Realme; and for hir awn Part interteny and incres Frindſchip be all gude Meanys poſſible, ſa that hir Majeſtie's gude——

Inſtructions by the Nobility of Scotland, *To Secretary* Maitland, *at the ſame Time (c)*.

‘——had nocht onlie refuſit Paſſage unto Monſeur *Doyſell*, being directit for gude Purpoſis unto yame fra the Quenis Majeſtie thair Souveraine; but alſua ſic Paſport and ſaulf Conduct, as on the Behalf of hir Majeſtie wes requirit for hir ſure Paſſage in this Realme, with ſic uther Favouris as Princes, Friendis, Allyas and gude Nychboris accuſtumit to uſe for accomoding of utheris, fearing yat hir Majeſtie mycht tak the Refuſall yrof in ſa evill Part, yat being irritat yrby, ſhe micht be nocht onlie the les cairful to enterteny Freindſchip, quhilk they for yair Part wiſſis micht lang indure, bot alſua

myt

(a) This is the Letter which Mr. *Randolph* ſays he ſent along with his of the ſame Date.

(b) Shatter'd MS. a Copy.

(c) Ibid.

1561. ‘myt conſave ſum ſiniſtir Opinioun of yame being hir Subjectis, or ſuſpect for the Intelligence that hes of lait bene betwix the ſaid Quene and yame; that the ſaid Refuſall had partlie cumit be yair Meanys, or at the leiſt, that they had bene previe thairto, albeit God knawis they nevir underſtude it quhill lang eftir: And the Neceſſitie that the haill Realme of *Scotland* had for the Preſence of thair Souverane, was ſic, that the Thing in the Warld thay maiſt earneſtlie wyſſit with yair Hart, wes to ſee hir Majeſtie ſone amangis thame. Bot now quhen as it hes pleſit God prouſperouſlie to convoy hir Majeſtie in this hir Realme, thay find hir Hienes mekell bettir diſpoſit, and far fra ony ſic evill Conſait of yair Affectionis, as alſwa to be wele ſatisfyit with the ſaid Quene of *Inglandis* Meanyng, upoun Conſideratioun of ſic Thingis as hes paſt betwix yair ſaidis twa Majeſties ſen yat Tyme, quhairby they are greit confortit and deliverit of a greit Doubt.

‘He ſall alſua pray hir Hienes, upon yair Behalfis, to interteny and incres Freindſchip with the Quene yair Souverane, be all gude Meanys and—— doyng to have ſum Reſpect and Conſideratioun to yair Conditioun, quhilk thay——will be maiſt bleſſit and happy, ſa lang as thair twa Majeſties ſall incres—that the Intelligence betuix the tua Realmes be——For gif it ſuld chance (as God forbid) yat the ſaid Quene of *Ingland* wald uſe any Diſcourteſſy towertis the Quene yair Souveraine, quhilk we will not ſuppoſe in ſa humane ane Princes, or gif Occaſioun upoun hir Part to violat the gude Amytie and Peax ſtanding betwix yair tua Majeſties; then may ſho be wele aſſurit, that thay acknawledging thaimſelfis to be Subjectis, will nocht forzett thair Dewite for Mantenance of the Quene yair Souverane's juſt Querel, bot ſa aſſiſt hir Hienes as becummis obedient and naturall Subjectis to yair native Princes, and as ſhe wald wyſs hir awn Subjectis ſuld do in hir awn Querell.’

The Point of our Queen's Succeſſion to the Crown of *England* was unſeaſonably mov'd by him.

By Peruſal of the above *Inſtructions*, there does not appear to be the leaſt Mention of a Requeſt either by our Queen or the Nobility, that the Queen of *England* ſhould by Act of Parliament, declare the Queen of *Scotland* rightful Heireſs to the Kingdom of *England*, next after that Queen and her Children, if ever ſhe had any. And tho' it be true, that there be ſome few Breaches in the Manuſcript, from whence theſe Inſtructions are taken; yet theſe Breaches are ſo ſhort, not above two or three Lines together, that there is no Ground at all left for ſuppoſing, that any ſuch Requeſt has ever been engroſs'd in the written Inſtructions: And therefore ſince both *Cambden* and *Buchanan* are poſitive that this Requeſt was made *(a)*, I ſhould incline to think that Mr. *Maitland*'s Commiſſion relating to this Head, has conſiſted only of a verbal Meſſage. The Queen of *England*, 'tis ſaid, ſtorm'd exceedingly at the Propoſal; truly, to ſpeak impartially, not without good Reaſon: And it may readily enough be ſuſpected, that ſuch of our Queen's Subjects as were at preſent too much about her Majeſty, and not friendly to her from the Heart, have cauſed this unreaſonable and precipitant Overture to be made, on purpoſe to foment Jealouſy, not Friendſhip, between the two Queens; and thereby pave the Way for the utter Overthrow of their Sovereign. For they could not be ignorant, that the beſt and ſureſt Method to beget and maintain Friendſhip to their Queen from her Couſin of *England*, after ſo late and as yet unſopited Jars, was to ſuffer the Affair of Succeſſion to ly quiet and undiſturbed, until ſuch Time as a mutual Amity and Confidence had been created, by kindly Offices and Intercourſe of Letters *(b)*. Mr. *Buchanan* ſays, that after there had been much Diſcourſe about the Treaty of *Edinburgh*, which the Queen of *England* had inſiſted ſhould be ratified, before any new Propoſal had been made her relating to the Succeſſion; that Queen did agree with Mr. *Maitland*, that Commiſſioners

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(*a*) Mr. *Buchanan* gives a very large Detail of this Affair; but I ſhall not take upon me to affirm, that every Circumſtance thereof has been real. Mr. *Cambden*'s Account is more general.

(*b*) This Intercourſe became very frequent in a ſhort Time; no leſs than a Dozen of Letters having been interchanged by the End of this Year, as may appear by this ſhatter'd MS. and therefore *Rapin Thoyras* may even give ſome Credit to what Sir *James Melvill* writes on this Head. See *Thoyr. Vol.* 8. *p.* 292.

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miſſioners ſhould be choſen on both Sides to review the Treaty, and correct the ſame in this manner, *viz.* "That the Queen of *Scots* ſhould abſtain from "uſing the Arms and Titles of *England* and *Ireland*, as long as the Queen "of *England*, or any of her Children, were alive: And on the other hand, "That the Queen of *England* ſhould make an Act, reſtricting herſelf and her "Poſterity from impairing the Queen of *Scotland*'s Right of Succeſſion to the "Crown of *England*." But that this Agreement was not condeſcended on at this preciſe Time, I do much ſuſpect from what ſhall follow. Mr. *Cambden* informs, that in the Concluſion of the Conference, the Queen of *England* diſpatched Sir *Peter Mewtas* into *Scotland*, for to ſolicite the Ratification of this Treaty *(a)*: And that the Queen of *Scots* did not give a direct Refuſal; but only ſignified, that the ſame could not conveniently be done, until her Affairs were put into ſome tolerable good Order. Concerning this Meſſage, we have unqueſtionable Aſſurance by ſome original Letters, which ſhall be inſerted by and by: And I make no Doubt but theſe Letters will likewiſe ſatisfy the Readers, that the above Agreement, mentioned by Mr. *Buchanan*, has not been made at the *Scottiſh* Secretary's firſt Journey into *England*, at the leaſt.

On the 6th Day of *September*, we find by the Regiſter, that our Queen conſtitutes a Privy-Council in the following manner:

Apud Palatium S. D. N. Reginæ prope Edinburgh ſexto Septembris, Anno Domini 1561 *(b)*.

The Queen conſtitutes a regular Privy-Council.

The quhilk Day the Quenis Majeſtie, for gude Reull to be obſervit within hir Realme, and retenyng of the ſamyn in Quietnes, to the Weill of the Liegis yairof, hes electit and choſin thir noble Men and mytie Lordis under writtin; That is to ſay, James Duke of Chattelarault, Erle of Arran, Lord Hamyltoun, &c. George Erle of Huntlie, Lord Gordoun and Badzenoch, &c. Archibald Erle of Argyle, Lord Campbel and Lorne, &c. James Erle Bothwil, Lord Halis and Creichtoun; George Erle of Errol, Lord Hay; William Erle Marſheall, Lord Keyth; John Erle of Athole, James Erle of Mortoun, William Erle of Montrois, Alexander Erle of Glencarne, Lord James Commendatar of Saint Androis and Pittenweme, and Johne Lord Erskin; Togidder with her Majeſtie's Theſaurar, Secretar, Clerk of Regiſter, and Juſtice-Clerk, to be hir greit Counſale *(c)*, to conſult, conclude, and determe upoun all Effairs concerning the commone Weill of the Realme, and Liegis yairof: And ordanis yame to be ſworne to giff yair afauld, leill and trew Counſale in all Thingis to be proponit befoir yame, in Forme and Maner to be requirit in ſik Caiſſes; and to keip the ſamyns ſecreit, unrevelit or oppynit ony way, as yai will anſwer to God and hir Majeſtie thairupoun.

Next follow in the Regiſter ſeveral Regulations to be obſerved by the Council; ſuch as, That ſix of the Lords ſhould be always with the Queen; that they ſhould convene at 8 in the Morning, and ſit in Council until 10; return again at 1, and remain till 3 Afternoon. But previous to theſe Regulations, this that follows is inſerted in the Regiſter, *viz.* In Preſence of the Quenis Majeſtie comperit George Erle of Huntlie, &c.——*(d)*, and being ſworne, maid Faith, and gaif yair Aith to hir Grace leillie and trewlie,

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(*a*) Mr. *Knox* miſplaces the Time of Sir *Peter*'s Arrival.

(*b*) Regiſter of Privy Council.

(*c*) The Readers will obſerve, that our Hiſtorians who have made mention of theſe Counſellors, have not been exact in their ſeveral Liſts.

(*d*) The Duke, Earls of *Bothwell*, *Montroſe* and *Glencairn*, and the Lord *Erskine*, were not preſent at this firſt time: But there are added, Mr. *Robert Richardſon* Theſaurer, Mr. *James Macgill* of *Nether-Rankelor* Clerk of Regiſter, and Sir *John Ballenden* of *Auchnowl* Knight, Juſtice-Clerk, who did all take this Oath.

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Under this new Government, Bp. *Leſlie* obſerves, that the Queen's Brother *James* Prior of St. *Andrew*'s, was the ſole Favourite, and diſpos'd of every thing at Court; and he adds, "It was the Conjecture of ſeveral People, that "he had form'd a Deſign to poſſeſs himſelf of the Crown." And this Thing is not only related by that Author, who may however be lookt upon as too much prejudiced againſt the Prior; but the ſame Thing is likewiſe taken Notice of by the *Engliſh* Reſident Mr. *Randolph*, by whoſe Letters it hath already, and will afterwards very evidently appear, that the Lord *James* was deem'd the principal Perſon about the Queen.

Letter from Mr. Randolph, *To Mr. Secretary* Cecil, *7th* September 1561 *(a).*

Letter from the *Engliſh* Miniſter to the Secretary of *England.*

'I Received your Honour's Letters the 1ſt of this inſtant, and ſuch other as came in the ſame Pacquet. I deliver'd the ſame Day the Q. Majeſtie's Letters unto this Queen, and ſend her Grace's Anſwer unto our Souverain herewith. I have written unto the Q. Majeſtie the Effect.——

'Where your Honour exhorteth us to Stoutneſs: I aſſure you, the Voice of one Man is able in an Hour to put more Life in us, than ſix hundred Trumpets continually bluſtring in our Ears.

'Mr. *Knox* ſpoke upon *Tueſday* to the Queen *(b)*; he knocked ſo haſtily upon her Heart, that he made her to weep, as well you know there be ſome of that Sex that will do that as well for Anger as for Grief, tho' in this the Lord *James* will diſagree with me. She charged him with his Book *(c)*, with his ſevere dealing with all Men that diſagreed with him in Opinion; ſhe willed him to uſe more Meekneſs in his Sermons. Some Things he ſpake to her Contentation in mitigating the Rigour of his Book; and in ſome Things he pleaſed her very little. In ſpecial, ſpeaking againſt the Maſs, he declared the grievous Plagues of God that had fallen upon all Eſtates for committing of Idolatry. He concluded ſo in the End with her, that he hath Liberty to ſpeak freely his Conſcience; to give unto her ſuch Reverence as becometh the Miniſters of God unto the ſuperior Powers. He prayeth, and hath daily prayed for her, as the Preachers were wont to pray for Q. *Mary (d).*

'The Brute that he hath talked with the Queen, maketh the Papiſts doubt what will become of the World. It liketh not them well, that I reſort ſo often to the Court. I have been there thrice ſince *Sunday*; but of all, they marvel moſt what Traffique the L. of *Lidington* maketh with you. She herſelf hath found three Points neceſſary to maintain her Eſtate; firſt, To make Peace with *England*; next, To be ſerv'd with the Proteſtants, (in the other, ſhe findeth not that that ſhe look'd for.) The third is, To enrich her Crown with the Abbay Lands. Which if ſhe do, what ſhall there lack in her (ſaving a good Husband) to lead a happy Life? Seeing your Honour hath one with you with whom you can conſider theſe Things better than I can write of them, I leave them to your Judgments, and talk of ſome other Matter.

'Upon

(*a*) Calig. Book 10. an Original.

(*b*) This ſhall be narrated at more length in the Church Affairs. The Man here intended is Mr. *Knox*.

(*c*) *i. e.* his Book againſt the Government of Women.

(*d*) *viz.* The Preachers in *England* for *Mary* Queen of *England*.

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‘ Upon *Tueſday* laſt (a) ſhe made her Entry (b). She din'd in the Caſtle. The firſt Sight ſhe ſaw, after ſhe came out of the Caſtle, was a Boy of ſix Years of Age that came, as it were from Heaven, out of a round Hole, that preſented unto her a Bible, a Pſalter, and the Keys of the Gates, and ſpake unto her the Verſes which I ſend you (c). The reſt were terrible Significations of the Vengeance of God upon Idolaters; there were burnt *Corah*, *Dathan* and *Abiram* in the Time of their Sacrifice. They were minded to have had a Prieſt burnt at the Altar at the Elevation: The Earl of *Huntly* ſtay'd that Pageant; but hath play'd many as wicked as that ſince he came hither. He bare that Day the Sword. The Occaſions why the Duke and my Lord of *Arran* were abſent, your Honour knoweth by the L. of *Lidington*. The Queen taketh a great Suſpicion of the fortifying of *Dumbritton* (d), and hath ſent one to ſee it. I perſwade what I can both in Word or Writing, that they ſhou'd ſhew that Obedience unto her that they wou'd look to have of others, if God put them in that Place. I deſire them ſo to uſe themſelves, that their Friends may think themſelves worthy of their Kindneſs: If they come to Schaithe, it will be true that of old is ſaid, *Nemo læditur niſi à ſeipſo* (e). What they are that are named Counſellors, I refer to the L. of *Lidington*'s Report. *James Stewart*'s Admiſſion to be Captain of the Guard ſtayeth upon the L. of *Lidington*'s Return, to certify whether he be ſworn *Engliſhman*. Yeſterday the Earl of *Argile* came to this Town. I can as yet get no Time to ſpeak with him, as I ſhall within a Day or two. The Bruit is here going of an Overthrow that divers of our Men have had in *Ireland*. Thus moſt humbly I take my Leave, deſiring your Honour to have in Mind what I wrote touching my Return, were the Time never ſo ſhort. At *Edinburgh* the 7th of *September* 1561 (f).

Your Honour's always bounden
and ready to command,

THO. RANDOLPHE.

The Queen's Uncles, *&c.* return into *France*;

In the Beginning of this Month of *September*, the Duke *d'Aumale* returned into *France* by Sea with the Gallies which had tranſported the Queen's Majeſty hither; and the Grand-Prior, and *Monſ. Danville*, took their Journey over Land through *England*: Only the Marquis *d'Elbeuf* remained all Winter in *Scotland* with the Queen. About the 15th of *September* (g) her Majeſty be-

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(a) This ſhews the Inaccuracy of Mr. *Knox*, who makes this Entry to have been in the Beginning of *October*. The Reader may ſee his ill-natur'd Reflections on that Occaſion, in his own Book.

(b) It may perhaps ſatisfy ſome Readers to know, that by the Regiſters of the Council of *Edinburgh* it appears, that on the 26th of *Auguſt* 1561, *The Proveſt, Baillies and Counſale, and Dekynnis* [Deacons of Crafts] *findis gude, that for the Pleſour of our Soverane, and obtening of hir Hienes Favours, thair be ane honorabil Banquet maid to the Princes, hir Grace Couſings, upoun* Sonday *nixt* [laſt Day of *Auguſt*] *And ſicklike, with all Diligence, the Triumphe to be maid of hir Grace Entry within this Town.*—— 28th Auguſt 1561, *The Proveſt, Baillies and Counſale, ordanis* Louke Wilſoun *Theſaurer to deliver to every ane of the twelfe Servands, the Javillour and Gild Servands, als mekle* Franch *Blaber as will be every ane of thame ane Coit, als mekle blak Stennyng as will be every ane of thame ane pair of Hoiſs, and every ane of thame a blak Bonet agane the Tyme of the Triumphe.*—— Item, *Ordanis* [here are ſet down the Names of ten Perſons] *every ane of thame to have and mak ane Goun of ſyne blak Velvet, ſyde to thair Fute, lynit with pan Velvet; ane Coit of black Velvet, ane Doublat of crammoſyne Satyne, with Velvet-Bonet and Hois effeirand: And thir twelf to beyr the Pale above the Queny's Grace Heid, and nane utheris. And all the uthir Nytburis that ſall be ſene upoun the Gait, to have ſyde Gownis of fyne* Franch *blak Sytine, ſicklyk with pan Velvet, Coittis of Velvet, and Doublotts of Satyne; and every Man to gang in his dew and gude Ordour; and the Servandis to ordour the Calſay, and to make Rowme for the Nobelytie and Nytbours foirſaid. And ſicklyk, that the zoing Men of the Town deviſe for thamſelſis ſum beaw Abulzement of Taſfate, or uther Silk, and mak the Convoy befor the Court triumphant.*

(c) The Copy of Verſes mentioned to be incloſed in this Letter, are wanting.

(d) al. *Dumbarton, viz.* by the Duke, who had that Fortreſs put into his Hands when he demitted the Regency. The Readers ſhall be let into an authentick Knowledge of his Lordſhip's Tenure of this Fort, within a very little.

(e) May it not be reaſonably concluded from theſe Expreſſions, that Mr. *Randolph* has already perceived ſome Deportment towards the Queen, which he could not in Conſcience well applaud?

(f) Some Things in this Letter are omitted, which were only about private Affairs.

(g) By the following Letter, her Majeſty was probably ſtill at *Holy-rood-houſe* on the 14th *September*, ſince the Earl of *Argile* and the Lord *James* were cloſe about the Queen in her Progreſs. They ſit at *Perth* in Council on the 19th *September*.

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and her Majeſty begins a Progreſs into the Country.

gan a Progreſs into a Part of the neighbouring Country, viſiting the Towns of *Linlithgow*, *Stirling*, *Perth*, *Dundee*, St. *Andrew*'s, &c. in all which ſhe was received with much Honour and Reſpect to her own Perſon; tho' the ſame cannot be ſaid as to her Religion. Mr. *Knox* ſays, "Fire followed the Court "very cloſely in that Journey." The Foundation of this ridiculous Remark, the Reader will ſee in the following Letter.

Letter from Mr. Randolph *to Secretary* Cecil, *24th* September 1561 *(a).*

Letter from the *Engliſh* Miniſter to the Secretary of *England*.

'MY Purpoſe was not to have written unto your Honour before my Man's Return from the Court *(b)*, whom I willed to be with me within five Days after his Departure from me. Since I underſtand that he is ſtay'd there by the Lord *James*, about the Purſuit of a *Scotſman* that dwelt 15 Years with Mr. *Rowland* late of *Yorkſhire*, who rob'd him of above *L.* 400 *Ster.* being taken for an *Engliſhman*, and for *Douglas* took the Name of *Dudley*: he is now apprehended, and in Priſon. This Man of mine writeth unto me, and I perceive it confirm'd by the conſtant Report of diverſe, That at *Stirling* the Queen lying in her Bed, having a Candle burning by her, being aſleep, the Curtains and Teſter took Fire, and ſo was like to have ſmother'd her as ſhe lay. Such as ſpeak much of Propheſies ſay, that this is now fulfilled that of old hath been ſpoken, That a Queen ſhould be burnt at *Stirling*. Upon *Sunday* was eight Days, *viz.* the 14th of this inſtant, her Grace's devout Chaplains in the Chapel Royal, would by the good Device of her truſty Servant *Alexander Areskine*, have ſung a high Maſs. The Earl of *Argile* and the Lord *James* ſo diſturbed the Quire, that ſome, both Prieſts and Clerks, left their Places with broken Heads and bloody Ears: It was a Sport alone for ſome that were there to behold it. Others there were that ſhed a Tear or two, and made no more of the Matter. She lay one Night at the Earl of *Rothes*'s. I know not whether it be ſpoken of Truth or Malice, but it is ſaid he loſt both Plate, and ſomething elſe that was eaſy to be conveyed: But it is very true, that in thoſe Places where they have been, ſaving in this Town, they have paid little for their Meat. At St. *Johnſton*'s ſhe was well received, and preſented with a Heart of Gold full of Gold; I know not to what Value. She lik'd nothing the Pageants there; they did too plainly condemn the Errors of the World. As ſhe rode in the Street, ſhe fell ſick, and was born from her Horſe into her Lodging, not being far off, with ſuch ſudden Paſſions as I hear that ſhe is often troubled with, after any great Unkindneſs or Grief of Mind. At St. *Andrew*'s ſhe was upon *Sunday*; from whence as yet I have not heard: But that I judge to be a Lie, that there was a Prieſt ſlain; this Day I lookt to know the Truth thereof. It is ſaid, that the Earl of *Huntly* and Lord *James* greatly diſcord *(c)*. Some alledge the Cauſe to be, that the Earl ſaid, If the Queen would command him, he would ſet up the Maſs in three Shires. The other anſwered, That it was paſt his Power; and that he ſhould find, whenſoever he gave the firſt Mint thereunto, to approve the Queen's Proclamation *(d)*. Upon the 14th of this inſtant Mr. *Willock* was admitted Superintendant of *Glaſgow*; the Duke, my Lord of *Arran*, the Earl of *Glencairn*, Lord *Ruthven*, Lord *Boyd*, and Lord *Ochiltree*, being preſent; little I aſſure you to the Contentation of ſuch as thought not to have left either Mr. *Knox* or him in *Scotland*. In *Clidſdale*, hard under the Duke's Noſe, one *Robert Stewart* received the Earl of *Montgomery* with a Maſs: The Duke ſaith, he will put him out of that Room, or

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(a) Calig. Book 10. an Original.
(b) *viz.* The Court of the Queen of *Scots*.
(c) Of this Diſcord our own Hiſtorians make Mention.
(d) This was a Proclamation by the Queen for continuing the State of Religion, as ſhe found it at her Return.

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‘I ſpoke with the L. of *Lidington* as he paſſed to the Court *(c)*: I know as well be him as otherwiſe, how much I am beholding unto your Honour; whenſoever I fail to acknowledge the ſame, I would my Life might end. He was as greedy to hear News of this Country, as I was deſireous to hear of mine. I find that his Abſence has nothing hindred his Credit: He ſtandeth notwithſtanding in tickliſh Terms; for either muſt he be reclaimed from the Maſs, or his Credit with her will hinder his Reputation with all others that are honeſt. This is as well ſpoken of him that is neareſt about her *(d)*, as the other. God knoweth what Bruits theſe two ſuſtain of that that they are little guilty of; no leſs than if her whole Power and Will reſted in their Hands. It is ſuſpected that the Lord *James* ſeeketh too much his own Advancement *(e)*; which hitherto little appeareth for any thing that ever he received worth a Groat *(f)*. It is thought that *Lidington* is too politick; and take me theſe two out of *Scotland*, and thoſe that love their Country ſhall ſoon find the want of them *(g)*. The Papiſts bruit them to favour *England* too well *(h)*; others, that they are too well affectioned to their own; ſome judge them too far off from that they would have them at: So that theſe two alone bear the Bruit and Brunt of whatſoever is either done, thought or ſpoken.

‘Other Tales there are here a thouſand; as, That the Lord of *Arran* is now in *England*: *Scotſmens* Ships kept both in *England* and *Flanders* for the Spoils that we made upon *Portugals*. Yeſterday there came a *Scotſman* from *Tinmouth*, that paſſed to the Court, who reported at *Barwick* and in this Town, That the Queen's Horſes are ſtayed that landed there; how true this is, I know not. It is now ſaid, that all *Ireland* is loſt, and can only tell that Sir *James Crofts* is ſlain, who I think is not there. The Secretary to the *Portugal* Ambaſſadour hath ſped mighty well in his Sute; the Letter of Marque is called in upon an Account, and the Queen hath for her Part 8000 Ducats. He is returned by Sea, becauſe it was put into his Head that there was Danger by Land: He had once my Letters unto your Honour, and gave me them again. So ſoon as I can get the Tract of the Inhibition, your Honour ſhall be further informed of the Circumſtances thereof. Great Inquiſition is made for one *William Cawte*, that ſpoil'd the *Spaniards*. The L. of *Bargenny* appeareth before the Council the 3d Day of the next Month, becauſe he adjudged it lawful Prize. My Countryman that was ſent from Mr. *John Baptiſta* is very diligent in the Purſuit.——moſt humbly I take my Leave. At *Edinburgh* the 24th of *September* 1561.

‘I am

(a) Mr. *Randolph* is here in a Miſtake; for the Election of the Proveſts was not lodged in the Crown.

(b) By this we perceive, that Secretary *Cecil* ſtill kept up a Correſpondence with Mr. *Knox*; not much 'tis to be preſumed for the Benefit of the Queen.

(c) *i. e.* Where the Queen was at the Time in her Progreſs. Mr. *Maitland* has made but a ſhort Stay in *England*.

(d) *i. e.* Prior of St. *Andrew*'s.

(e) Compare this with Bp. *Leſlie*'s Report.

(f) We ſhall quickly ſee how long this holds true.

(g) They were certainly two Men of great Parts. But Probity and Parts are diſtinct Accompliſhments.

(h) Events are the beſt Interpreters of Mens Minds. Common Bruit is not always groundleſs.

1561. ‘ I am earneſtly required to let your Honour underſtand from Mr. *Knox*, ‘ that he hath received your Letter ſent by the Laird of *Lidington*, to the ‘ which he will make Anſwer at the next——

Your Honour's,

THO. RANDOLPHE.

A falſe Report by former Hiſtorians, rectified by original Regiſters. Mr. *Knox* and *Buchanan* do both give a very untrue Account of an Affair they mention in the End of this Month, relating to a Proclamation againſt Prieſts, Whoremongers, *&c.* I ſhall here lay before the Readers a more authentick Account hereof, from the Regiſter of the Town-Council of *Edinburgh*.

Secundo Octobris 1561.

The quhilk Day the Proveſt, Baillies, Counſale, and hale Dekynis, perſaving the Preiſtis, Monks, Freris, and utheris of the wikit Rable of the Antechriſt the Paip, to reſort to this Toune, incontrare the Tenour of the Proclamatioun maid in the contrair; Thairfor ordanis the ſaid Proclamatioun to be proclaymt of new, chargeing all Monkis, Freris, Preiſtis, Nunnys, Adulteraris, Fornicatouris, and all ſic filthy Perſonis, to remove thameſelfis of this Toun, and Bounds thairoff, within 24 Hours, under the Pane of Carting throuch the Toun, byrning on the Cheik, and baniſſing the ſamyn for evir.

Perhaps the Readers may not be diſpleaſed to know concerning the Proclamation here referred to. On the 20th Day of *September* 1560, Proclamation was made in the Town of *Edinburgh*, of the Act of the pretended Parliament in the Month of *Auguſt* before, bearing this Title, *Anent the Meſſe aboliſhed, and puniſhing of all that hearis or ſayis the ſamyn* (a); as may be ſeen in the printed Acts of Parliament.

And on the 24th Day of *March* 1560-1, we find the following Proclamation made in the Town of *Edinburgh*, viz.——*I command and charge in our Soverane Ladies Name, and in Name and Behalf of the Lordis of Secreit-Counſale, Proveſt and Baillies of this Burgh, That within* 18 *Houreis nixt heireftir, all Prieſtis, Monkis, Freris, Chanonis, Nunnis, and utheris of the ungodlie Seidis and Opinionis, quhilkis hertofore hes joiſit the Prevelege and Libertie abovewrittin, and hes nocht gevin ther Repentance of ther former Iniquiteis and Opinionis; as alſua, all Meſs-ſayaris, and Meſs-mantenaris, Huremongaris, Adulteraris and Fornicatouris, depeſche thame of this Toun, Fredome, Libertie, Boundis and Suburbis therof, and that thai nathyr hant, reſorte, nor frequent ſa lang as thai remane obſtinat*——

In Conſequence of the Proclamation emitted by the Magiſtrates of *Edinburgh* the 2d Day of *October* 1561, we ſee the following Record of the Town-Council, *viz.* Quinto Octobris, *The quhilk Day, in Preſens of the Baillies and Counſale, comperit* William Bryle *Maſer, and preſentit the Quenis Grace Writing; of the quhilk the Tenour followis:*

REGINA,

WE underſtanding that the Proveſt and Baillies of the Burgh of Edinburgh, **upoun** Friday **laſt bepaſt, the thrid Day of** October **inſtant, ſett furth Proclamatioun at the Merket-Croce of Oure ſaid Burgh, expreſs contrair Oure Commandment, not makand Us privie therto, nor ſeikand to knaw Oure Pleſoure in**

(a) Perhaps it is from the proclaiming of this Act in the Year 1560, that the fore-mentioned two Hiſtorians would infer the Practice to have been *cuſtomary*. But that Pretext will not anſwer the purpoſe, ſince beſides that here was only the Inſtance of one ſingle Year; the Proclamation in the Year 1561, adds, *Adulterers, Fornicators, and ſuch filthy Perſons*, of whom nevertheleſs there is not the leaſt Mention in the Act of Parliament; and conſequently there was no yearly Practice to be pleaded for ſuch a Proclamation.

1561. **in ſic Behalfis: Therfor We ordane and will, commands and charges the Counſale and Comunitie of Oure ſaid Burgh, to convene incontinent within the Tolbuith of Oure ſaid Burgh, and depryve the Proveſt and Baillies quha preſentlie beirs Office therin, of all forthyr Bering of Office for this inſtant Zeir** *(a)*, **and to cheis uthyr qualifeid Perſonis in thair Rowme, as thai will anſwer to Us therupoun.**

Sequitur ſubſcriptio, MARIE.

Octavo Octobris 1561.

The quhilk Day the Counſale and Dekyns being within the Tolbuith of this Burth, and at the Command of our Soveranis Writing before writtin, Diſchargit Archibald Douglas *Proveſt; and* David Forſter, Robert Kar, Alexander Home *and* Allane Dikerſtoun, *Baillies, ar diſchargit of thair Offices: And in thair Places, Maiſter* Thomas Makcalzeane *Proveſt;* James Thomſoun, Jhonne Adamſone, *Mr.* Jhonne Marjoribankis, Alexander Acheſoun, *ar electit and choſin be monieſt Votes for the Zeir to cum.*

The ſamyn Day David Somer, *in Name and Behalf of the Counſale and Communitie of this Burgh, proteſtit this Deprivatioun, as alſwa the new Election of the Officers above writtin, be not prejudiciall to the Fredome and Libertie of this Burt, and auld Ordour of the ſamyn, grantit be our Soveranis maiſt noble Progenitours, in electing and cheſing of Officers, nor ſtand for Preparative in Tymes cuming by the Pleſour of the Prince.*

The ſamyn Day the Proveſt and Baillies foreſaid being electit and choſin, Neill Layng *Writer producit ane Tiket, direct to the Counſale be the Lard of* Lethingtoun *Secreter, as he allegeit, conteying the Names of the Lord* Seytoun, Alexander Arskin *and the Laird of* Craigmiller, *ſchewing that wes the Quenis Grace Mynd, that ane of thai thre ſould be choſin Proveſt: Quhilk being producit befoir the ſaid Counſall, all in ane Vote, in reſpect this Ticket contenit bot thre Names without onye Subſcriptioun, and that thai had electit thair Officeurs before the preſenting of the ſaid Ticket, according to our Soveranis writing of before; thought gude to paſs to hir Grace incontinent, and declair quhat thai had done alredy, and quhat hir Grace wald forthyr command thame tuiching the ſaids Names, in caſe the Officears ellis choſin pleſit not hir Grace, that thai wald obey.*

The ſamyn Day David Kinloch *Dekyn of the Baxtaris askit Inſtruments, That he wald obey the Quenis Grace Mynd towart the thre Names in the Tiket before writtin. And* Thomas Hog *Cordner askit Inſtrumentis, That he wald do as the gude Man* David Kinloch *did.*

From this authentick Account of this whole Proceeding, the Readers can't fail to be ſurprized with the unfair Repreſentation thereof by the two forementioned Hiſtorians; ſeeing it was not true, that it was *cuſtomary* to make ſuch a Proclamation at this Time of the Year; it was not true, that the Magiſtrates were put in Priſon, or ſo much as deſired by the Queen to be put in Priſon; it was not true, that there was Reſiſtance made to the Queen's Deſire of making a new Election, and conſequently that ſhe had no Room left for a

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(a) The next Year we find this Record in the Town-Council Books, *viz.* 25th September 1562, **Proveſt, Baillies, Counſale and Deacons of Our Burgh of** Edinburgh, **We Greet you weill; Forſameikleas Our Lovit** Archibald Douglas **of** Kilſpindie **was Proveſt of Our ſaid Burgh of before, quha knawes how to rule your ſaid Toun, haveand Experience thereof, and to do Us Service therein, and is able and meit to bruick the ſaid Office this nixt Year: Our Will is herefore, and We charge you, That yee make the ſaid** Archibald **one of the Lytis to be choſen Proveſt to you at** Michaelmas **nixt to come; and than that yee elect and choiſe him to be your Proveſt the ſaid Year, conforme to your Order obſerved in ſic Caiſes. This yee do, for Our Will and Mind is that the ſamen be done. Subſcribit with Our Hand at** Couper in Angus **the** xxi. **Day of** Auguſt, **and of Our Reigne the twenty Year.** *Sic ſubſcribitur,* MARIE. *And after Aviſement with the ſaid Writing, the Proveſt, Baillies, Councill and Aſſeſſors foreſaids, all in one Voce continuit their Anſwer while that Day viij Dayis: Whilk being reported to the ſaid* Archibald, *askit Inſtruments as ſaid is. Note,* This was the Provoſt whom the Queen cauſed to be removed the preceeding Year. Her Majeſty has done this, to ſhew that ſhe bore no Ill-will againſt the Man.

1561.

Charge upon Charge to command a new Election; it was not true, by all we can ſee, either in the Regiſters of the Privy-Council, or Town-Council of *Edinburgh*, that the Queen emitted at this Time any Proclamation at all. But beſides the Untruth of their Repreſentations, the Virulence wherewith they adorn their Narration cannot miſs to be offenſive to all unprejudiced Readers. If either of theſe two thought, that the *Wicked* and the *Devil* were only to be found among the Papiſts at that Time, and that the novel Profeſſors were all *Angelical* Perſons, I'm ſuſpicious they have laboured under a huge Miſtake: Witneſs the ſcandalous Enormities of ſome leading Men both in the Church and State. The Queen therefore had very good Reaſon to be diſpleaſed with the Magiſtrates, for enumerating in the Liſt of Whoremongers, Adulterers, *&c.* thoſe that were Prieſts and Nuns; becauſe they plainly thereby inſtigated the Minds of the Populace againſt herſelf, and thoſe that adhered to the ancient Forms; as if for that very Thing alone, they had been vicious and profligate Perſons. Some of thoſe whom Mr. *Knox* is pleaſed to dignify by the Appellation of *Profeſſors* and *Godly*, *Choſen* and *Elect*, were Men of as bad Lives as had ever been before. The *new Opinions* did not introduce a *new Life*. This Practice however was not peculiar to that Period only; for nothing has been more ordinary ſince that Time, than to jumble together the Names of ſuch Perſons as muſt be rendred odious, with Devils, Atheiſts, Papiſts, Malignants, and other Godleſs Wretches. Such Expreſſions have been found to be of great Uſe, by their Influence upon the thoughtleſs Part of Mankind.

A Letter from Mr. Randolph, *To Sir* William Cecil, 24*th* October 1561 (a).

Letter from the *Engliſh* Miniſter to the Secretary of *England*.

'I Truſt that your Honour——Two Days paſt I was deſired by Mr. *Knox* to write unto your Honour in the Favour of two Merchant-Men of this Town, for the Q. Majeſtie's Paſsport into *Flanders*, by whom your Honour ſhall be informed by Mouth from him, what is judged like to enſue of the Progreſs of the Doings here. Theſe I have commended unto your Honour as my Friends. The Occaſion of the Change of the Provoſt and Baillies of this Town, they can report (for that their Part was therein) better than I can write——

'So ſoon as I had received your Honour's Letters, I advertiſed the Lord *James*, that ſomewhat I had to ſay unto his Lordſhip before that I would deſire Audience of the Q. Majeſtie his Sovereign: My Purpoſe was to know of him, whether that the Q. would take it in no evil Part, if I preſented to her Grace, at my next coming unto her, the Accord at the Aſſembly at *Poiſy* in the Controverſy upon the Sacrament. He encouraged me boldly to it, thereunto aſſuring me that ſhe would accept it well. The Oration of *Beza* that I gave unto her Grace before, ſhe read (as he ſaith) to the End. I concluded thus with him, leſt that I ſhould ſeem of purpoſe to tempt her, or too boldly to behave my ſelf in Matters that were above my Charge, and ſo daſh my Credit at the firſt; I thought beſt to give his Lordſhip the Copy to uſe as he thought good. That Night after Supper he preſented it unto her. She doubted firſt of the Sincerity thereof; I was alledged to have received it from your Honour. Many Diſputes, I heard ſay, roſe that Night upon it. The Q. ſaid, ſhe could not reaſon, but that ſhe knew what ſhe ought to believe. The Marquis [*Elbeuf*] affirm'd, that he never thought *Chriſt* to be otherwiſe in the Sacrament than it was there written; but yet doubteth not but the Maſs is good. Againſt that much was ſaid, but little Good done.

'The next Day I was ſent for into the Council-chamber, where ſhe herſelf ordinarily ſitteth the moſt Part of the Time, ſowing ſome Work or other. She ſaith unto me thus, *Theſe three Days I have done nothing elſe*

'*but*

(a) Calig. Book 10. an Original.

1561.

but deviſed with my Council how to daunton the Thieves and Robbers upon the Borders. I have charged the Lord Home *to do your Countrymen Juſtice: If he do otherwiſe, I will be ill contented therewith, and ſee it reformed. You know,* ſaith ſhe, *that I am now in hand to ſend the Lord* James, *and ſome other Lords, to the Borders, for that Purpoſe. Wherefore I pray you report well of my Mind, and find the Means that Proclamation may be made as I ſpake unto you, that no Thieves be received within* England; *for otherwiſe it will be in vain whatever I purpoſe againſt them. You have alſo the Bill of Complaint of the Maſter of* Maxwell, *which I pray you procure to be anſwered.* After theſe Purpoſes, the Council being diſſolved, I offered my ſelf, as ſhe was departing out of the Chamber, to ſpeak to her Grace: *I will,* ſaith ſhe, *talk with you apart in the Garden.* So ſoon as ſhe came there, ſhe ſaith to me, *How like you this Country; you have been in it a good Space, and know it well enough?* My Anſwer was, That the Country was good, and the Policy might be made much better. *The Abſence,* ſaith ſhe, *of a Prince hath cauſed it to be worſe, but yet is it not like unto* England. I anſwered, That there were many in the World worſe than her Grace's, that were thought right good; but I judged few better than *England,* which I truſted that ſometime after, her Grace ſhould witneſs. *I would be content therewith,* ſaid ſhe, *if my Siſter, your Miſtreſs, ſo like (a).* I ſaid, That it was the Thing that many of her Grace's Subjects did deſire, and, as I judged, would alſo well content my Miſtreſs. Of this Purpoſe we had long Talk. Many honourable Words ſhe ſpake of the Q. Majeſtie, in receiving and entertaining of all noble States. She remembred her Mother's Paſſage through *England,* and commended again the good Reception that her Uncle the Grand-Prior and *Monſ. d'Anville* had at *Barwick.* From this we entred in Communing of the Occaſion of the Stay of her Horſes: She ſaid herſelf, *That ſhe took it no Fault; and if any were, ſhe was aſſured that it proceeded not from the Q. Majeſtie my Miſtreſs, but rather that the Warden who ſtayed them did it to avoid Blame, ſeeing they had no Paſs-port. And tho',* ſaith ſhe, *it is daily told me, that the Queen my Siſter intendeth not to deal with me but under Colour; yet I aſſure you, I believe it not, and give no Thanks unto them for their Reports.* I commended her Majeſtie for the Judgment that ſhe had of ſuch Men; I deſir'd her to conceive of the Q. my Miſtreſs as in all her Life ſhe had had ſhewed herſelf in Word and Deed, as well to her Grace as all others that ever ſhe had to do with. She ſaith, *That there ſhall be no ſuch thing in her, that the Reports of any ſhall move her to take other Thoughts, than that the Q. Majeſtie is determined to live in Peace and Amity, as ſhe for her Part doth heartily deſire.* This Purpoſe fell in upon the Report of *Livingſton* Maſter of her Horſes, who ſaid, That Sir *John Forſter* would not deliver them; but the *Grand-Prior* and *Monſ. d'Anville* muſt be bound for them *corps & biens,* which in my Conſcience is falſly reported, and yet am I ſure that he ſpake it: He alſo bruited, that there were to come 300 Soldiers to *Barwick* out of hand. I durſt not for that preſent, for fear of diſcloſing of my Author, ſay what I thought; my Heart burnt to leave it unſpoken. I ſaid, that of ſuch Reports ſhe ſhould have good Store; but the more ſhe believed, the greater ſhould be her own Pain to live in Suſpicion, and Grief in the End to find how many falſe Reporters and Flatterers her Grace had about her. I hear alſo, that the Earl of *Huntley* tickleth her in the Ear with ſome Untruths.

‘ She asked me after this, *What News I heard of late out of* France? I confirmed that, that the Lord *James* had ſhewed her of the Accord. I find no great liking in her that way. In long Purpoſe of this Matter, and other like, ſhe ſaith, *That ſhe truſteth that the Q. her Siſter will not take the*

(a) This, I believe, is the firſt Time that an Interview betwixt the two Queens was motion'd.

1561. '*worſe with her, that ſhe is not reſolved in Conſcience in thoſe Matters that are in Controverſy, ſeeing it is neither of Will nor Obſtinacy againſt God and his Word.* I ſaid, That I was glad to hear that of her Grace, that ſhe was not wilfully diſpoſed, and truſted that I ſhould ſee both her Grace and the Q. Grace my Miſtreſs in one Mind and Accord, as well in that as other Matters. I gueſs that ſhe ſpoke that upon this Occaſion ſome have of late reaſoned, whether a Prince that profeſſeth *Chriſt* may enter in League with one of a contrary Belief and Religion. This is but my Conjecture.

'I told her Grace alſo of the Kindneſs that had been of late ſhewed by her Uncles the Duke and Cardinal, to the Q. Majeſtie. She was very glad to hear thereof, and promiſed that ſhe would be a Means to continue it.' *Next*, ſaith ſhe, *unto the King their Sovereign and Maſter, I would that my Uncles ſhould bear Good-will unto the Q. your Miſtreſs: You know how ſibb we are, and our Kindneſs muſt be increaſed.* I gave her good Words to the Anſwer hereof——I receive of her Grace at all Times very good Words. I am born in hand by ſuch as are neareſt about her, as the L. *James* and the L. of *Lidington*, that they are meant as they are ſpoken: I ſee them above all others in Credit, and find in them no Alteration, tho' there be that complain, that they yeild too much unto her Appetite; which yet I ſee not. The Lord *James* dealeth according to his Nature, rudely, homely and bluntly; the L. of *Lidington* more delicately and finely, yet nothing ſwerveth from the other in Mind and Effect. She is patient to hear, and beareth much *(a)*. The Earl *Mariſchal* is wary, but ſpeaketh ſometimes to good purpoſe; his Daughter is lately come to this Town: We look ſhortly what ſhall become of the long Love [betwixt the Lord *James* and that Lady.] The Lord *John* of *Coldingham* hath not leaſt Favour with his leaping and dancing; he is like to marry the Lord *Bothwell*'s Siſter. The Lord *Robert* conſumeth with Love of the Earl of *Caſſils*'s Siſter. The Earl *Bothwell* hath given unto him old Lands of his Father's in *Teviodale*, and the Abbay of *Melroſs*. The Duke's Grace is come to *Kinneill*, and purpoſeth not to come near unto the Court, except that he be ſent for. I hear of nothing that is purpoſed againſt him; it is thought that he may be well enough ſpared. My Lord *Arran* purpoſeth not to be at Court ſo long as the Maſs remaineth: There came few to it, but her ſelf, her Uncle and Train. Three Cauſes I perceive there are that move my Lord *Arran* to abſent himſelf; the one is, the Maſs; the other, the Preſence of his Enemy; the third, Lack wherewith to maintain a Port. By the firſt, he maintaineth his Credit with the preciſe Proteſtants; the other argueth leſs Courage in him than many Men thought, that his Enemy is yet alive to have that Place which he is unworthy of; the third manifeſteth unto the World the Beaſtlineſs of his Father, that more than Money hath neither Faith nor God.

'The Lords now begin to return to the Court; the Biſhops flock apace: The Metropolitan of St. *Andrew*'s arrived here on *Munday* laſt with 80 Horſes in Train; and to be ſeen, he rode half a Mile out of his Way, and rode through the whole High-ſtreet of *Edinburgh*. We know not yet what Miſchief he and his Aſſociates come for; he had with him only two *Hamiltons:* The Abbot of *Kilwinning (b)* met him here the firſt Night, but came not with him. I have given the Book that your Honour ſent me, to have more printed. The Accord of the Sacrament is alſo tranſlated, and Copies given to divers. The Q. herſelf ſaw that you ſent me, ſhe read it in the Garden walking in the Sight of many; ſhe ſaid, that it was a *French* Hand, and I affirmed it to be that that came from thence unto your Honour, to give it the more Authority. She ask'd whether her Uncle the Cardinal's Oration was printed: I ſaid, that I lookt daily for it——I am now more

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(*a*) Mr. *Knox*, nor Mr. *Buchanan*, never ſaid ſo much to her Majeſty's Advantage. If ſhe had had a friendly Council about her, ſhe might have prov'd an excellent Princeſs.

(*b*) *Gavin Hamilton.*

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‘ uncertain than before when *St. Colme (a)* taketh his Journey towards *France:* It is ſaid here, that there cometh ſhortly an Ambaſſador from thence, hither. The Marquis hath his Table allowed 50 *Shill. Sterl.* the Day; he offendeth many by his liberal Talk. Mr. *Knox* cannot be otherwiſe perſwaded but many Men are deceived in this Woman; he feareth yet that *poſteriora erunt pejora primis*; his Severity keepeth us in marvellous Order. I commend better the Succeſs of his Doings and Preachings than the Manner thereof *(b)*, tho' I acknowledge his Doctrine to be ſound: His Prayer is daily for her, *That God will turn her obſtinate Heart againſt God and his Truth; or if the holy Will be otherwiſe, to ſtrengthen the Hearts and Hands of his Choſen and Elect, ſtoutly to withſtand the Rage of all Tyrants,* &c. in Words terrible enough——Moſt humbly I take my Leave, the 24th of *October* 1561.

Your Honour's always bounden,

Tho. Randolphe.

In this preceeding Letter we are given to underſtand the Queen's Intention to chaſtiſe the Thieves and Robbers, who infeſted the more Southern Parts of the Kingdom. The want of a regular Government had mightily increaſed the Inſults and Depredations of thoſe looſe and diſſolute Rogues; and now it was found abſolutely neceſſary to take ſome legal and ſevere Courſe by them: And our Queen did very wiſely deſire of the Queen of *England*, that her Majeſty would take Care, not to allow theſe Robbers to get Shelter within her Kingdom, becauſe otherwiſe it was an eaſy Matter for them to fly into the next Borders of *England*, and ſo eſcape the Puniſhment of the *Scottiſh* Laws. The Queen and Council had determined to have a very ſolemn Court of Juſtice holden at *Jedburgh* for trying the Robbers, and the Queen's Brother, Lord *James*, the tow'ring Favourite, was pitched upon to be the Lord *Juſtice*. Our two Hiſtorians of that Time take Care, after their uſual manner, to impoſe their own malicious Conſtructions upon the Queen's Intentions herein; and that they may put it in the moſt plauſible Dreſs (tho' indeed there can hardly appear any Foundation for their Reflections) they both tell the Story in ſuch ſort, as if that Gentleman, inſtead of being ſent to ſit as Judge in a Court, and repreſent his Royal Sovereign, had been by her devoted to Deſtruction, by expoſing his Perſon, unguarded, to a mercileſs Set of Murderers. And Mr. *Buchanan*, in order to magnify the Danger into which he pretends his Patron was now thrown, calls theſe Robbers, *Inhabitants of the* Engliſh *Borders*; than which nothing could be more falſe. And he ſays, the Queen's Court was at this Time immers'd in Vice; upon which Account her Brother's innocent Behaviour was diſtaſteful to her; and therefore ſhe ſent him upon this Errand, to get her ſelf rid of him. But this Author's Aſſertion had paſſed better in the Eyes of other People, if the *Engliſh* Reſident, who was at bottom no Friend to our Queen, had given any Ground for this Aſperſion in his Letters *(c)*. To give a true Inſight into this whole Affair, and to remove the unjuſt Repreſentation thereof, I ſhall think my ſelf obliged to ſet down here the Acts of Privy-Council relating thereunto; and by theſe the Reader will be able to form a proper Judgment of it from the firſt to the laſt.

A Juſtice Court is appointed to chaſtiſe Thieves and Robbers.

(a) This was *James Stewart*, a Deſcendent of the Family of *Ochiltree*, and created afterwards Lord *Doun*.

(b) The Unmannerlineſs of Mr. *Knox* could be agreeable to no Body.

(c) Mr. *Knox* tells frankly, that Masking began at Lord *James*'s Marriage; which from Year to Year hath continued ſince. And Mr. *Buchanan* himſelf owns, that there was at that Marriage *immoderate Luxury*. Yet the firſt of theſe Authors ſays of that Lord, that " the Image of God was in him;" and the other, that " he could not endure the Queen's looſe way of *Living*." Strange! that this Man ſhould have been ſuch a Reſtraint upon the Queen in her Luxury, and yet tolerate the ſame in himſelf.

1561. *Apud Palatium Reginæ prope Edinburgum,* 13. *Octobris Anno* 1561.

SEDERUNT

An Account of this Court from the Regiſters of Privy-Council.

Georgius *Comes de* Huntlie,

Willelmus *Mareſcallæ Comes,*

Jacobus *Comes de* Bothuell,

Jacobus *Commendatarius perpetuus Prioratuum Sti* Andreæ & Pittenweme.

It is ſtatute and ordanit be the Quenis and Lordis of hir Secreit-Counſale above writtin, That ane Juſtice-Court be ſet and haldin in Jedburgh, and ane other in Drumfreis, als haiſtalie as can be poſſible; and the Juſtice-Court of Jedburgh to be haldin the 15th Day of November nixttocum, and the Juſtice-Clerk to ordoure the ſamyn as becummis him of his Office: And als, That Letters be direct to charge all the Erlis, Lordis, Baronis, Gentilmen, Landitmen, and Frehaldaris within the Boundis of Edinburgh principale, and within the Conſtabularie of Hadingtoun, Linlythgow, Striviling, Clackmannane, Kynroſs, Fyfe, Berwick, Peblis, Selkirk, and Roxburgh, that thai with thair ſubſtancious Houſaldis, weill bodin in feir of Weir, in thair maiſt ſubſtancious Maner, meit James Commendatour of Saintandrois and Pittenweim, Lieutennent, at Lauder, the 13th Day of November nixttocum, and paſs fordwart with him to Jedburgh, for the Effaris concernyng the Commone-weill of the Realme, and thair to remaine for the Space of 20 Dayis eftir thair cuming to Jedburgh, under the Pane of Tinſale of Lyfe, Landis, and Gudis.

Forſamekle as the Quenis Majeſtie having, at hir hame-cuming, fundin hir Realme in gude Peax with all hir Nytboris, is of Mynd to interteny the ſamyn be all Meanes, and thairwithall to conſerve the Liegis of hir Realme in Quietnes; Nottheles ane Part of hir Subjectis duelland neir the Bordouris being, as weill apperis be thair Procedingis, impacient of all gude Ordoure, be brekking of the Cuntrie, intendis to diſturb the commone Tranquillite, making continuale Heirſchippis, Stowthis and Reiffis upoun uther peaceable Subjectis dwelland in the Incuntrie; quhilkis Diſordouris, hir Majeſtie cannot ſuffer unpuniſſit: For repreſſing of the quhilks Enormiteis, hir Hienes hes commandit ane Juſtice-Court to be affixt and holdin in the Tolbuith of Jedburgh the 15th Day of November nixttocum, and quhairunto hir Hienes will direct——with hir Commiſſioun and Power; And finding, be Avyſs of the Lordis of hir Secreit-Counſale, neceſſarie for Executioun of hir Hienes Commandement and Service in yat Behalf, yat hir Justice be weill accumpanyit, and hir Autorite ſufficiently fortifeit be Concurrence of ane gude Power of hir faithfull Subjectis: THAIRFOIR hir Majeſtie, be Advyſs foirſaid, ordanis Letteris to be direct to the Shireffis of Edinburgh principale, and within the Conſtabularie of Hadingtoun, Linlythgow, Striviling, Clakmannan, Kinroſchyre, Fyfe, Berwik,

wik, Roxburgh, Selkirk and Peblis, and yair Deputis, and to Officiaris of the Quenis Shireffis in yat Part, chargeing yame to paſs to the Mercat-Croces of the Heid-Burrowis of the Schiris foirſaidis, and utheris Places neidfull, and yair be oppin Proclamatioun in oure Soverane Ladeis Name and Autorite, command and charge all and ſundrie, Erlis, Lordis, Baronis, Frehaldaris, Landitmen, and utheris Gentilmen duelland within the ſaids Schirefdomes, That thai, and ilk ane of yame, with yair Kin, Freindis, Servandis and Houſhaldmen, weill bodin in feir of Weir, in yair maiſt ſubſtancious Maner, with 20 Dayis Vittalis and Proviſioun, meit ſaid at Lauder, ye Day of November nixt to cum; and fra thyns, to paſs fordwart with him in Cumpany to the Burgh of Jedburgh, yair to remaine during the ſaid Space of 20 Dayis, and to reſſave ſik Directioun and Command as ſal be gevin be him to yame in oure Soverane Ladeis Name, for Quietnes of the Cuntre, and put the ſamyn to Executioun, under the Pane of Tinſale of Lyfe, Landis, and Gudis. 1561.

Apud dictum Palatium, 12. *Novembris, Anno* 1561.

Followis the Inſtructionis gevin be the Quenis Majeſtie to my Lord James, *to be uſit be him, and as he thinkis expedient, be the Advyſs of the Counſale preſent with him, in the Procedingis at the Juſtice-Court, now to be haldin, by Continuatioun, to the 15th Day of this inſtant Month of* November 1561, *at* Jedburgh.

IN the firſt, ——————

Item, Gif it be thocht expedient be the ſaid Lord James, be the Advyſs of the Counſale being preſent with him in ony Part yairof the Tyme of his remaning in Jedburgh, Yat ony Perſone or Perſonis diſſobedient within the Boundis of the myddil Mercheis, or utheris Partis, be riddin on and invadit be Fyre and Swerd, the ſamyn to be als lauchfullie done as gif ſpeciale Commiſſioun wer gevin under the Quenis Majeſties Greit-Seill, to do the ſamyn upoun every particular, yair Partakeris, Aſſiſtaris or Adheraris: And to aſage Houſes, and gif yai be haldin, to caſt doun the ſamyn, as ſal be thocht gude be him; and quhat ſumever thing yat happynis to be done by Fyre, Slachter, taking of Gudes, Preſonaris, or uttherwyſs in yat Behalf, na Perſone nor perſonis Subjectis of this Realme, to have Actioun yairfoir nowther criminalie nor civilie, bot ye ſaid Lord James, or quhatſumever utheris being with him, or at his Command doand the premiſſis, to be fre of all the Actionis foirſaids, with Power to him to direct Letteris in oure ſaid Soveranis Name, to charge all and ſundry ye Inhabitantis of the ſaid mydil Merchis, and utheris Partis adjacent yairto, to concur with him, to the Effect foirſaid, under the pane of Deid: And ordanis the Signet to anſwer Letteris upoun his Deliverance, and twa of the Counſallis Hand-writtis, to the Effect foirſaid, or any uyer Effaris concernyng the Weill of the Cunttre dureng his Reſidence yair.

Item, Gif it ſal be thocht gude to the ſaid Lord James to wryt to the Wardanis of Ingland, or any utheris havand Commiſſioun of the Quene of Ingland, for the Weill of this Realme, and kepyng of the ſamyn, and Liegis yairof in Quietneſs, that he —— wryt to yat Effect, as he ſal think expedient: And als, with Power to the ſaid Lord James to charge the Wardanis of all the Merchis of this Realme,

1561. and utheris havand Charge within ye ſamyn, to do in all Thingis, for the ſuppreſſing of Malefactoris as he ſal charge yame, and as thai will anſwer to oure ſaid Soverane upoun yair Allegeance and particular Bandis; with Certificatioun to yame, and yai falze, yai ſal be accuſit yairfoir, as gif yai wer chargit be oure ſaid Soverane in particular.

Item, Gif ony Perſone or perſonis happynis to be convict at the ſaid Juſtice-Court for quhatſumevir Cryme, giff the ſaid Lord James thinkis yame to be replaitit, and ye Executioun yairof to be continewit, for the better Executioun of Juſtice, That he continew the ſamyn, and tranſport, and cauſs the Perſonis foirſaidis to be tranſportit to the Burgh of Edinburgh, or ſik uthir Place he pleiſſis, quhile oure Soveranis Mynd be knawin thairintill.

Item, Gif ony Perſone or Perſonis being at the Horne, or fugitive fra the Lawis, with quhome he may not, without Danger, intercommune with yame; That he ſpeik and intercommone, and cauſs utheris quhome he pleiſſis name, intercommone with thame, for the Weill of the Countre, and Furtherance of the Executioun of Juſtice, als oft as he ſal think expedient, for the quhilk yai ſal incur na Skayth nor Danger in Tyme tocum.

Item, Quhatſumevir uther Thingis the ſaid Lord James, be ye Avyſs of the maiſt Part of the Lordis of ye Secreit-Counſale being with him, happynis to do, and put to Executioun, for the Weill of ye Countre, ye ſamyn ſal be haldin als lauchfullie done as gif ſpeciale Commiſſioun wer gevin to him or yame, upoun every Point and Particle yairof, in the maiſt ample Form under the Greit-Seill.

Quhilkis Inſtructionis the Quenis Majeſtie ordanis to be inſert in the Bukis of Privie-Counſale, and to have the Strenth of ane Act yairof, and to remane yairin *ad perpetuam rei memoriam.*

Now, by theſe original Records, we perceive, that the Lord *James* was one of the Council who appointed this Juſtice-Court: He was not therefore put into the Commiſſion againſt his own Inclination; nor did the Queen, by her ſovereign Authority, ſend him away. We ſee likewiſe the great Force and Pomp wherewith he was ſurrounded; even ſo great, that perhaps, had it not been to do him the more Honour, one half thereof might have been ſpar'd. And I may with great Confidence affirm, that there was not *then*, nor is *now*, any Subject within the Limits of *Scotland*, that would be afraid of his Life, to go in Company of, and be guarded by ſo many Attendants, all in Arms. And in general, the Readers will eaſily obſerve by the Corrections which I have made from original Records, of almoſt all the Facts hitherto touched by Mr. *Buchanan* and Mr. *Knox*, which bear any relation to their Sovereign the Queen; how groſly, if not maliciouſly, they have deborded from the Truth; and how little ground Poſterity has to rely upon their Repreſentations in other Facts, when ſupported by no better Authority than theirs.

CHAP. III.

A Continuation of State-Affairs until the End of this Year.

AS on the one hand the Scarcity of Matter afforded by our Hiſtorians, and on the other the Miſrepreſentations impoſed by them, have obliged me to make uſe of a great many original Papers, to ſupply the firſt, and rectify the ſecond; by which means the Contents of this Period is extended to a very great Bulk: I have therefore made here a new Break beſides what I intended, with purpoſe to contribute thereby in ſome ſort to the Relaxation of my Readers. 1561.

Here follow ſome original Letters which diſcover unto us the remaining Tranſactions of this Year.

A Letter from Mr. Randolph, *To Sir* William Cecil, *11th* November 1561 *(a).*

Letter from the *Engliſh* Miniſter to the Secretary of *England*.

‘IN ſuch Matters as of late I have had to do before this Queen and her Council, I have inform'd my Lords of the Q. Majeſtie's Honourable Council; whereof your Honour, for the Place you are in, cannot be ignorant—— The Abſence of the Duke's Grace from this Court, cauſed here ſuch Bruit and Rumors among the People, of his miſliking of the Queen's Proceedings, with ſomewhat elſe that they unadviſedly reported, that was meant towards him, that he was adviſed by his Friends to repair unto this Town, and by his Preſence make void all ſuch vain Talk, as was here in many Mens Mouths. Upon *Tueſday* laſt, the 4th of this inſtant, he came into this Town; upon *Wedneſday* he ſaw the Queen, and was well received, and, as he confeſſeth himſelf unto me, no manner of occaſion offered unto him by the Queen of miſliking. Since that Time he hath been daily in Court and Council; howbeit his Purpoſe is not to remain here above 6 or 7 Days more. He doubteth greatly that the Queen intendeth to take from him *Dumbritton*; and ſo thinketh himſelf void of all Place of Succour, if this Queen intend at any Time to take Quarrel againſt him: *For*, ſaith he, *when ever ſhe has* That *out of my Hands, I know that her Mind towards me and my Houſe cannot be good: I will therefore aſſure my ſelf, by all Means that I can, to keep* That; *which*, ſaith he, *I ſhall not be able to do, except your Miſtreſs at that Time ſtand a gracious Princeſs unto me, who hath promiſed me, by Letters, never to ſee me nor my Houſe wreck'd (b).* Tho' I know that he doubteth more than he hath occaſion, yet would I no manner of way condemn his Purpoſe; nor thought it good any way to diſcourage him of the Q. Majeſtie's Favour, ſo long as he perſeveres in the maintaining of God's Truth, Obedience to his Sovereign, and Affection towards my Miſtreſs according to her Demerits *(c)* upon him and his Son. In this Behalf he ſpake enough; he required me very earneſtly to advertiſe your Honour hereof, and, if it ſeem good unto you, to open the ſame unto the Q. Majeſtie, to know what her Grace will do for him, if he be brought into that Neceſſity to take the Place *(d)* for his Refuge; and therefore deſireth your Honour's Anſwer, and favourable Word unto her Majeſtie. I enquired of him, What Right he had

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(a) Calig. Book 10. an Original.

(b) Whether this was the Reſolution of a dutiful Subject, let impartial Men judge. The Queen of *England* could not fail to ſee herſelf the Umpire in all *Scottiſh* Affairs.

(c) *i. e.* Merits. The Word *Demerits* being at that Time taken in the ſenſe of the Latin *demereor*.

(d) *i. e.* ſecure himſelf within the Caſtle of *Dumbarton*.

1561. ‘ to have that Place? or Pretence to refuſe the Delivery, if it were demanded? He anſwered me, That his Right was none *(a)*; but that he took it from the Earl of *Lenox*, and that he had a Promiſe by Mouth made unto him by this Queen's Mother, to have it in Farm for 19 Years. My Lord of *Arran* remaineth at St. *Andrew*'s; he knoweth not himſelf, and I cannot conjecture, what he meaneth by his Abode there: He wrote of late unto the Council, that he might be anſwered of the Revenues of St. *Andrew*'s, *Dumfermling* and *Melroſs*, by the Queen's Authority, as they had put him in Poſſeſſion; adding this Clauſe, That otherwiſe, he would complain unto his Brethren, who from the Beginning had been of the Congregation. This manner of doing was found very ſtrange; his Bill was rejected, and nothing was ſaid thereunto. It is now called in queſtion, whether that the Princeſs being an Idolater, may be obeyed in all civil and politick Actions. I think marvelouſly of the Wiſdom of God, that gave this unruly, unconſtant and cumberſome People, no more Subſtance nor Power than they have; for then would they run wild *(b)*. Now they imagine that the Lord *James* groweth cold, that he aſpireth to great Matters; he is now Lieutenant upon the Borders, Commander [that is, ſole Minion] of the Queen, like ſhortly to be Earl of *Murray*, and Treaſurer of *Scotland*: *Lidington* ambitious, and too full of Policy. So there is no Remedy, ſay they, it muſt yet come to a new Day. To the contrary of this I perſwade by all Means that I can, with ſuch as I may moſt aſſuredly have to do; and in my Conſcience they are in the Wrong to the Lord *James*: And whenſoever *Lidington* is taken out of this Place, they ſhall not find among themſelves ſo fit a Man to ſerve in this Realm. My Lord of *Arran* hath been oft perſwaded with, to conform himſelf to this Eſtate and Time: My Sayings have been always unto him, That the greater Tokens of Obedience that he ſhews now unto his Sovereign, the better ſhall he be able to govern, and the People to know their Duty, if God ſend him unto that Place. I find my Words better allowed, than followed of him.

‘ I wrote unto your Honour, That the Proveſt and Baillies of this Town were depoſed; we look now daily to have them reſtored, and the ſelf ſame confirmed that they were put out of their Office for. Upon *All-hallow* Day the Queen had a ſung Maſs. That Night one of the Prieſts was well beaten for his Reward, by a Servant of the Lord *Robert*'s. We look to have it proclaimed again, That no Man under Pain of Confiſcation of Goods and Lands here, ſay or come unto her own Maſs, ſaving her own Houſhold that came out of *France*. The Miniſters ſhall have their Livings appointed by her Authority.

‘ As I thought thus to have ended, there were ſent unto me your Letters brought by *La Croc (c)*, who, as the Lord of *Lidington* giveth me to underſtand, hath made very honourable Report of the Q. Majeſtie my Sovereign. The Lord *James* alſo confirmeth the ſame with many merry Words, that the Queen wiſhed that one of the two [*viz.* one of the two Queens] were Man, to make an End of all Debates. This I trow was ſpoken in her merry Mood. Yeſterday I ſought Occaſion to have ſpoken with her Grace my ſelf; but ſhe was buſy about St. *Come*'s Diſpatch into *France*, who within two Days taketh his Journey. Her Grace purpoſeth to write unto the Q. Majeſtie herſelf in her own Hand. St. *Come*'s Errand into *France*, is to underſtand the State of Things there; to faſhion as near as ſhe may all Things accordingly here; to entertain Amity by kind Words; and to fetch new Inſtructions how Matters ſhall be governed here. To ſpeak of himſelf; he is gentle, and honeſt enough; but not without Suſpicion of over great Ambition,

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(*a*) Here is an authentick Account of the Duke's Tenure of this Caſtle.

(*b*) This Reflection from this Stranger was a ſevere Reproof on the Sticklers in thoſe Days, and may ſerve for a Memorial to their Poſterity.

(*c*) He was ſent from *France*. Mention has formerly been made of him.

‘ tion, which may move him by all Ways that he can to ſerve her Appetite *(a)*. We retain our old Familiarity, and accordingly I muſt needs commend him unto your Honour. This Queen longeth greatly to hear of the Q. Majeſtie's Reſolution touching Sir *Peter Mewtas* Legation. I have made both the Lord *James* and Lord of *Lidington* privy of my Lord of *Bedford*'s Entertainment and Courteſy towards the Grand-Prior and *Monſ. d'Anville*; they leave nothing unſpoken thereof to the Queen in as good Words as they can. I hear that the News that ſhe hath of the Cardinal, and Duke's leaving of the Court, pleaſeth her but little. All Men here judge the Time of the Year paſt for the King of *Sweden*'s coming, tho' of late the Bruit was great that he was arrived at *Dunkirk*. Such of the Lords as have their Hoſtages at *Newcaſtle*, propoſe ſhortly to write unto the Q. Majeſtie for the Deliverance of them, foraſmuch as the Year is now near expired. I perſwaded with the Lord *James*, to let the Year firſt run out, before any ſuch thing were moved. Others thought it beſt out of hand, to avoid Charges. To Morrow I ſhall know their Reſolution.——Moſt humbly I take my Leave. At *Edinburgh* the 11th of *November* 1561.

Your Honour's bounden and

always ready to command,

Tho. Randolphe.

A Letter from Mr. Randolph *to Secretary* Cecil, *7th* December 1561 *(b)*.

Another Letter from the *Engliſh* Miniſter to the Secretary of *England*.

‘ I Doubt not but before this Time your Honour hath lookt to hear ſomewhat out of theſe Parts. I have the longer ſtay'd my Letters, that I might accompany them with the L. of *Lethington*'s unto your Honour. By that he hath promiſed to me to write unto your Honour, you ſhall underſtand his Opinion touching the perpetuating of the Amity, that is upon this Side of the moſt part of Men ſo earneſtly deſired, and alſo his full Mind (as near as he can conceive) of the ſincere Meaning of his Miſtreſs in that Behalf. How much more privy that he is unto all her Doings than it is poſſible for me to be, the better is he able to inform your Honour of the Depths of her Thoughts in that Matter; and I aſſure my ſelf, that there lacketh no Good-will in him thereunto: For ſo much as I am able my ſelf to conjecture, ſhe meaneth no leſs than hath been ſpoke often both by herſelf and others, to do what ſhe can to unite the two Realms in ſo perfect an Amity, as the like hath not been. I never have Acceſs unto her Grace upon any Occaſion, but our Purpoſe endeth in that Matter: I never heard better Words, nor more affectionately ſpoken, as of the laſt Talk I had with her Grace. Your Honour ſhall hear as the ſame cometh in place to be ſpoken of, having firſt advertis'd you of other Things that have paſs'd ſince my laſt Letters; in the which I told you of the Arrival of the Duke's Grace, after the long abſenting of himſelf from this Court, and of the Occaſion thereof. Since that Time this befell.

‘ The next Day after the L. *James* Departure out of this Town towards *Jedburgh*, there came hither the Bp. of St. *Andrew*'s: Within 2 or 3 Days after, came the Bps. of *Dumblane* and *Cathneſs*. The Bp. of *Roſs* was here before, made one of the Privy-Council, and *(c)* Lord Preſident of the Seſſion.

(*a*) The Queen has been impoſed upon in the Choice of this Man; for he was entirely of the Lord *James*'s Side. He was no proper Perſon for the Queen to truſt in *France*.

(*b*) Calig. Book 10. an Original.

(*c*) In the Records of Privy-Council, on the 13th Day of *November* 1561, beſides the ordinary Counſellors, is adjected, *Præſente* *Sinclair Decano Glaſguen.* This Gentleman's Chriſtian Name was *Henry*, a Man exceedingly learned in the Laws. And on the 14th of *November* 1561, *Præſentibus etiam* *Epiſcopo Roſſen.* *Epiſcopo Dunblanen. Roberto Carnegy de Kynard Milite, Magiſtro Joanne Stevinſon Præcentore Glaſguen. Magiſtro Abrahamo Creichtoun Præpoſito de Dunglaſs, Magiſtro Willielmo Baillie Domino Provand, Magiſtro Jacob Balfour Rectore de Fliſk, Magiſtro Joanne Gledſtanis Juris utriuſque Licentiato, & Magiſtro Joanne Spens S. D. N. Reginæ Advocato.*

1561. ' By reaſon of theſe and their Company, within 6 Days, this whole Town was pack'd and peſter'd with Papiſts; all others in whom the Hope of Good is, were with the Lord *James*. The *Sunday* at Night after his Departure, being the 16th of *November*, about 9 of the Clock, the Queen's Grace being yet out of her Bed, all Men being ready to depart, there cometh among them ſo ſuddenly a Fray, without either News of Men, Horſes or Armour, that ſcarcely any Man wiſt where to beſtow himſelf. Where Men are thus bold, being ſome of them reputed old and valiant Soldiers, what doth your Honour think of the poor Damſels that were left alone, whilſt others ſought Corners to put their Heads in? Theſe come to themſelves; Counſel is taken what is to be done: Every Man took his Armour; the Watch was appointed; the Scouts put forth; nothing ſeen nor heard. Of this there riſeth next Morning, I know not what evil and unlucky Bruit, without any certain Author, that the Earl of *Arran* was come over the Water with a ſtark Company, to take away the Queen, and that he had his Friends and Servants quietly in this Town to take his Part. This Bruit runneth faſt; the Repair of Papiſts waxeth great; the Watch continueth; and being before rais'd of the ſudden, was then appointed with good Deliberation and Adviſement, That every Lord that lodgeth within the Court ſhould watch his Night about, with Jack and Spear *(a)*: The Places were viſited where any Entry might be; divers Paſſages to the Queen's Chamber ſtopped, and new ones made. In the mean time the Duke cometh to the Town; and being greatly offended with this Report, complaineth to the Queen of the Injury done unto him and his Son, that ſuch a Slander ſhould be riſen upon him, whereof he himſelf could not be guiltleſs, if it were true: He deſireth Puniſhment of thoſe that were the Authors of it, as Sowers of Sedition and Movers of Diſcord between the Princeſs and her Subjects, and bringeth forth an old Statute (whereof I ſend your Honour a Copy) and deſireth, that according unto That, he may have Right and Juſtice at her Grace's Hands. Nothing could be done to his Contentation. Excuſes divers alledged; other Occaſions ſhew'd that mov'd her ſo to do: She purg'd herſelf of all Suſpicion towards him and his. Many good Words were given unto him, but he being nothing ſatisfied, returned the 25th of the laſt into his Houſe *Kinneil*, from thence he will to *Hamilton*, where he purpoſeth to remain this whole Winter. I am not yet certain whether he will be here, at the Convention the 15th of this inſtant. Thus your Honour heareth the ſimple Verity of this great Hurly-Burly, without either Reaſon or great Occaſion for her to ſtand ſo greatly in Doubt of any Subject of her own, or ſo highly to give Credit unto any Report, that ſhe ſhould ſo manifeſtly diſcloſe what Mind ſhe did bear unto the whole Race. To know what Likelihood there might be, that the Earl of *Arran* had any ſuch Purpoſe in his Head, I have done what I can; he himſelf was never fewer in Company, never worſe furniſhed of all Things fit for ſuch an Enterprize, without Horſes, Men, or Money. He came, ſay they, over the Water to *Kinneil*, the Night before. True it is that he brought with him but two Men and a Page; the reſt he left at St. *Andrew*'s *(b)*. He wiſh'd all the Papiſts in *Scotland* hang'd. So do many moe beſides him. And in my Opinion, if at any Time ſhe had Occaſion to fear, yet never leſs than then, having ſo many Papiſts as were in this Town at that Time; who tho' I am ſure there is not one of them that will die for *Chriſt*, yet to ſave their Queen from ſtealing, I trow would not ſtick to ſtrike a Stroke or two. The Hatred that I perceive in this Queen toward my Lord of *Arran*, is marvellous great; and he himſelf too ſlack in doing of his Duty, tho' I am ſure far enough from Danger, ſaving in his own Perſwaſion. In all this Time he ra-

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(a) This is far from levying Men to ſerve as a *continual* Body Guard, according as our Writers would fain make the World believe. See this Story told by them.

(b) All this might be very true; and yet this Nobleman's unexpected Arrival on this Side the River *Forth*, might chance to raiſe a Noiſe, eſpecially when 'tis conſidered what Mr. *Randolph* ſays of him all along.

1561.

ther giveth Ear unto theſe Bruits, than ſtirreth at the hearing of them: He rejoiceth more (as he ſent me Word) in his Innocency, and to behold their Follies, than if he were able to do as much as they ſuſpect he would.

' The Biſhops, as many as were in this Town, have now retired themſelves, ſaving *Roſs*, and *Caithneſs* the Earl of *Lenox*'s Brother (a), who cometh daily to the Sermons, and is reputed honeſt enough: There is here preſently with him the Earl of *Sutherland*, who married his Siſter; whatſoever they ſeek, it is preſently applied. I know yet nothing but common Bruit, and that not worth the Credit. The Biſhops ſought to be reſtored; that Matter is to be conſidered at this Convention; they offer large Contribution to be put into Poſſeſſion: She ſaith, that *that which is done by an Order and good Advice may longeſt continue*; but good as yet they have gotten none: They know not yet, for all their Maſs, what they may well think of her. The Lord *James*, ſay they, beareth too much Rule; *Lidington* hath a crafty Head and fell * Tongue. The worſt that they like is, the Accord that they hear is like to be between the Q. Majeſtie and this Queen; if that be, they think themſelves quite overthrown; they ſay plainly, that ſhe can't then return (b) a true Chriſtian Woman. And before God, neither the L. of *Lidington*, nor I, can be perſwaded that ſhe will give over her Maſs, till ſhe have ſpoke with the Q. Majeſtie, that it might ſeem rather that ſhe doth it on ſuch Reaſons and Perſwaſions as the Q. Majeſtie will uſe unto her, than to be forced thereunto by her People; which I do beſt allow, and moſt heartily wiſh. The Bruit of her Good-will to go into *England*, is far ſpread abroad in this Country, and the Purpoſe well commended of all Honeſt Men; but hereof are there diverſe Judgments. Some, as all other Things, meaſure it by Gain and Profit, either that they may get there; or, by reaſon of the Quietneſs in both the Countries, may enrich themſelves at home. Others by Zeal and Affection both unto the one Country and the other. The third having chiefly their Reſpect unto the Honour of God, weigh all Things as near as they can unto the Rule preſcrib'd by Him; wherein we ought to conſider how far the Will of God is, that we ſhould proceed in making our Alliances, Amities and Friendſhips, and with whom. They fear alſo, that in giving this Princeſs too great Aſſurance and Security, ſhe may with the more Boldneſs diſcharge her Choler upon thoſe that ſhe diſliketh, or exerciſe any kind of Severity that ſhe will upon the Miniſters and true Profeſſors of *Chriſt* ——Of the Lord *James*'s Doings at *Jedburgh*, and of the Meeting at *Kelſo* with the Lord *Gray* and Sir *John Foſter*, I doubt not but your Honour hath been advertis'd; he burnt many Houſes, he hang'd 22 or 23, and brought unto this Town 40 or 50, of which there are 23 in the Caſtle of *Edinburgh*. The chiefeſt of all the Clans in the Borders are come in, to take what Order it pleaſeth the Queen to appoint, to ſtay Theft in time to come. The firſt Night of the L. *James* Arrival, the Watch was diſcharged.

* *i. e.* clever.

' The firſt Night that *Monſ. de Fois*, the *French* Ambaſſador came, ſhe talked with him a while: The next Day after Dinner ſhe communed with him very long; in which Time I being ſent for by her Commandment, was brought unto her Preſence, they two yet talking together. After that ſhe had made Countenance unto us, ſhe ſaith, *Here is* Monſ. de Fois *come out of* France *unto me, who hath ſeen my good Siſter your Miſtreſs, who is in Health; and marry whereof I am very glad: You muſt bid him welcome into* Scotland. I ſhew'd my ſelf very willing thereunto, and ſo did. He deſir'd me in her Hearing, that we ſhould not be ſtrange one to another; which ſhe ſeem'd to allow well enough, and I much better. After this they return to their Purpoſe. Incontinent the Marquis (c) (who never before, ſave in

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(a) This was *Robert Stewart* Bp. of *Caithneſs*, and Brother to *Matthew Stewart* Earl of *Lenox*. Mention was already made of him in the foregoing Book.

(b) This muſt reſpect the Interview with Q. *Elizabeth*.

(c) The Marquis of *Elbeuf*, Uncle to our Queen.

1561. ' ordinary Salutations, gave Token unto me of Kindneſs) cometh towards me.
' I had mo Careſſes than I lik'd, for the Novelty of them, ſeeing that many
' Opportunities had been offered before, and nothing done: He ſaith unto me,
' ſtanding in the Sight of the Ambaſſador, *Monſieur Randolph*, You deſerve
' well of the Q. Majeſtie, and of us all, for the good Report you have made
' unto the Q. Majeſtie your Miſtreſs of her [the Queen's] Doings, and of us
' all; we are her Majeſtie's moſt affectionate Servants, and ready to be employed
' at her Commandment. I anſwered, That it was my Part and my
' Honour to report of all Princes honourably, and of this Queen in ſpecial;
' knowing her Doings ſo honourable, and her Meaning ſo upright. Like Words
' unto theſe I had many. It is Pity, ſaid he, that ever there ſhould be Diſcord
' between theſe two Princeſſes. I affirmed the ſame. He ſaith, that he
' wou'd be glad to ſee her Majeſtie and her Country: I aſſur'd him, that he
' ſhould find that it would well content his Sight both in the one and the other.
' From this Purpoſe we fell in Talk of the Paſtimes that were the
' *Sunday* before, where the Lord *Robert*, the Lord *John*, and others ran at
' the Ring, ſix againſt ſix, diſguiſed and apparelled, the one half like Women,
' the other like Strangers, in ſtrange masking Garments. The Marquis that
' Day did very well; but the Women, whoſe Part the Lord *Robert* did ſuſtain,
' won the Ring. The Queen herſelf beheld it, and as many others as
' liſted. Of this and like Matter our Talk continued till the Ambaſſador took
' his Leave. The Queen's Grace then calleth me unto her, and ſaith, *I am*
' *much indebted unto the Queen my Siſter; I perceive by this Gentleman*
' *how well ſhe thinketh of me. I have not yet received the Letters this*
' *Gentleman brought me from your Miſtreſs, but know her Good-will unto*
' *me, both by his Report and otherwiſe. I have heard of the good Treatment*
' *ſhe hath made unto my Uncle the Grand-Prior and* Monſ. d'Anville.
' *I will be right glad at all times to acknowledge her Kindneſs, and do what*
' *lieth in me that we ſhall be good Friends for ever. I find alſo her Good-*
' *will towards me, by the good Report that the Lord* Gray, *and other her*
' *Officers upon the Borders, have kept with the Lord* James *at this Time*
' *againſt the Thieves; which I purpoſe ſo to handle, that there ſhall be no*
' *further Cauſe of Trouble between her and me. You muſt do me that Pleaſure*,
' ſaith ſhe, *when you write unto your Miſtreſs, to report unto her what*
' *my good Mind is towards her, and how willing I am that we may live in*
' *perpetual Peace and Amity, and that above all other Things I do deſire*
' *to ſee and ſpeak with her.* I told her Grace, That I was glad to hear That
' ſpoken of her Grace; and that I would not fail to ſignify it unto the Queen's
' Majeſtie my Sovereign. I remembred her Grace of that that was purpoſed
' by her Father, and did let her know that there are yet ſome of them alive,
' and of that Mind that then they were, who would travel with her Grace,
' as at that Time they did with him, to ſtay and alter her Mind from any ſuch
' Purpoſe. She ſaith again, *It ſhall paſs their Power, if it ſhall ſeem good*
' *unto your Miſtreſs; for ſomething is reſerved for us that was not then:*
' *Well*, ſaith ſhe, *as you are a good Servant unto your Miſtreſs, ſo muſt you*
' *be a good Friend to me, to report the beſt. Ye know the State of my Country,*
' *you know my People, and you ſhall know me better than you do.* To this I
' anſwered, That I was aſſured there could nothing pleaſe her Majeſtie whom
' I ſerv'd, better, than Truth in all Things that ever I ſhall be charg'd with;
' and if I ſhould fail therein ſo far, as when I ſee two ſuch Princeſſes inclined
' by all godly and honourable Means to Peace and Amity, and I, by falſe Reports,
' ſhould be Author of Diſcord and Debate; tho' I could ſo ſhift with the
' World, that never Man got Knowledge thereof, yet God would not ſuffer
' that unplagued in me. She ſaith, *I will my ſelf write unto my Siſter, and*
' *will ſpeak with you again. Remember what I have ſaid unto you.*

' Out of the Countenances of Princes, he that is able to judge, may pick
' out ſometimes great Likelihoods of their Thoughts, or find how they are

' diſpoſed.

1561.

' diſpoſed. The time of her Talk with *Monſ. de Fois*, it was mark'd by others before I came in, and after I ſaw my ſelf many Alterations in her Face; her Colour better that Day than ever I ſaw it. When I talked with her ſhe was very merry, and ſpake with ſuch Affection as I think came from the Heart.

' After this I communed with the Lord *James* of all theſe Purpoſes; he lik'd them well, and is of that Opinion that the Lord of *Lethington* is, That ſhe will never come to God *(a)* before the Q. Majeſtie draw her. I went from this to *Monſ. de Fois*; he ſpeaketh honourably of the Q. Majeſtie; he commendeth the Religion, and thereof entreth firſt in purpoſe; he lamented the contrary in divers Realms, and doubted the Dangers that were imminent. I commended his Zeal and good Mind: I ſpoke what Men thought of him, for that that he had endured for *Chriſt*'s Sake, and deſired him that he would ſo deal with the Queen's Grace in thoſe Matters, as the World might be Judge of his earneſt Mind and upright Conſcience. The next Day after, notwithſtanding, he was with the Queen at the Maſs. There came that Night, the 3d of this inſtant, *Monſ. Moret*; they din'd the next Day both with the Lord *James*; and then had *Monſ. Moret* Audience. Of both their Affairs and Doings, the Q. Majeſtie ſhall have better Information, and more aſſur'd from this Queen herſelf than I can report them.

' I have not yet ſeen *Monſ. Moret*, nor know not herein the Q. Majeſtie's Pleaſure; but at a Venture, I purpoſe ſome way or other to make a Way unto him, tho' like enough to little Effect, or better undone: Yet I truſt no Evil ſhall enſue thereof.

' Yeſterday, the 6th of this Month, I received Word that the Queen would ſpeak with me; at my coming to her, I found there *Monſ. de Fois*. After all Purpoſes ended with him, ſhe ſaith unto me, *I have received my Siſter, your Miſtreſs's Letters (b); and for that Kindneſs I find in her, I will make her privy of all my News. You ſhall alſo ſay ſomewhat in your Letters from me unto her, with good Aſſurance that I will perform it to the uttermoſt of my Power.* I have written her Mind, and ſend her Grace's Letter, which I commit unto your Honour. From thence I went again to *Monſ. de Fois*; he made me privy of his Departure upon *Tueſday* next: We entred in long Talk of the Fact of *Monſ. Nemours*; he is loath, but under covert Terms, to touch the other Duke, or his Brother *(c)*; tho' there be matter ſufficient to bring them in Suſpicion, as he ſaith, of great Matters: He pitieth the Troubles that are like to enſue; and in the Princeſs findeth ſo much Inclination to Amity and Concord, and Readineſs between all Princes to do what ſhe can, that he is very glad thereof. We talked again of Religion; I was not ſo uncourteous as to tell him that he had been at the Maſs, tho' for his Reputation it had been worth him 1000 Crowns not to have been; he repented himſelf afterwards, being admoniſhed by ſome Friend, and came not unto the *Dirige* or Maſs upon *Friday* and *Saturday* laſt, to the great miſliking of the Queen. *Moret* was there at both. She obſerved the old Manner in all her Doings; ſhe could not perſwade, nor get one Lord of her own to wear the Deule for that Day, nor ſo much as the Earl *Bothwell*. Immediately after the Service was done, ſhe cauſed a Proclamation to be made at the Croſs, by a Herauld of Arms, his Coat-Armour on his Back, *That no Man, on Pain of his Life, ſhould trouble, or do Injury to any of her Chaplains that were at the Maſs; and that all Men ſhould anſwer them their Livings in Time to come, as before.* This was done without the Conſent of the Council; and the People greatly offended thereat, becauſe it

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(*a*) *i. e.* would not turn Proteſtant. Such was the Cant of thoſe Times; and remains among ſome to this Day.

(*b*) Q. *Elizabeth*'s Letter which came by *de Foix*, is dated the 20th *November* 1561 from St. *James*'s. It contains nothing but pure Compliment. It is in the ſhatter'd MS. as is likewiſe our Queen's Letter back to Q. *Elizabeth* by the ſame Gentleman; but the Date is loſt.

(*c*) This reſpects the Affairs of *France*.

1561.

was againſt the Proclamation that was made before, that all Things ſhould remain in the old State. I ſee not yet ſuch Security, but ſhe hath good Cauſe to take heed how ſhe proceedeth in Matters of Religion, and now eſpecially where her Uncle's Authority and Credit hangeth in Ballance.

‘This is another Day of Mirth and Paſtime upon the Sands of *Leith*, where the Queen will be herſelf, to ſignify the Sorrow of her Heart after her Soul-Maſs *(a)*. I am now aſham'd to trouble your Honour any longer, nor know not what to write; but of the ſhameful Life of the Biſhop of St. *Andrew*'s, your Honour ſhall know by this Letter incloſ'd; I aſſure your Honour, ſpoken without Malice, and no leſs reported unto the Queen than it is of it. Thus with humble Recommendation of my Service, I take my Leave. At *Edinburgh* the 7th of *December* 1561.

Your Honour's to command.

‘By the next you ſhall receive the Lords Requeſt for the Hoſtages. The Lord *James* deſireth me to preſent unto your Honour his hearty Commendations, under theſe Words, *That he is not yet grown ſo great as he ſhould misken you.*

THO. RANDOLPHE.

‘*P. S.* I reſerve the Paſtime that hath been between the Miniſters and the Queen's Doctor of *Sorboune*, untill a Time that I think your Honour more at Leiſure than at this preſent; or, untill I may have more Time to write thereof.——

A Letter from Mr. Randolph, *To Sir* William Cecil, *17th* December 1561 *(b)*.

May it pleaſe your Honour,

Another Letter from the ſame to the ſame.

‘THE 11th of this inſtant I received your Letters of the 30th of *November*, with Letters alſo from the Queen's Majeſtie unto this Queen, which I preſented unto her next Day; and within two Days after, by her own Commandment, repaired unto her for an Anſwer, which at that Time was deferred, partly for the great Affairs that were then in hand (being the firſt Day of the Convention) partly alſo (as I could perceive) for that ſhe wrote of late unto the Q. Majeſtie, of the Receipt of which ſhe is very deſirous to be advertis'd. I had of herſelf at both Times very good Words, and perceive by the Lord *James* and L. of *Lidington*, that ſhe liketh very well the Contents of the Q. Majeſtie's Letter; which ſhe purpoſeth to uſe moſt ſecretly, as Time and Occaſion ſerveth. I will make Means to know her own Mind.

‘By my laſt Letters unto your Honour, I doubt not but you underſtand the very true Occaſion of the Watch, whereof now we have no more Talk: Since that time nothing hath enſued of great Importance. The Duke arrived here the 15th; my Lord of *Arran* remaineth in *Dunfermling*. The Earl *Bothwell* ſent unto the Duke an Aſſurance for the Time of this Convention: The Duke refus'd it, and ſent him Word, that it became him little to ſend Aſſurance unto him that was his Better; he rejected his Writing, and would not ſubſcribe it. I ſee no Likelihood of further to do between them. The Duke is not quarrelous; and the other ſtandeth in Doubt enough of himſelf. The Proclamation alſo inhibiteth all ſuch Debates for this Time.

‘Yeſterday *Monſ. de Moret* departed out of this Town to *Seton* to his Bed. Our firſt Meeting was upon the Sands of *Leith*, beholding the running at

‘the

(a) Perhaps ſome Certainty of the Day of the Queen's Birth may be got from theſe late ſolemn Maſſes.

(b) Calig. Book 10. an Original.

1561. the Ring: Our Acquaintance was ſoon made: We talked long of diverſe common Purpoſes. In the Praiſe of the Q. Majeſtie, Court and Country *(a)* he ſpake right well. Of all his Doings here, either this was the Effect, or elſe the Counſel is marvellous ſecret from all Men of this Nation: He was ſent only from the Duke of *Savoy* to congratulate her ſafe Return, to ſignify unto her of the Ingroſſment of the Duke's Wife, and to confirm her what he could in her Opinion touching Religion; which he did both in Word and Deed, more to his Shame and Diſcredit than ever he ſhall get Honour of his Voyage. I lamented and pitied to ſee ſuch a Princeſs of ſuch Years unmarried, and merrily asked of him, What good News he had brought her Grace from ſome noble Prince or other, of Marriage? (the Bruit was then common, that he came to profer the Duke *Nemours* Cauſe unto her, others the Duke of *Florence*; I know not whether he be married or not) He anſwered, That he was no fit Man to treat of ſo weighty Affairs: And by his Talk I perceived he had not ſeen the Duke *Nemours*, long before his Departure out of *France*; always he ſhews himſelf well affectioned unto him, and wiſheth him no leſs Honour than a Queen to his Wife. I perceive that he was well taken with by the Queen, very welcome to the Marquis, better lik'd than *Monſ. de Fois* among all the *French*. There accompanied him always *Monſ. de Croc*. He lodged at the Lord *Robert*'s Houſe beſide the Court. He had given him at his Departure a Chain of 30 Ounces, as I hear, and 3 Geldings. *Bonart* is alſo departed with him; he truſteth alſo to have a Gelding or two in *England*. I have written unto your Honour by him to no ſuch Purpoſe or Effect, as I care what become of my Letters, nor that I would your Honour ſhould weigh above that that he hath deſerved. The Queen hath written in her own Hand to the Dutcheſs of *Savoy*: If any Matter be of *Monſ. Nemours*, it is rather in Credit than in Writing. When any Purpoſe falleth in of Marriage, ſhe ſaith, That *ſhe will none other Husband but the Queen of* England. He is right near about her that hath often times heard her ſpeak it. I deſire that it may be in perfect Neighbourhood, ſeeing it cannot be in perfect Marriage.

' I preſs'd this Day to have had Acceſs unto the Lords of Council, touching the Lord *Dacres* and the Maſter of *Maxwell*. He is willing himſelf that the Matter ſhall be heard; and offereth to be taken for a Traitor, if that Narration of the Lord *Dacres* of him be true. So ſoon as conveniently may be, the Cauſe will be heard.

' I ſhould have had this Day a Letter unto your Honour from the L. of *Lidington*, it ſhall now come with the next; and alſo a Letter unto the Queen's Majeſtie from the Lords, touching the Return of the Hoſtages *(b)*. I think it not out of Purpoſe to write one Word or two touching the Earl of *Glencairn* and Earl of *Menteith*, whoſe Neceſſities I know preſently to be ſo great, that they have not wherewith to pay the Charges of their Sons, whenſoever Licence is granted them to return: The L. of *Lidington*, I know not upon what Aſſurance, promiſed that their Charge ſhould be born, which at that time was a great Perſwaſion to make them granted. Tho' this be not plainly ſpoken unto me, yet I hear it mutter'd amongſt them. The reſt are well able; but theſe, I aſſure your Honour, are moſt to be pitied, as both godly, friendly, honeſt, above many that I know *(c)*.

' Where it pleaſed your Honour to write, That the Q. Majeſtie had granted Licence unto this Queen for 6 or 7 Geldings; The L. of *Lidington* heartily prayeth your Honour to be a Mean, that they may be 15 or 16 at the leaſt; in as much as he deduceth 4 of thoſe that I was deſir'd to write for, in Conſideration that this was her firſt Requeſt ſince her home-coming, and Entrance of an Amity.

(a) *i. e.* the Queen and Country of *England*.
(b) Theſe were the Hoſtages delivered to the Queen of *England*, according to the Treaty of *Berwick*. See *p.* 117, *&c.*
(c) *i. e.* friendly and honeſt to the Queen of *England*; and ſtanch Promoters of the new Doctrines.

1561.

'I delivered your Oration unto the L. of *Lidington*, who very thankfully accepteth it, as ſhortly you ſhall know by his own Letters. Thus with humble Recommendation of my Service, I take my Leave. At *Edinburgh* the 17th of *December* late, 1561.

Your Honour's ever ready to ſerve,

'THO. RANDOLPHE.

A Letter from Mr. Randolph, *To Sir* William Cecil, *27th* December 1561 *(a)*.

Another Letter from the ſame to the ſame.

'I Thought, by reaſon of this Convention, to have been able to inform your Honour, of ſome notable Matters that ſhould have been concluded in ſo frequent an Aſſembly of all States together at this Time *(b)*. Among diverſe Matters that were proponed, there was only one reſolved on. The 22d of this inſtant, the Church offered unto the Lords of the Council a Supplication, containing a humble Suit unto this Queen, to put away her Maſs as well from herſelf as from her whole Realm. The 2d Petition was to eſtabliſh, ſo far as ſhe might at that Time, the Book of Reformation and Diſcipline. *3dly*, That Order might be taken for the Suſtentation of the Miniſters. The *4th*, That ſuch as were known to be open and manifeſt Papiſts, Enemies to Religion, might be removed from the Seſſion. Theſe being conſidered, weighed, and divers Reaſons given of either Side; of them all, the Requeſt for the Miniſters was thought moſt reaſonable, notwithſtanding they would travel with her Grace for the reſt.

'After many Days Conſultation, it was accorded, *invitis & repugnantibus Epiſcopis*, That the Biſhops, Abbots, Priors, *&c.* ſhould depart yearly from ſeven Parts of their Livings *(c)*, whereof four ſhall be employed to the Maintenance of Preachers, finding of Schools, and ſupporting of the Poor; and the other three to the Increaſe of the Crown, *or more, if Need be* (for theſe are the Words.) There is a Day (the 24th *(d)* of this Month) appointed 'em to bring in their Rent-Rolls, under Pain of Impriſonment *(e)*. This Act is ſubſcribed by all the Lords Temporal that were preſent, and ratified by the Queen. The Convention is now diſſolved, and the moſt part return'd to their Houſes. The Papiſts ſtorm; now they think there reſteth nothing but the meeting of the two Queens, to overthrow the Maſs and all; which at this Time ſhe keepeth as ſolemn as ever ſhe did, not ſparing ſo much as her Maſs upon *Chriſtmaſs* Day, in the Morning before Day.

'There was of late in this Town ſome Diſorder. The Occaſion was this: The Earl of *Arran* is known to have had Company of a good handſome Wench, a Merchant's Daughter of this Town; whether he was ſuſpected to be privily in this Town, as ſome ſay he was, which was not true at that time; or whether the Marquis [*d'Elbeuf*] hearing of this Woman, deſired to ſee her, cometh accompanied with the Earl *Bothwell* and Lord *John* in a Mask, unto that Houſe, where the firſt Night they were received; the next Night would have done the like, but were not admitted. Theſe in deſpite of that, broke open the Doors, and uſed ſome other Diſcourteſies in the Houſe. The Complaint was made the next Day unto the Queen, who in Words ſharp enough reproved the Doers. The Earl of *Bothwell* and Lord *John* hearing this, in very contemptuous Words ſwore, that the next Night they would do the like, in deſpite of any that was Friend to that Houſe, that would

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(a) Calig. B. 10. an Original.

(b) This Convention of the Nobility was intended for Church-Affairs; and I ſhall take notice of it, when I treat of *theſe*.

(c) How unwilling ſoever the Prelates might be in their own Minds, yet 'tis plain by the Act itſelf, that they themſelves freely made the Offer. What this Gentleman means by ſeven Parts, is too obſcure, unleſs he had marked the Number of Parts into which the *Integer* was divided. If it was into twenty one; in that Caſe his Account agrees well enough with the authentick Act.

(d) It ſhould be of next Month.

(e) The Act bears only, To be proceeded againſt here as the Matter requires.

1561. would ſay *Nay*. Theſe Words were extended far, and were thought to be meant of better Men than themſelves. Diverſe of the Duke's Servants at nine a clock at Night, aſſembled themſelves in Jack and Spear in the Market-place. The Earl *Bothwell* being in his Lodging, gathereth his Friends about him. The Number of either Party encreaſeth; the Duke's Company groweth great; the Town aſſembleth at the Sound of the common Bell: News flyeth to the Court, that the Duke was upon the Street, and that the Earl *Bothwell* ſhould be pulled out of his Houſe: From them cometh the Lord *James*, *Argile* and *Huntly*. Proclamation being made that all Men ſhould depart on Pain of Death, within half an Hour after there was never a Man ſeen: So that of ſo likely a Matter of Evil, I never ſaw leſs Hurt.

'This Courteſy I found firſt of theſe that were upon the Street, coming then from the Court, they convoyed me to my Lodging; the Provoſt ſendeth twenty honeſt Men of the Town to keep my Houſe. Whatſoever it might be, I thought it as much Wiſdom for me to behold them out of a Window, as to be in their Company. The next Day both the Duke and Earl *Bothwell* were ſent for to the Court; the Duke that Day was conveyed with all the Proteſtants that were in this Town; the other with the Papiſts. It was concluded, that for avoiding of Cumber, the Earl *Bothwell* ſhould leave the Town till the 8th of *January*; ſince that time we have liv'd in good Reſt and Peace, and like enough to do, except theſe Biſhops are able to work any Miſchiefs to ſave their Livings. I have in ſome of my other Letters written unto your Honour, That the Lords were determined to write to the Q. Majeſtie for the Delivery of their Hoſtages; here preſently I ſend you their Letter: Their Hope is through your good Means, to receive ſome ſpeedy Anſwer. The moſt of them ſay unto me, That albeit that their Sons do return, their Hearts do and ſhall all remain in Place (*a*). Their Charges have not been great; yet ſomewhat more than diverſe are able long to ſuſtain. Theſe deſire your Honour, that their Doings may be interpreted unto the beſt, and that their lawfull Service may be accepted unto the Q. Majeſtie, of whoſe Honour and Worthineſs they can neither ſay nor think ſufficient. The Duke in ſpecial recommendeth his humble Service unto the Q. Majeſtie; he hath at this time received good Words of the Queen his Sovereign, and returneth now home full of Hope to enjoy her Favour, without further Suſpicion of any evil Mind towards him. The Queen would willingly take up the Controverſy between the Earl *Bothwell* and the Earl of *Arran*; it is now in Talk; I know not what will enſue; but, as far as I can perceive, the Earl *Bothwell* ſtandeth in more doubt of the Laird of *Ormiſton* and his Friends, than he doth of the other.

'It hath been told me in great Counſel, that the Earl of *Arran* maketh his Way again into *France*, and that he ſpake ſecretly with *Monſ. de Fois* at his being here; your Honour can well conſider, if it be ſo, what may enſue thereof. It is told me for certain, that he was this laſt Night in this Town very ſecret; I know not upon what Purpoſe, except it were to ſpeak to ſome Friends that might not come openly to him.

'Touching the laſt Letters that the Queen's Majeſtie wrote unto this Queen, ſome part of her Mind your Honour ſhall know by the L. of *Lidington*'s Writings, which herewith I ſend your Honour; as alſo a Letter from the Lord *James* to your ſelf, and one to the Lord *Robert* (*b*). I ſend alſo unto your Honour a Letter from the Maſter of *Maxwell*; and alſo another to the Maſter of the Rolls, containing his Defence againſt the Lord *Dacre*'s Accuſation.

'The Lord *Robert* (*c*) was married on *Sunday* was eight Days to the Earl

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(*a*) The Event made Proof of their Sincerity herein.

(*b*) *i. e.* the Lord *Robert Dudley* of *England*, Q. *Elizabeth*'s toping Favourite.

(*c*) This was *Robert Stuart*, natural Son to K. *James* V. by a Daughter of the Lord *Elphinſton*. He was now Abbot of *Holyrood-houſe*, and was afterwards created Earl of *Orkney*.

1561. ‘of *Caſſils*'s Siſter; and my Lord *John (a)* upon *Sunday* next to the Earl *Bothwell*'s Siſter: I mean not here, in the Court, but where the Women are in their Friend's Houſes. At *Edinburgh* 27th *December* 1561.

Your Honour's bounden

at Commandment,

Tho. Randolphe.

The Propoſition relating to the Ratification of the Treaty of *Edinburgh*, as it was contained in the Meſſage by Sir *Peter Mewtas*, having been toſs'd by the two Queens within this Compaſs of Time; here follow their Majeſties Letters thereupon.

Letter from Queen Mary *to Queen* Elizabeth, *7th* October 1561 *(b)*.

“Richt excellent, *&c.* Quhairas it pleſit zow purpoſlie to direct this Berair Sr *Peter Mewetas* Knycht, to veſite ws on zowr Behalf, and to declair the Contentment ze had of owr proſperous Jorney, and ſaif Arrivall in this owr Realme: We give zow maiſt hartie Thankis. In making the Report quhairof, with ſic utheris Thingis as he had in Charge on zowr Part, to be communicate unto ws; he hes ſa wyſlie and diſcretlie utterit and expreſſit the Sinceritie of zowr Affectioun towart ws, that as he hes declarit him to be a fit Meſſenger for ſic a Purpos; ſa have we gude Caus to allow wele of him, and haif ſa anſwerit his Meſſage proponit unto ws in everie Poynt, as thairby it ſall weill appeir we meane nathing mair earneſtlie than Continewance of tendir Amytie and gude Intelligence betwix ws, ſa yat we doubt nocht ze ſall haif Occaſioun to be wele ſatisfyit yairwith: The Report quhairof we refer to his Sufficiencye. And ſa Richt excellent, *&c.* Att our Palace of *Halyrudhous* the ſeven Day of *Octobir*, and of our Regne the xix. Zeir.

Letter from Queen Elizabeth *to Queen* Mary, *23d* November 1561 *(c)*.

‘Richt excellent, Richt heich and michtie Princeſs, our dereſt Siſter and Couſine, we grete zow wele: Quhairby zowr Letters brocht to ws the laſt Moneth be our Servand Sr *Petir Mewtas*, it appears yat ze did verie hartlie accept our gude Will in ſending our ſaid Servand to viſite zow on our Part; and farther, did refer to his Report the Anſwer maid be zow to the Meſſage proponit be him on our Behalf; we be glade to ſee our gude Will ſa wele interpreted and allowed, be which meanys Amytie principallie encreaſſeth betwix Friendis. And to the Anſwer (as he reporteth it) we ſee na Caus to be ſa wele ſatisfyed thairin as we luikit for. And zet conſidering we truſt, that zowr Meaning is as ouris is, ſincere, juſt and direct, towerdis the Reparation of all former ſtrange Accidentis, and to make a perpetuall Amytie betwix ws; we have thocht mete nocht to permit ſo gude a Mattir for our Amytie, to remane unperfected; and thairfore quhair we only require the Ratification of a Treaty paſſed by zowr Commiſſioneris authorized thairto with zowr Hand and Sele, and zow ſtay thairin, for that many Thingis be contenit in the ſame appertening to zowr late Husband——

‘this

(*a*) He was another natural Son to K. *James* V. and was Abbot of *Coldingham*. They both join'd the new Diſcipline. The Lord *James* did likewiſe marry a Daughter of the Earl *Mariſchal* in the Month of *February* following, after he had been made Earl of *Murray*.

(*b*) Shatter'd MS. a Copy.

(*c*) Ibid.

this Mattir (quhairin ze mak ſtay) to ſome Reſolutioun——bettir eyther probably to our truſtie Servand *Thomas Randulphe*——rather be zowr awn Letteris to ws, quhat be the very juſt Cauſes which move zow thus to ſtay in the Ratificatioun; and gif the ſame be to be allowed unto zow in Reaſon, zow ſall wele perſave we will require nothing bot that quhilk Honour, Juſtice and Reaſon ſall allow us to aſk, and that quhilk in like Honour, Juſtice and Reaſon zow ought to grant: And thus ſall oure Affairis be more ſecretlie, more directlie, and as ſpedilie reſolved, as by Ambaſſadoris. And ſo Richt excellent, Richt heich and michtie Princeſſe, our dereſt Siſter and Couſine, we commit zow to the Tuition of the Almichtie. Givin under our Signet att our Mannor of St. *James*, the xxiij. of *Novembir*, the fourth Zeir of our Reigne, 1561.

Your gude Siſter and loving Couſing,

ELIZABETH R.

Letter from Queen Mary *to Queen* Elizabeth, *5th* January 1561-2 (a).

“RIcht excellent, &c. Quhairas by zowr Letter of the twenty third of *Novembir*, we underſtand that for our Anſwer gevin to Sr *Petir Mewetas*, as he hes reportit it, ze ſee na Caus to be thairin ſa wele ſatisfyed as ze luikit for, we cannot wele ymagine quhat Lack culd be fund yairin: For as our Meanyng in the ſelf is, and hes bene ſincere, juſt and upright; ſa in the uttering of our Mynd to him, we ſa temperat our Anſwer as we thocht micht wele ſtand with zowr Contentment and Quietnes of ws baith; and for yat End wiſſit that the Treatie quhilk ze require to be ratifyit, mycht be revewed be ſome Commiſſioneris ſufficientlie——and preſentlie meane ſa planelie to utter our Mynd unto zow, as ze ſall wele perſave the Memorie of all former ſtrange Accidentis is clene extinguiſſit upon our Parr, and that now without ony Reſervatioun, we deale franklie with zow in ſic ſort as is convenient for twa Siſteris, profeſſing ſic firme Amytie, to treate togidder. We leif at this Tyme to tweche in quhat Tyme that the Treaty wes paſt, be quhais Commandment, be quhat Miniſteris, how thay were authorizat, or particularlie to examyne the Sufficiency of thair Commiſſion; quhilk Heidis are not ſo sklendir, bot the leiſt of thame is worthy of ſume Conſideration: Onlie will we preſentlie twche that Heid quhilk is mete for ws to provide, and yat quhilk on zowr Part is not inconvenient, bot ſic as in Honor, Juſtice and Reaſon ze may wele allow. How prejudiciall that Treaty is to ſic Title and Interes as be Birth and naturall Diſcent of zour awn Linage may fall to ws, be verry Inſpection of the Treaty it ſelf ze may eaſilie perſave, and how ſlenderlie a Mattir of ſa greit Conſequence is wrappit up in obſcure Termys: We knaw how neir we ar diſcendit of the Blude of *Ingland*, and quhat Deviſis hes bene attemptit to mak us as it wer a Strangear from it; we truſt being ſa neir zour Couſine, ze wald be laith we ſuld reſave ſa manifeſt an Injury as alluterly to be debarrit from yat Title quhilk in Poſſibilite may fall unto us. We will deale franklie with zow, and wyſs yat ze deale freindlie with ws. We will have at this preſent, no Juge of the Equitie of our Demand bot zour ſelf. Gif we had ſic a Mattir to treate with ony uther Prince, thair is na Perſone quhais Aviſe we wald rather follow; ſa greit Account do we mak of zour Amytie towert us, and ſic a Opinioun have we conſavit of zour Uprightneſs and Jugement, that altho the Mattir partlie twche zour ſelf, we dare adventure to put mekill in zowr————Warld as greit and firme Amytie as be——bene at ony Tyme betwix quhatſumevir Cupple of——mentionat in thame, lat be to ſurpaſſe

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(a) Shatter'd MS. a Copy.

1561-2. “the preſent—— of our awn Aige, to the greit Confort of our Subjectis, and perpetuall Quietnes of baith the Realmes, quhilkis we are bound in the Sight of God be all gude Meanys to procure. We leif to zour awn Conſideratioun quhat Reaſonis we micht alledge to confirm the Equity of our Demand, and quhat is probable yat utheris micht alledge, gif thay wer in our Place, quhilks we pas ower with Silence. Ze ſee quhat Abundance of Luif Nature hes wrocht in our Heart towerdis zow, quhairby we are movit rather to admit ſumthing that utheris perchance wald eſteme to be ane Inconvenient, than leif ony Rute of Brache, and to ſet aſide the manner of treating accuſtumat amangis utheris Princes; leving all Ceremonys, to propone and utter the boddum of our Mynd nakytlie, without ony Circumſtances; quhilk Faſſioun of deling (in our Opinioun) deſervis to be anſwerit with the like Franknes; gif God will grant ane gude Occaſioun yat we may meit togidder, quhilk we wyſs may be ſone, we truſt ze ſall mair clarlie perſave the Synceritie of our Meanyng, than we can expres be Writing. In the mean Seaſon we deſire zow hartlie, as ze terme ws zowr gude Siſter, ſo ymagine with zour ſelf that we are in Effect, and yat ze may luke for na leſs aſſurit and firme Amytie att our Handis, than we war zour naturall Siſter in dede; quhairof ze ſall from tyme to tyme have gude Experience, ſa lang as it ſall pleis zow to continew on zowr Part the gude Intelligence begun betwix ws. And thus Richt excellent, &c. Att *Edinburgh* the fift Day of *Januar*, and of our Regne the xx. Zeir.

Letter from Queen Elizabeth *to Queen* Mary *(a)*.

‘Richt excellent, Richt heich and michtie Princeſſe, our dereſt Siſter and Couſine, we grete zow wele: The Berair heirof *St. Colme*, upoun his cumming out of *France*, undirſtanding be *Montignac*, and uther zour Servandis quhom he fand heir come from zow, how lang ze thocht to heir of his Returne, deſirit to paſs in ſa greit Haiſt towerdis zow (quhilk we alſo wele allow in him) that preſentlie we had na convenient Leſure to mak Anſwer to the Letter quhilk ziſtirday we reſavit from zow by Intelligence, twching the Anſwere of the Negotiation of Sr *Peter Mewtas* with zow: Neither can we preſentlie ſend zow our Picture, quhilk it pleſit zow to require; for that the Partie that ought to draw it in Portrature, is at this Tyme ſicklie, and thairby as zit unable to ſet it out. Bot for bothe theſe, we aſſure zow, ſall nocht be forgettin alſſone as thay may be diſpatched. As to the uther privat Letter writtin with zowr awin Hand (for the quhilk we thank zow) we have tweching the Contents yairof (and that with richt gude Will) gevin to *Montignac* oure ſpeciall Letter to oure Ambaſſador in *France*; as we think, by *Montignacs* nixt Letter, zow ſall perceyve oure erneſt gude Will, and how we continew in oure gude Meanyng to exerciſe Freindſchip with zow as we have begun; meanyng alſo to proceid in all Synceritie as Occaſioun ſall require, not doubting to find the lyke in zow oure dereſt Siſtir and Couſine, quhom we commit to the Tuitioun of the Almichtie. Gevin undir——

What other Letters might have paſs'd between the two Queens, concerning the Negotiation by Sir *Peter Mewtas*, we have no farther Intelligence; but by theſe here produced, we are rendred certain, that the Conference Secretary *Maitland* had with Queen *Elizabeth*, at his firſt Journey into *England*, has not center'd in the Concluſion related by Mr. *Buchanan*. The Queen of *Scots* does indeed make a Propoſal here, of reviewing the Treaty of *Edinburgh*; but the Iſſue of Things demonſtrates, that the Queen of *England* has not thought fit to accept the Propoſal.

CHAP.

(a) Shatter'd MS. a Copy. This Letter wants the Date.

CHAP. IV.

Containing an Account of Affairs of State, from the Beginning of the Year 1561-2, *until Mid-ſummer the ſame Year.*

1561-2.

BY the Regiſters of the Privy-Council we are aſſured, that much of the publick Conſultations, in the Beginning of the Year 1561-2, was taken up about regulating the Benefices, &c. of the New Church Miniſtry; and this will come under my Conſideration afterwards, when I come to treat of theſe Eccleſiaſtical Matters.

Private Quarrels among the Nobility,

As to Affairs of State. The two contemporary Hiſtorians of the Time, ſo often mentioned, entertain us with a large Detail of a private Quarrel betwixt ſome of the Nobility; ſuch as, the Earls of *Arran*, *Bothwell*, *Mar* (*a*), &c. tho' it is eaſily obſervable, that Mr. *Knox*'s Account has the better Foundation, and Air of Truth. But foraſmuch as this Writer ſeems likewiſe willing to diminiſh the Rancour ſubſiſting betwixt the *Hamiltons* and Earl of *Bothwell*, and to reſolve the Malice both of the one and other, into ſecret Attempts upon the Life of the Earl of *Mar*; it may perhaps afford ſome Certainty of this Matter, to ſee the following Record of Privy-Council.

Apud Edinburgh 20. *Februarij*, *Anno Domini* 1561.

which the Queen endeavours to take away.

IN Preſence of the Quenis Majeſtie, and Lordis of Secreit-Counſale, comperit James Erle of Arrane; and being inquirit, Gif he wald keip the Treatie maid and takin betuix the Quenis Majeſtie and umquhile hir deireſt Spous the maiſt Chriſtian Kingis Commiſſionaris on yat ane Part, and the Nobilitie of this Realme on yat uther Part; and ſpecialie yat Point and Part yairof, berand, Yat it ſall nocht be leſum to thame that hes bene callit of the Congregatioun, and thai yat wer nocht callit of the ſame, to reproche one ane uther, for quhatſumevir Thingis yat hes bene done ſen the 6th Day of Marche, the Zeir of God 1558 Zeiris; and namelie, to James Erle Bothuile, in reſpect of the Variance and Debait ſtandand betuix thame: Declarit yat he wald keip the ſaid Treatie in all Pointis to all the Liegis of this Realme; and albeit he belevit the ſaid Treatie extendit nocht to the ſaid Variance ſtandand betuix him and the ſaid Erle Bothuile, zit becaus the ſaidis Lordis of Secreit-Counſale declarit yat the ſaid Variance was comprehendit under the ſaid Treatie, and yat the Quenis Majeſtie commandit the ſaid Erle of Arrane to keip the ſamyn in all Pointis; He willing to ſchaw him an obedient Subject, in Preſence of her Majeſtie promiſſit to keip the ſamyn Treatie, and ſpecialie to the ſaid Erle Bothuile, and to mak nor gif na Occaſioun of Brek yairof, ſua yat hir Majeſties Syrvice ſuld na wyiſ be ſtayit, nor commone Quietnes trublit. And ſicklyke, the Quenis Majeſtie and Lordis of Secreit-Counſale foirſaidis, hes promittit, yat the ſaid Treatie, and all Pointis contenit yairin, ſall be obſervit and kepit to the ſaid Erle of Arrane and his Friendis, be all the Liegis of this Realme.

(*a*) This was the Prior of St. *Andrew*'s, who was created Earl of *Mar*, on one of the Days betwixt the 6th and 12th of *February* 1561-2; for on the 6th Day of this Month he ſits in the Privy-Council, by his ordinary Deſignation, *Jacobus Commendatarius Prioratuum Sti Andreæ & Pittenweme.* But on the 12th Day, he is deſigned, *Jacobus Comes de Mar.* The induſtrious Author of the *Scottiſh Peerage* has, through Inadvertency, marked the 10th of *February* for his Lordſhip's Creation as Earl of *Murray*, inſtead of *Mar*.

1561-2. From the laſt Day of *February*, there is no Seſſion of Privy-Council until the 19th of *May* following; in which Interval of Time the Queen has been taking ſome Diverſion in the large Fields about *Falkland* and St. *Andrew*'s, where Mr. *Knox* takes notice her Majeſty was, during the Time the Earl of *Arran* made the pretended Diſcovery againſt the Earl of *Bothwell*. That Writer ſays, that "on the 18th Day of *April* 1562 *(a)*, the whole Council "was aſſembled at St. *Andrew*'s, in which it was concluded, That in Conſideration of the former Suſpicion, the Duke ſhould render to the Queen the "Caſtle of *Dumbarton*, the Cuſtody whereof was granted unto him by Appointment, till that lawful Succeſſion ſhould be ſeen of the Queen's Body. "But *Will* prevailed againſt *Reaſon* and *Promiſe*; and ſo was the Caſtle "delivered to Captain *Anſtruther*, as having Power from the Queen and "Council to receive it." But how untrue this Repreſentation is, appears by the Duke's own Acknowledgment to Mr. *Randolph*, in this Gentleman's Letter of the 11th of *November* laſt Year, to which the Reader may be pleaſed to caſt back his Eye: And tho' it had been true, that the Duke had received that Fortreſs in keeping, under the Proviſion here alledged; yet if the Duke ſhould be found to be acting in any thing, contrary to the Intereſt of the Queen and Kingdom, why ſhould Mr. *Knox* have made any Doubt, but that the Queen and Council had good and ſufficient Right to demand back the Caſtle, when they ſaw it expedient for the Safety of the State?

It will be remembred, that in the *Engliſh* Reſident's Letters, ſome Diſcourſe had caſually intervened, concerning an Interview between the two Queens: It ſeems this Hint had been improved into a formal Propoſition; whereupon we find the following Record in the Regiſters of the Privy-Council.

Apud Edinburgh 19. *Maij*, *Anno Dom*. 1562.

SEDERUNT

JACOBUS *Dux de* Chattelarault,
ARCHIBALDUS Ergadiæ *Comes*,
JACOBUS *Comes de* Mar,
WILLELMUS Mareſcal. *Comes*,
JOANNES Atholiæ *Comes*,
JACOBUS *Comes de* Mortoun,
JOANNES *Dominus* Erskin;

Joannes Ballenden *de* Auchnowle *Miles Clericus Juſticiariæ*, *Magiſter* Jacobus Makgill *de* Nether-Rankelor *Clericus Regiſtri*, *Magiſter* Robertus Richardſon *Theſaurarius*, Willelmus Maitland *de* Lethingtoun *junior*, *Secretarius*.

Her Majeſty propoſes to her Privy-Council an Interview with the Queen of *England*.

The quhilk Day, in Preſence of the Quenis Majeſtie and Lordis foirſaid, being aſſemblit, and the Eſtait of the tua Realmes of Scotland **and** Ingland **conſiderit, how neidfull it is yat ye Amitie and Friendſchip ſtandand, continew betwix the Quene oure Soverane and ye Quene of** Ingland **yair Subjectis and yair Realmes: And it being inquirit be the Quenis Majeſtie at the ſaidis Lordis to declair yair Counſale, Gif it be neceſſar yat hir Majeſtie meit the Quene of** Ingland **for intertenyng of the Amitie; Declarit yat gif hir Grace thocht hir awin Perſon to be ony way in Suritie, upoun ony Promiſe or uyer Conditioun to be maid be the Quene of** Ingland **to hir Hienes, quhilk yai remittit to hir awin Hart and gude Will, That nathing is mair neceſſar for intertenyng of yis Amitie, nor yat hir Grace meit with the ſaid Quene at ſik Tyme as may be appointit yairto.**

In

(*a*) That the Queen was at St. *Andrew*'s the 10th Day of *April*, appears undoubtedly, by an Order ſigned by her there, to the Magiſtrates of *Edinburgh*, requiring them to prohibite the chuſing of *Robin Hood*, *Little John*, nor *Abbot of Unreaſon*, within that Burgh; which her Majeſty had heard was intended [in the Beginning of *May*, as had been ſometimes done] on purpoſe to raiſe Sedition and Tumult. And a Proclamation was accordingly made through the City, conformable to the Queen's Command and former Acts of Parliament. See the Town Council Regiſter.

1562.

In Conformity with this Declaration by the Lords of Council, our Queen cauſed *Inſtructions* be drawn up, to be committed to Mr. *Maitland* her Secretary, whom ſhe ſent immediately into *England*. A Part of theſe Inſtructions is preſerved in the ruinous MS. and are as follow.

Inſtructions are thereupon drawn up, and delivered to the Secretary who is ſent into *England*.

“ ——greit Affectioun we beir to oure dereſt Siſter, movis——in hir Handis nocht onlie a greit Part of oure Nobilitie, but alſwa oure awin Perſone, having nathing behind mair deir——and doutis nocht bot oure ſaid gude Siſter will ſa ſincerlie, uprichtlie and juſtlie deill with ws, that the haill Warld ſall yairby perſave the like gude Affectioun on hir Part; and in ſpeciall, yat in oure paſſing, returning, or ony Tyme of oure remanyng within the Boundis of *Ingland* and hir Power, we, nor nane in oure Cumpany, ſall not be preſſit with ony thing yat may be prejudiciall to oure ſelf, oure Realme, the Liberte and commoun Weale yairof in ony wyſs; nor ony ſic Thingis deſyrit of ws, nor zit ony Purpos brokin to ws, quhilk—— juſt Occaſioun to myſlyke: And for the bettir Surtie of yis, and uthir Thingis to be providit before the Meting, ze ſall entir in an Contract with ſic as it ſall pleis the Quene of *Ingland* to authorize be hir Commiſſioun on the uther Part, upoun the Heidis following:

“ *Item*, Firſt yat we ſall mete oure ſaid dereſt Siſter at ſic a Day and Place, as ze ſall agre on according to zowr Inſtructionis.

“ *Item*, Lat it be providit in the ſaid Contract, for the Part of oure ſaid dereſt Siſter, That in oure paſſing, remaning in *Ingland*, and returning thairfra within oure Realme, we ſall nocht be preſſit with ony thing yat may be prejudiciall to oure ſelf, oure Realme, the Liberte and commoun Weale yairof in ony wiſe; nor ony ſic thing deſyrit of ws, nor na Perſone or Perſonis being with ws, nor zit ony Purpos brokin unto ws quhilk we may miſlike; and that we nor the Perſonis being with ws in Cumpany ſall nocht be challengit, arreiſtit, chargeit, nor troublit, for ony Caus, Promis, or Deid bygane——to the Qualitie of the Offens——may cum in yat Realme accumpaned——quhatſumevir Qualitie, Stait or Degre thai be—— Coffenis, Bulzettis, Fardellis, Money, Jewellis,——uncunzeit, Letteris clois and patent, and all uther Neceſſars quhilkis thay ſall bring with yame thair——as it ſall pleis ws, and to return again within this——quhat tyme, and how ſone we ſall think gude and expedient——Power, Licence and Fredome to quhatſumevir Perſone or Perſonis being with ws, or yat ſall happin to cum to us furth of oure Realme, or uther Partis within the Nowmer foirſaid, to repair towert ws with Pacquettis and Letteris, pas and repas als oft as we ſall think expedient, during oure remanyng within the Realme of *Ingland*, bot Trouble, Strife, Arreſt, Stop or Impediment of oure ſaid dereſt Siſter, hir Officieris, Miniſteris or Subjectis, ſicklike, and als frelie as gif thai and everie ane of yame had ſpeciall Saulfconduct grantit to yame by oure ſaid dereſt Siſter, to the Effect foreſaid, in the maiſt ample Forme yat culd be diviſit. And als yat oure ſaid dereſt Siſter ſall caus ws accumpanyit as ſaid is, to be reſſavit at the Mercheis of yat Realme, with ſum noble Men, for convoying of ws to the appoyntit Place of Meting, ſa that we may be honourably entertenyt in all Partis upoun oure Expens; and eftir we entir in yat Realme, that we and oure Tryne to the Nowmer foreſaid, or within, ſall frelie uſe the Religion quhilk we or thai preſentlie profes and uſis within this oure Realme.

“ *Item*, That it ſall be providit in the ſaid Contract, yat oure ſaid dereſt Siſter for hir Part, and we for ours, ſall ratifie and appreive undir oure Subſcriptionis and Greit Selis, the ſaid Contract, and every Poynt yairin contenit, for the bettir authorizing yairof——the like Ratificatioun—— ——oure Part——the Labour to get the Copie of the Conduct grantit to oure——Moder be King *Eduard*, for hir paſſing throw *Ingland*; and likewis to get the Sicht or Copie of the Contract paſt betwix King *Franceys*

1562. "and *Hary* the Aucht, for yair Metings in *France*; and quhat ze find in "yame, or ony of yame mete for this Purpos, extend the ſamin in the "Contract to be maid of oure Metingis and Conduct, quhilk Conduct ze ſall "get paſt twa Dais of latar Dait nor the Contract, but mentioun of the Contract, or referring yairto, ſua yat nane of yame be relative to the uther: "And als, ze ſall firſt of all preis the Quene of *Ingland*, and hir Counſale, "to put in Forme that Surtie of yair awin Offir, quhilk thai are willing to "mak to ws and oure Tryne; and gif ze find the ſame furder extendit nor "oure Inſtructionis, that ze tak it, and utherwis to do as ze ar inſtructit, and "furder as zowr awin Wyſdom findis gude.

"*Item*, Ze ſall beſyde all uther Inſtructionis gevin to zow, ſound and try "be all Meanys and Wyſdom ze can beſt, whether the Quene of *Ingland* will "deſyr the Treaty maid of before, to be ratifyt as it ſtandis; or gif ſhe will be "ſatisfyt with an Qualificatioun and Limitatioun, and in quhat maner; or "gif ſhe will deſyr any new Treatie to be maid: And in yir laſt twa Poyntis, "that ze conſider and try quhat Proffite and Eis we may haif yairthrow, to "the Effect, that att zour returning, we may knaw ſa far as ze may lerne or "undirſtand; bot allwayes yat na Eis be able to be obtenit of the former "Treatie, bot yat thay will require the Ratificatioun yairof rigoruſlie as it "ſtandis, without ony Limitatioun or Qualificatioun, than wer the Meting "na thing profitable for ws, bot rather to—— ——may fall unto ws and "the——failzieing of hir and the——ze ſall agre to the Meting. And—— "Qualificatioun, nor this may be obtenit——rather to be accordit. Or gif "thay think it——in a new Contract of the like Subſtance of the laſt—— "at yat Article prejudiciall be omittit in the new——leiſt, limite and qualifyt, "as is before ſaid, ze ſall in likewis mak na Difficultie to aggre to the "Meting" *(a)*.

And the Queen recommends her Secretary by Letters to ſome *Engliſh* Courtiers.

Together with thoſe Inſtructions, the Queen ſent likewiſe theſe two Letters, by which it may appear how ſolicitous her Majeſty was for the Succeſs of this Negotiation.

Letter from Queen Mary, *To Lord* Robert Dudley *(b)*.

"——at oure gude Siſter the Quene——Handes, to nuris the gude Intelligence betwix ws and her——we wyſs may lang indure, ſa is the procuring "yairof the——Pleſure ze can do unto ws; and therefore having preſentlie "Occaſioun to direct unto oure ſaid gude Siſter, oure truſty and weilbelovit "Counſelour the L. of *Lethingtoun* oure Secretarie principall, we have gevin "him Command to thank zow hartilie upoun oure Behalf; and forder, to communicate unto zow oure Mynde at lenth in ſic Thingis as ar committit to "his Charge; the Report quhairof we remitt unto his Sufficiencye, deſyring "zow to gif him firme Credence as to oure ſelf. Thus we commit zou to the "Protectioun of Almichtie God. At oure Palace of *Halyrudhous*, the xxv. "Day of *May* 1562."

Letter from Queen Mary, *To* [*Sir* William Cecil.] *(c)*

"RIcht truſty and weilbelovit, we grete zow wele: Oure truſty and weilbelovit Counſalor the Laird of *Lethingtoun*, oure principall Secretar, "will report unto zou quhat he hes in Charge from ws, towerd oure dereſt "Siſter the Quene zour Maiſtres, quhairin we deſyre zou for the Place of "Credite ze occupie, to procure him be zour gude Meanys favourable and "haiſtie Depeſche; nocht doubting bot ze will gif him firm Crydett in ſic "Thingis

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(*a*) See here our Queen's ſteady Intention, to have a Limitation put upon the Treaty of *Edinburgh*.

(*b*) Shatter'd MS. a Copy.

(*c*) Ibid.

"Thingis as he will declair unto zou upoun oure Behalf, being a Man of a lang tyme weill knawin unto zow, and ane quhome we ſpeciallie truſt; quhilk nochtheleſs———

1562.

The *Scottiſh* Secretary met with ſo gracious a Reception, and had ſo good Succeſs in *England*, that the Matter of the Interview ſeemed to go ſmoothly enough forward, ſeveral Things relating to the ſame having been very ſpeedily adjuſted; tho' indeed it be to me ſtill a Matter of much Doubtfulneſs, whether the Queen of *England* was at bottom, really willing that the *Scottiſh* Queen ſhould at all come into her Kingdom, in which there were ſo many Perſons who ſecretly favoured our Queen's Title to that Crown; and who by her own blooming Years, her graceful Appearance, and agreeable Converſation, might ſtill augment the Number of her Favourers. But however, be that Matter as it will, Queen *Elizabeth*, in a very ſhort Space, catched an Opportunity of putting an End to that Project for this Year, and ſo for ever thereafter, as will beſt appear by theſe original Papers.

The Queen of *England* at firſt agrees to an Interview;

Letter from Queen Elizabeth *to Queen* Mary *(a)*.

'RIcht excellent, Richt heich and michtie Princeſs, oure dereſt Siſter and Couſine, we grete zow wele: We have ſent to zow oure truſtie and welebelovit Servand Sir *Henry Sidney (b)* Knyt, Preſcdent of oure Counſale in *Wales*, whome we require that ze will credit in ſuch Maters as he hes in Charge to communicate unto zow; and for the doyng of any thing on oure Part towertis zow, tending to oure Interview, we do be this Preſent———

but all of a ſudden declines it;

ELIZABETH R.

INSTRUCTIONS given by the Queen's Majeſtie to Sir Henry Sidney *Knight, Lord Preſident of the Council in the Marches of* Wales, *ſent by her Majeſtie to her good Siſter the Queen of* Scots *(c)*.

'YOU ſhall ſay to our good Siſter the Queen of *Scots*, That whereas upon Requeſt made unto us by her, to come into ſome Parts of our Realm, to ſee us this Summer; We were thereunto of ourſelf, for the Increaſe of the mutual Love betwixt us, very well inclined, and gave unto her Ambaſſadour the L. of *Lidington* in the Beginning of *June*, Anſwer, That if the Troubles in *France* ſhould well end, and Peace be made before the End of the ſaid Month of *June*, then we would be content to meet with the ſaid Queen in the North, ſometime this Summer; and that ſince that Anſwer given, upon Advertiſement out of *France* of an Accord, reported to have been made between the Prince of *Conde* and his Party, we were contented that certain Articles ſhould be made betwixt the L. Chamberlain of our Houſe and the ſaid Ambaſſadour, for the Aſſurance and friendly Order of the ſaid Queen and her Train. According to which Articles ſo accorded, we cauſed all manner of Preparations to be made meet for the purpoſe, as well for the honourable Conduction of the ſaid Queen, as for Entertainment and Return. And now whilſt the ſame were in hand, and almoſt accompliſhed, we have received out of *France* Advertiſement very certain, that the former Accord mentioned betwixt the ſaid Prince of *Conde* and the Duke of *Guiſe* in the laſt Month, was of no Moment or Conſequence indeed, but rather a Device to abuſe the ſaid Prince, as plainly appeareth by the Sequel thereof. For you ſhall ſhew her, that whilſt the Prince was entertained

For which end ſhe ſends Sir *Henry Sidney* with Inſtructions into *Scotland*.

(*a*) Shatter'd MS. a Copy.

(*b*) This Gentleman came into *Scotland* in the Year 1562. See *Camden*.

(*c*) *Cotton* Library, a Copy.

1562. ‘ with Communication of Accord, the Duke of *Guiſe*, with the Conſtable, made a Semblance of Departure from their Army; the ſaid Army, unawares to the Prince, marched towards *Blois*, and immediately the ſaid Duke and Conſtable ſpeedily returned, and with the ſaid Army beſieged, battered and aſſaulted the ſaid Town of *Blois*; whereof the Governor made Offer to render, and yet for demonſtration of Cruelty, the ſame was refuſed; and the ſaid Governor and Officers ſubmitting themſelves, were put to Death; and then the former Conditions granted to the Prince, were denied to him; and no other Appointment could be agreed, but themſelves all to be baniſhed the Realm, and to be deprived of all Eſtates and Offices, and no manner of Toleration to be uſed in Cauſes of Religion, but all to be ordered according to the Rites and Cuſtoms of *Rome*. At the ſame preſent Time alſo an Edict was publiſhed in *Paris*, giving Authority, by expreſs Words to the common People, to kill and cut in Pieces all ſuch as had broken any Church or Houſes, or that kept them Company: An Order never heard before, to give to the common People the Sword, by means whereof many horrible Murders were daily, and yet be committed by the raſh vulgar ſort and heedleſs People, without regard of Eſtate or Degree; yea, or without regard of Fault known or tried. And in this Time many other Demonſtrations be given out, as well by bringing in of great Numbers of *Switzers*, as of Preparations of great Numbers of Men of War to come out of the ſeveral Dominions of the King of *Spain*, the Duke of *Savoy*, and the Pope, that nothing is now leſs ſeen than a Diſpoſition in the ſaid Duke of *Guiſe* and his Party to make any indifferent Accord, but rather a wilful Subverſion and Deſtruction of all manner of Nations that conſent not with them in the Rites of Chriſtian Religion; a Thing diſcrepant from Chriſtian Charity. Upon which Things well conſidered, we have been more perplexed for the impeaching of the great Deſire which we have to ſee our ſaid Siſter this preſent Summer, than for any other Reſpect or Danger; doubting not but God ſhall aſſiſt us to preſerve our State from the Malice and Violence of all ſuch, as for the Matter of Religion, or any other reſpect, would impugn us.

‘ And ſeeing theſe extreme ſtrange Proceedings in *France*, with the Circumſtances thereof, we doubt not but our good Siſter will well underſtand and conſider, how unmeet it is for us and our Council to be careleſs of the Time, as to depart from theſe Parties, and to leave our Realm unprovided againſt ſuch Accidents, as we know the Adverſaries of our Religion could be content ſhould chance to the ſame; and therefore of meer Neceſſity, and utterly againſt our Will and Determination, we be forced to forbear that which we moſt deſired this Summer, which was to have ſeen our ſaid dere Siſter: Of the Lack whereof, we be ſure our Grief ſhall be more than any other Care whatſoever that ſhall happen; and yet for the Eaſe of our Mind and Relief of our Sorrow, we have deviſed and fully determined by God's Will, if our ſaid Siſter ſhall ſo agree, to ſee her and enjoy her Company in the Beginning of the next Summer; for Aſſurance whereof, we have preſently ſent unto her a Confirmation of the former Accord, for our Meeting to be at the City of *York*, or our Caſtles of *Pomfret* or *Nottingham*, at any time that ſhe ſhall name and appoint, betwixt the 20th of *May* next and the laſt of *Auguſt* then following; with Aſſurance of like Safe-conduct for that Year, as was now preſently intended for this. All which Matter you ſhall in as good ſort and manner expreſs as you can, for Declaration of our hearty and great Good-will towards her on the one Part, and the like great Grief of Mind for the Diſappointment on the other Part; which two Affections you may aſſure her by the beſt manner of your Speech, hath appeared to you in us as great as ever did any other Affection. And you ſhall ſhew unto her our Grant and Confirmation under our Hand and Seal; which if ſhe or her Council ſhall allow, you ſhall require that the Acceptation of the ſame may be either delivered unto you; or elſe, if Time ſhall not ſerve, that it be either ſent unto us

1562.

'with convenient Speed, or elſe delivered there to the Hands of *Thomas Randolph* our Servant. And if it ſhall be made ready to be delivered to your Hands, then receiving it you ſhall deliver ours; wherein this Reſpect is only to be had, that ours be not delivered, but that the Acceptation and Allowance, with the Appointment of the Place and Time, be alſo delivered to you, or to our ſaid Servant *Thomas Randolph*. You may note, for the expreſſing of our Good-will, that there were many Impediments for this Interview this Summer, whereof her Secretary we think could inform her; as, the late motioning of the Matter by her, the long Expectation of the Iſſue of the Troubles in *France*, the Unſeaſonableneſs of the Year by the inordinate Rains, the Doubt of our Health; but yet all thoſe together were not able to ſtay us, untill this late extreme and cruel proceeding in *France*, void of all Moderation to accord, unhappily happen'd; the Moment whereof is ſuch, as we truſt the Wiſdom of our good Siſter, join'd with her Love towards us, will judge it neceſſary for us to regard, altho' ſome of the principal Parties therein be her Uncles; whom as we have of late Time been content to uſe friendly for her Sake, ſo we think for her Sake ſpecially ſhe will have us miſlike, conſidering their Proceedings at this Time are the Cauſe that we both ſhall lack our Joy intended by our Meeting; which, if it may be, we wiſh they were as well diſpoſed to remedy the next Year, as we truſt our good Siſter will by all good Means provoke them. And this done to her, you ſhall, to the Earl of *Mar*, and others of her Council, ſet forth how neceſſarily we be detain'd to regard theſe late extreme Proceedings in *France* touching Religion: Whereof you ſhall warn them to have good Regard; for the Sequel thereof muſt of Neceſſity concern that State, as we doubt not but they well conſider. You ſhall, for your better proceeding herein, communicate this your Charge with our Servant *Thomas Randolph*, being there Reſident for us with our ſaid good Siſter.'

After the Receipt of this Meſſage by Sir *Henry Sidney*, "a Man, ſays Mr. *Camden*, of approved Abilities and Reputation, and fit for diving into the Bottom of Things;" and who probably might have been pitched upon to come into *Scotland*, on purpoſe to dive into the ſecret Views of our Court (a), as he had been immediately before, ſent into *France* to dive into the Views of that Court: After the Receipt, I ſay, of this Meſſage, our Queen returned the following Letter to the Queen of *England*.

Letter from Queen Mary *to Queen* Elizabeth (b).

Our Queen declares her Grief for the Diſappointment:

"——We have be zowr Ambaſſadour Sir *Henry Sideney* Preſident of zowr Counſale in *Wales*, undirſtand to oure greite——moving zow to delay the Intervieu intendit this——langar Tyme, quhilk we wald wyſſit had chanceit for mony Reſpectis, bot maiſt ſpecially for that be the ſamyn we ſall be fruſtrate for a Seaſoun, of that quhilk we have this lang Tyme maiſt erneſtlie deſyrit; that is, a tendir and familiar Acquantance be Communicatioun with zow owr gude Siſter, being the Perſoun in this Warld quhome we wald be gladeſt to ſee: And the quhilkis Impedimentis, and Remedy yairof, we have communicat to zowr ſaid Ambaſſadour oure Mynd ſa far furth as for the preſent we may convenientlie do, remitting the farther Reſolutioun yairof to ſic Tyme and Occaſioun as he will oppin unto zow. In the meyn Seaſoun we wyſche unto zow all Proſperite, as to oure ſelf. Gevin undir oure Signet att oure Palace of *Halyrudhous* the Day of *July*, in the xx. Zeir of oure *Regimen*" (c).

(a) Sometime this Summer, tho' I can't preciſely aſcertain the Date, the Earl and Counteſs of *Lenox* were ordered into Cuſtody by Queen *Elizabeth*, upon a private Correſpondence with our Queen: And Mr. *Knox* ſays, "the young Laird of *Bar* (his Sirname *Glen*) was apprehended with the Letters about him, which diſcovered the Intrigue." See more of Queen *Elizabeth*'s Fears, &c. in Mr. *Camden*.

(b) Shatter'd MS. a Copy.

(c) *i. e.* 1562. This Date agrees well with the former.

1562. And that I may lay here altogether, all the authentick Inſtructions which may give the Readers the full Knowledge of this Matter, I inſert alſo the following Record from the Privy-Council.

Apud Striviling 15. *Auguſti, Anno Dom.* 1562.

SEDERUNT

Jacobus *Dux de* Chattelarault,
Archibaldus Argadiæ *Comes,*
Willelmus Mareſcal. *Comes,*
Jacobus *Comes de* Mortoun,
Joannes Atholiæ *Comes,*
Jacobus *Comes de* Mar,
Alexander *Comes de* Glencarne,
Joannes *Dominus* Erskin;
Willelmus Maitland *de* Lethingtoun *junior Secretarius,*
Joannes Ballenden *de* Auchnowle *Miles Clericus Juſticiariæ,*
Magiſter Jacobus Makgill *de* Nether-Rankelor *Clericus Regiſtri.*

And asks the Advice of her Council.

The quhilk Day, it being proponit at the Command of the Quenis Majeſtie, how the Quene of Ingland, eftir yat it wes concludit, Yat ane Meting ſuld be had betwix yair Majeſties for the Continewance of the Tranquillitie, and Quietnes of baith the Realmes, and yat be ſik Occaſiouns occurrand, the ſamyn ſuld nocht tak Effect yis Zeir; and yat yairfoire the Quene of Ingland hes deſyrit ye ſaid Meting to be in the Spring of the nixt Zeir, and the Quenis Majeſtie to gif hir Certificatioun yairof betwix and the laſt Day of October nixttocum; and yairfoir deſyrit the Lordis to gif yair Counſale and Declaratioun yairintill. Quhilkis being yairwith avyſit, thocht the Meting requiſit and expedient for the Weill of baith the Realmes, and yat na Occaſioun hes chancit ſen ye taking of ye firſt Concluſioun yairon, quhairfoir the ſamyn ſuld be ſtayit; and yairfoir conſentit to the Meting of baith the Princes. Bot nottheleſs declarit, yat yai wald nawyſe gif hir Counſale to committ hir Body in Ingland; and yairfoir referrit ye Place of ye Meting, and the Securitie of hir awin Perſone, to hirſelf.

CHAP. V.

Containing Matters of State, from Midſummer in this Year 1562, *until the* 1*ſt of* April *in the next Year* 1563.

On *Saturday* the 27th Day of *June*, betwixt the Hours of Nine and Ten at Night, an unfortunate Accident fell out on the Street of *Edinburgh*, which brought after it a world of miſchievous Conſequences. *James Lord Ogilvie* and Sir *John Gordon* of *Finlater (a)*, a younger Son of the Earl of *Huntly*, having ſome Difference about Money-Matters, chancing to rencounter, with ſome Attendants about them, drew their Swords; and the Lord *Ogilvie* receiving a ſevere Wound, and which at firſt appeared to have been mortal, Sir *John Gordon* was immediately taken, and kept in cloſe Priſon by Order of the Magiſtrates of *Edinburgh*. I could not give my Readers ſo ſatisfying an Account of this Affair, as by preſenting them with ſuch original Inſtructions, as remain ſtill upon Record concerning it.

The Lord *Ogilvie* wounded by the Laird of *Finlater*.

28. Junij

(a) He is likewiſe deſigned, of *Deskford*.

1562.

28. Junij 1562. (*a*)

The quhilk Day the Proveſt, Baillies, Dean of Gild, Theſaurer; Mr. Cuthbert Strange, Janus Barron, Adam Fullarton, David Toad, *Mr.* James Watſon, *Mr.* Robert Gray, James Johnſtoun, Alexander Park, *and Mr.* Jhonne *of the Counſale, with the maiſt part of the Deacons: Decernes* Jhonne Gordoun *of* Findleter *to be kepit in Waird within the Counſale-houſe of this our Burgh, thair to be kepit be xij Men, daylie and nichtlie upoun his awn Expenſes, quhile it be knawn what comes of my Lord* Ogilvy, *hurt be him* (*b*) *upon* Saturday *laſt; and that in reſpect of the Aith of* Robert Henderſon *Chirurgeon, quha declarit the three principall Membranes of the ſaid Lord's right Arme to be tuicht, quhilks are the* Axillar, *the* Baſilike, *and the* great Arteir; *and gif he bleeds again, the ſamen will be his dead. And further depones, That the Laird of* F. *the ſaid* John Gordoun's *Servandis quhilks are hurt, are not in Danger of thair Lyffs.*

The publick Records concerning this Misfortune.

The ſamen Day the Proveſt, Baillies, Counſallours and Deacons foirſaid, Ordaines Mr. James Ogilvy *of* Balfour, *and* James Ogilvy *of* Findleter (*c*) *Maſter-Houſhold to our Soverain, to be kepit in Waird in the Ovir-Counſale-houſe ſickeir upon thair awn Expenſes, quhile furder be knawn of the Quenis Majeſtie's Mynd; and ordanes* Richart Troupe *to be direct away with Deligence, with ane Wryting to the Quenis Grace, Declareing the maner of the Diſcord betwix the Lord* Ogilvy *and* Jhonne Gordoun, *togidder with the Waikneſs of oure Preſon; and to deſyre hir Majeſtie to relief us of the Preſoneris above wrytten.*

Penult. Junij 1562.

The quhilk Day Richart Troupe *Maſſer preſentit the Quenis Majeſtie's Wryting, of the quhilk the Tenour follows:* **Truſty Friendis, We greit zow weill, Wee have reſſavit zour Letter frae this Bearer, quhairby we underſtand the Variance that of late hes happenit betwix the Lord** Ogilvy **and** Jhonne Gordoun; **and as we have found zour proceding and handling of that Matter very guid, ſwae will we thank zow hartly of zour Deligence done in apprehending of the Perſonis Trublers of zour Town; for albeit the Party be greit, as ze wryte, zit nevertheleſs ſall yair Greitneſs, nor reſpect of yair Kinrent, ſtay us to execute Juſtice as accords. And ſeeing they are to wairn thair freindis on ather Syde, ze ſall nocht neid to have ony Feir thairof, becauſe oure Broder of** Mar **is to be thair, quha will declair zow quhat Fortification ze ſall have in that Behalf. In the mean tyme caus the better Wache and Deligence be made for the Suretie of thair Waird; quhairin ze ſall do Us acceptable Service. Subſcribit with Oure Hand at** Striveling **the** xxviii. **Day of** June 1562.

MARIE R.

The Queen, who we ſee was at *Stirling* on the 28th of *June*, has returned to *Edinburgh* ſome ſhort Space thereafter; in which Place her Majeſty ſits in the Privy-Council on the 30th of *July*. And on the 14th Day of *Auguſt* thereafter, her Majeſty was in the Council again at *Stirling*; and on the 25th of that Month ſhe holds a Council at *Edzel* (*d*), being then in a Progreſs to the more northerly Parts of her Kingdom. We may ſuppoſe it was ſome time before the Queen took Journey towards the North, that her Majeſty muſt have received the Letters mentioned by Mr. *Buchanan*, from the Pope and

The Queen goes Northward.

(*a*) Regiſter of the Town-council of *Edinburgh*.

(*b*) See the Foundation of the Quarrel in the *Peerage*, under the Title, *Finlater*.

(*c*) This perhaps is the Perſon who in the *Peerage* is called *James Ogilvie* of *Cardal*, the true Heir of *Finlater*.

(*d*) This is a Houſe cloſe on the South-ſide of the River *Northeſk*, which divides the Shires of *Angus* and *Mearns*; about ſix Miles North-weſt from *Montroſe*.

An uncertain Story of a Meſſage to her Majeſty from abroad.

1562. and her Uncles, adviſing her to entertain well the Earl of *Huntly*, as being the Man of greateſt Power in *Scotland*, and beſt inclined towards reſtoring the ancient Form of Religion; and to feed him with ſome fallacious Hopes of her taking to Husband *John Gordon* of *Findlater* one of the Earl's Sons *(a)*, in order to render him the more alert in promoting her Majeſty's Intentions. A Promiſe, they ſay, was likewiſe made by the Pope and Cardinal of *Lorrain*, of a Supply of Money to enable the Queen to execute her Purpoſes the better; yet ſtill with a *Proviſo*, That ſhe ſhould, as a Prelude, cauſe put to Death a certain Number of Perſons, who were reckoned to be the greateſt Enemies of the Catholick Faith; in which Roll the Earl of *Mar* obtained the Honour of Precedency. And we may not doubt the Queen would greedily ſnatch the Opportunity to rid herſelf of that Eye-ſore, he being " a Man whoſe Innocence was a continual Reproach and Curb to her Licentiouſneſs; a Man whoſe upright Dealing ſhe hated, and the Image of God that did evidently appear in him" *(b)*. But the Misfortune of all this cunning Contrivance was, " the Queen ſhewed theſe Letters to her Brother, and to the reſt deſigned for the Slaughter; either becauſe ſhe thought they would come at ſome Notice of it by ſome other way, or elſe to make them believe ſhe was ſincere towards them, as not hiding from them any of her moſt ſecret Counſels." And ſurely a Novelty it is, that good Mr. *Buchanan* has not reſolved this Openneſs of the Queen, into *a judicial Infatuation* of her from Heaven! for without this, 'tis ſcarcely to be ſuppoſed, that any Woman in her right Mind would commit ſuch a Blunder, as this Author obtrudes here upon the Queen *(c)*. If the Contents of theſe Letters, ſo far as they reſpect the Earl of *Huntly*, are eaſily reconcileable with Mr. *Buchanan*'s Account of the Queen's Journey northward, and the unlucky Things that befell that Earl and his Family, before her Majeſty's Return; I willingly leave to other People to form a Judgment. Mr. *Knox*'s Relation of that Affair concerning the Earl of *Huntly*, appears to have by far the beſt Aſpect; and that Writer ingenuouſly acknowledgeth, " whether there was any Paction and Confederacy betwixt the *Papiſts* of the South and the Earl of *Huntly* and his *Papiſts* in the North (or, to ſpeak more plainly, betwixt the Queen herſelf and *Huntly*) we cannot certainly affirm."

Here follow the Records of Privy-Council which relate to the Earl of *Huntly* and his Son's Misfortune.

Apud Dernway (d) 10. *Septembris (e)* 1562.

SEDERUNT

ARCHIBALDUS Argadiæ *Comes*, JACOBUS *Comes de* Mar,
WILLELMUS Mareſcal. *Comes*, JACOBUS *Comes de* Mortoun;
Willelmus Maitland *de* Lethingtoun *junior Secretarius*,
Joannes Ballenden *de* Auchnowle *Miles Clericus Juſticiariæ*.

A farther Account of the Laird of *Finlater*'s Misfortune from the Regiſters.

Forſamekill as Johne Gordoun of Deskfurd Knyt, being callit in ane Court of Juſticiarie haldin in the Tolbuith of Abirdene, the laſt Day of Auguſt laſt bypaſt, for the Contempt and Inobedience committit be him, in brekking of the Quenis Majeſties Ward, and departing furth of the Tolbuith of Edinburgh, upoun the

Day

(*a*) And yet the Records aſſure us, that this Gentleman was already married.

(*b*) So ſay Mr. *Buchanan* and Mr. *Knox*.

(*c*) It is obſervable that Mr. *Knox* has not one Word of this knotleſs Part of the Story; nor is there any Veſtige of it in Mr. *Randolph*'s, nor in Secretary *Lethington*'s Letters. True indeed, Abp. *Spottiſwood* tells over the ſame Things; and this with a Mark of Certainty too: But we had been much beholden to this Prelate, had he produced ſome better Authority, than it may be ſuppoſed he had from Mr. *Buchanan*.

(*e*) This is the Caſtle of *Tarnway* in the Shire of *Murray*, the Seat of the ancient Earls of *Murray*.

(*d*) There is no Record of Privy Council inrolled from the 25th of *Auguſt* at *Edzel*, until this of the 10th *September* at *Tarnway*.

1562. Day of laſt bypaſt, in the quhilk he wes wardit, for the cruell onſetting upoun James Lord Ogilvy, and mutilating of him of his richt Arme, and utheris Crymes contenit in the Letteris direct thairupoun, as the ſamyn at mair lenth proportis; and that he upoun the ſaid laſt Day of Auguſt comperit in the ſaid Tolbuith, and for ſatisfying of hir Hienes thairanent than in Jugement, enterit his perſone within the ſaid Tolbuith, as hir Grace's Ward, thair to remane induring hir Majeſtie's pleſure; and alſe offerit him to be obedient to paſs to quhatſumevir uthir Ward it ſuld pleiſe hir Grace to command him: And ſyne he being commandit in oure Soverane Ladeis Name, and hir Juſtice and his Deputis to paſs to the Proveſt of Abirdenis Ludgeing, and thair to haif remanit in Ward, quhill he wes certifyit of oure Soverane Ladeis Will in the Premiſſis, under the Pane of Rebellioun, and putting of him to the Horne. And Commandment alſua being gevin to the Sheriff-depute of Abirdene, then preſent to convoy him ſurlie thairto; and thaireſtir being enterit in Ward in the ſaid Proveſtis Lugeing, thair to haif remanit quhill he had bene fred be hir Grace; he upoun the firſt Day of September inſtant wes chargit be ane Officiar of Armes, be vertew of oure Soveranis Letteris, to haif paſt and enterit himſelf in Ward in the Caſtell of Stirling *(a)* within vii. Dayis eſtir the Charge, under the Pane of Treſſone. The quhilks Charges and Command the ſaid Johne Gordoun hes not onlie contemptnandlie diſſobeyit, and therthrow incurrit the ſaids Panis; bot alſwa be aſſembling togidder of certane utheris inobedient and rebellious Perſonis, apperis to brek the hale Cuntre, ſa far as is in his Power: Tharfoir hir Majeſtie perſaving the evill Exampill and greit Inconvenientis that may enſew heirof, gif he and his Complices be permittit to haif ony Strenthis, Houſis or Forteresſis to reſort to, during his inobedient and manifeſt Contempt foirſaid; and alſe hering the mony grevous Complaintis of the pouir Pepill of this Cuntre, berand thame to be hereit and oppreſſit be him and his ſaidis Complices in Tymes bypaſt, and fering the lyke, or wer [worſe] to be done in Tyme cuming; Ordanis, with Avyſe of the Lordis of hir Secreit-Counſale, Letteris to be direct to Heraldis, Maſſeris, purſevantis and Meſſengeris, chargeing thame to paſs, and in hir Hienes Name and Autorite command and charge the ſaid Johne Gordoun, Gordoun Lady Findlater his pretendit Spous, and all utheris Havaris, Haldaris, Keparis and Detenaris of the Houſſis and Forteresſis underwrittin, to delyver the Houſſis and Forteresſis of Findlater and Auchindowne, and ather of thame, to hir Grace's Officiar, Executor of this Charge, to quhome hir Grace gevis Commiſſioun to reſſaif the ſamyn, and to remoif, devoid and red thame, thair Servandis, and all utheris being therin furth of the ſamyn, to that Effect, that the ſamyn may be uſit at the Quenis Grace's Pleſure, within xxiv. Houris, nixt eſtir thai be chargit thairto, undir the Pane of Treſſone: Certyfying thame ann thai failʒe thairin, that thai ſall incur the ſaid Pane of Treſſone; and that Proces of Forfaulture ſall be led aganis thame according to the Terms of the Actis of Parliament, Lawis and Practick of this Realme.

(a) 'Tis not to be much doubted that this Removal has proceeded from the Earl of *Mar*, thereby to do a Diſpleaſure to the Earl and Family of *Huntly*. And if I might offer a Conjecture, I ſhould be ready to think, that the following Misbehaviour of that noble Family, has ariſen from a ſudden Emotion of Envy and Hatred againſt the Earl of *Mar*.

1562.

Apud Abirdene 15. *Octobris, Anno Dom.* 1562.

SEDERUNT

Archibaldus Argadiæ *Comes,*	Jacobus Moraviæ *Comes* (a),
Georgius Arroliæ *Comes,*	Jacobus *Comes de* Mortoun,
Willelmus Mareſcal. *Comes,*	Joannes *Dominus* Erskin;

Theſaurarius, Secretarius, Rotulator, Clericus Regiſtri, Clericus Juſticiariæ.

It is concludit and ordanit be the Quenis Majeſtie, with Abyſe of the Lordis of hir Secreit-Counſale, That gif George Erle of Huntlie comperis not befoir hir Majeſtie the xvi. Day of this inſtant October, to anſer to ſik Thingis as are to lay to his Charge, conforme to the Letteris direct thairupoun, and that thairfoir be virtew of the ſaids Letteris he be put to the Horne for his Contemptioun: That his Houſes, Strenthis and Freindis be takin fra him; and his ſaidis Freindis, and utheris Gentilmen of the Cuntre havand Reull, or Steir thairin, be ſend for, to compeir befoir the Quenis Majeſtie and Counſale foirſaid with all Expeditioun, and Ordure takin with thame, for Obedience to be maid to the Quenis Majeſtie, and Quietnes of the Cuntre; and baith Charges and Commiſſiouns to be direct to that Effect. *

Apud Abirdene 27. *Octobris, Anno Dom.* 1562.

SEDERUNT

Georgius Erroliæ *Comes,*	Jacobus *Comes* Moraviæ,
Joannes Atholiæ *Comes,*	Jacobus *Comes de* Mortoun,
Willelmus Mareſcal. *Comes,*	Joannes *Dominus* Erskin;

Secretarius, Theſaurarius, Rotulator, Clericus Regiſtri, Clericus Juſticiariæ.

Forſamekill as George Erle of Huntlie continewand in his treſſonable Conſpiracies, is cumand fordwart towert this Burgh of Abirdene, of determit purpois to perſew oure Soverane Ladeis

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(a) By this Record we are aſſured, that the Queen's Brother has got the Deſignation of the Earldom of *Murray*, in Place of *Mar*, ſometime betwixt this Date and the 10th of *September* laſt. There is no Council-day intervening. The Revenue of *Murray* (and Mr. *Buchanan* adds, that of *Mar*) had been gifted to the Earl of *Huntly*; and by this precipitant Advancement of the Prior to the Earldom of *Mar*, we may be ſtill more confirmed of the great Sway that Nobleman had at this Time with his Siſter the Queen; and likewiſe by this new Title conferred on him, we may with the greater Aſſurance fix the preſent Diſturbance upon the Animoſity betwixt theſe two Earls, now blown up to its utmoſt Height. The Prior of St. *Andrew*'s was ſuſpicious he could not enjoy the Title and Earldom of *Mar*, becauſe of the Right which his own Uncle the Lord *Erskine* claim'd thereunto: Upon which account he has been deſirous to receive this new Title, to which there was no lineal Competitor.

* *Note*, On the 26th *October* 1562, there is a Record of Privy-Council at *Aberdeen* likewiſe, which might be too prolix to be inſerted here; and yet becauſe the Contents thereof may not be altogether uſeleſs for this Part of our Hiſtory, and may be agreeable to the Relations of the Perſons concerned, the Readers may know, that on that Day, In Preſence of the Quenis Majeſtie, and Lordis of Secreit-Counſale, comperit thir Perſonis under-writtin, and yair Cautionaris following, and band and obliſt thame *reſpective* to enter yair Perſonis within the Places under-mentionat, and to remane within the ſamyn and foure Mylis yairabout, and not to eſchaip nor eſchew whil yai be fred be the Quenis Majeſtie, under the Panis under-mentionat. The Perſons Principals are, *George Gordon* of *Gicht* within *Edinburgh*, betwixt and the 8th *November* next, under the Pain of 5000 Merks. *James Gordon* of *Haddo* within *Edinburgh* before the 3d *November*, at 5000 Merks. ——*Gordon* of *Abirzeldy* in St. *Andrew*'s within four Days next to come, at 5000 Merks. *Alexander Gordon* of *Strathowne* within *Hadington* 22d *November*, at 5000 Merks. *Alexander Gordon*, eldeſt Son and Heir to *George Gordon* of *Leſmoir*, in *Edinburgh* within ſix Days next to come, at 2000 Merks. *George Gordon*, Son and appearand Heir to *James Gordon* of *Creichie*, for his Father; and *Alexander Gordon* of *Birkinbog* his Brother, both of them within *Edinburgh* 3d *November*, at 1000 *L.* each. *Patrick Gordon*, Son and appearand Heir to *George Gordon* of *Corruthies*, for his ſaid Father, and *Patrick Gordon* of *Auchmanze*, within St. *Andrew*'s 3d *November*, at 2000 Merks. *Thomas Gordon* of *Kennartie* within St. *Andrew*'s 3d *November*, no Penalty. *Alexander Gordon* for *William Gordon* of *Craig* his Brother within *Edinburgh* 3d *November*, at 3000 Merks. All the above Perſons have Gentlemen of Eſtates in the Shire of *Aberdeen*, except *Alexander Knowis* Burgeſs of *Edinburgh* for *Creichie* and *Birkinbog*, for their Cautioners.

1562. deis propir Perſone; and hir Grace, to reſiſt his wickit Interpriſſis with hir trew Leigis being with hir within this Burgh, is to paſs fordwart to meit him on the plane Fieldis: Thairfoir hir Majeſtie, with Avyſe of the Lordis of hir Secreit-Counſale, ordainis that gif it happinis ony of hir Liegis being with hir, or ſik utheris as we ſall appoint in Cumpany, to be ſlane at this Journey, hurt and woundit to the Deid, and deceiſis thairby thaireftir, or in the coming thairto, and paſſing thairfra, That thair Wife and Bairnis, and failȝeing of thame, thair Aires and Executouris ſall bruke and joiſs thair Takkis, Stedingis, Rowmes and Poſſeſſiounis for the Space of five Ȝeiris nixt eftir the Dait heirof, without Greſſume or Entre-Silvir to be payit thairfore; and alſe, that thair Airis ſall haif the Ward of thair Landis, Mylnis, and Fiſcheingis, with thair Mareage free, without payment of ony Compoſitioun, or Teind-Penny thairfore; and this preſent Ordinance to extend to thame that hes and haldis thair Landis, Fiſcheingis, Malingis, Rowmes and Poſſeſſiounis, alſwele of ſpirituale Men as temporale Men, as of the Quenis Majeſtie: Providing that the ſaidis Air or Airis entir to thair Landis, Rowmes and Poſſeſſiounis within three Termis eftir the lauchfull Age of xiv. Ȝeiris; and gif the Falt be in thair Tutouris or Curatouris, to entir within ane Terme eftir thai be of xxi. Ȝeiris compleit; and this preſent Ordinance to be of als grete Force, Strenth and Effect as the Act and Ordinance maid be oure Soveraine Lady befoir the Feild of Pynkiecleuch, be James Duke of Chattelarault, Erle of Arrane, Lord Hamilton, &c. in hir Hienes Name, than brukand hir Autorite; or be hir Grace's Moder in the Weris betwix this Realme and Ingland, in the Ȝeir of God 1557 Ȝeiris.

Forſamekill as George Erle of Huntlie, with his Bairns, and diverſs utheris of his Factioun hes committit ſundrie treſſonable Dedis and Interpriſis aganis the Quenis Majeſtie and hir Autorite; and eftir that the ſaid Erle wes denouncit Rebell, and put to the Horne. he and his ſaidis Sonnis, and utheris thair Participantis, aſſemblit thair hale Tennentis, Servandis, and utheris thair Friendis, and put thame in Armes at the Barony of Strathbogy; and fra thence came fordwart in plane Battale, frae Place to Place, quhill thay ar approchit neir this Burgh of Abirdene, within few Myles to the ſamen; and continewand in thair treſſonable Dedis, intendis to cum fordwart to the ſaid Burgh, of determit Purpois to invaid the Quenis Grace's propir Perſone, hir Counſale, and utheris hir trew Liegis being with hir in Cumpany: And hir Hienes, with Avyſs of the Lordis of hir Secrete-Counſale, ſeand the eminent Danger, and knawand that gif the ſaidis Conſpiratoris treſſonable Interpriſis wer not in tyme ſtayit and reſiſtit, it might turne to the grete Skaith of hir awine Perſone, gart call in befoir hir Hienes, hir Couſing and Counſallor George Erle of Arrole, William Lord Forbes, Alexander Lord Saltoun, William Leſlie of Boquhane, and utheris of the Cuntre Folkis, deſiring thair Avyſe to be had for reſiſting of the Conſpiratoris foirſaids: Quhilkis eftir Deliberatioun takin thairby, offerit to paſs fordwart with thair Kin and Friendis, and for apprehending of the ſaid Erle, his Bairnis, and Aſſiſtaris being in thair Cumpany, to wair thair Lyfes as thair Dewetie and detfull Obedience requyres to thair Soverane. Quhilk Offir the Quenis Grace, with Avyſs of hir Counſale foirſaid, thocht maiſt reſonable, meit and aggreand with the Tyme; and thairfoir ordanit, and be the Tenour heirof, ordanis thame to paſs fordewart, to the Effect foirſaid: And to the Ef-

1562. fect the ſamyn may be the mair ſurlye and ſtarklie performed, gevis, grantis and committis hir Hienes Commiſſioun and full Powir to hir derreſt Bruther James Erle of Murray, with utheris of hir Secreit-Counſale, and Noblemen being in hir Cumpany, to pas fordwart, with thair Kin, Freindis and Servandis, to the Pairt and Place quhair the ſaid Erle of Huntlie, his Bairnis and Complices ſall happin to be, the xxviii. of this inſtant October, and to take with thame oure Soverane Ladeis Baner, and put thame in Armes, and to diſplay hir ſaid Baner, and to reſyſt, and gif neid be, to perſew the ſaid Erle, hes Bairnis and Complices foirſaidis, for apprehending, taking and bringing of thame to the Law, to be puniſt foir thair treſſonable cuming in plane Battell, in maner foirſaid, and utheris treſſonable Crymes committit be thame of befoir; and gif thai mak Reſiſtance, to perſew thame to the Deid, and fecht thame in plane Battell, and to aſſemble oure Soverane Ladeis Liegis to that Effect; and gif the ſaid Erle, his Bairnis or Complices, and Parttakkaris being with thame in Cumpany, happinis to fle and pas to Houſſis or Strenthis, to lay Aſſage to the ſamyn, and to continew thairat, and in perſewing of the ſaidis Conſpiratoris, ſa lang as thai may remane on the Feildis; and to rais Fyre, for apprehending of the ſaidis Houſis and Strenthis, and to do all uther Thingis for performing of the Premiſſis, as gif oure Soverane Lady wer preſent in propir Perſone; and this preſent Commiſſioun to be of als grete Avail, Force, Strenth and Effect, as gif the ſamyn wer extendit in the maiſt ampill Forme under the Grete-Sele, declarand heirby, that hir ſaid Bruther, and utheris Noblemen foirſaidis, and Perſonis being with thame in Cumpany, ſall incur na Skaith nor Danger in thair Landis, Bodeyis or Guids, for apprehending, taking and ſlaying of ony of the Conſpiratouris above reherſit: And ordanis thir Preſentis to be inſert in the Bukis of Secreit-Counſale, to remane thairin *ad perpetuam rei memoriam*, with Letteris to be direct heirupoun for publiſſing of the ſamyn, commandand thairin all hir Grace's Liegis to anſer and to obey to hir ſaid Bruthir and Noblemen foirſaids being with him in Cumpany, in all and ſundrie Thingis concerning the Premiſſis, and to ryſe and gang fordwart with thame to that Effect, as thai will anſer to the Quenis Majeſtie thairupoun.

Next Day, being the 28th of *October*, the Earl of *Murray* being now conſtitute her Majeſty's Lieutenant, marched out of *Aberdeen*, and encounter'd the Earl of *Huntly* at a Place called *Corrichie*, about 14 or 15 Miles to the Weſt of that Town; where the Earl of *Huntly* chanced not only to loſe the Day, but his Life alſo, having been troden to Death in the Flight; ſome ſay murdered, after he had been made Priſoner. His Son Sir *John*, and a younger Son *Adam*, were taken; and Sir *John* was beheaded immediately at *Aberdeen*, or rather butcher'd by an unskilful Executioner, which created him much Pity: But Mr. *Adam* (a) received the Queen's Pardon, becauſe he was not yet arrived to Age; and ſo might be ſuppoſed to have been carried along with his Father, without any Choice of his own. The Earl's dead Body was conveyed to *Edinburgh* by Sea, and kept unburied all the Winter in the Abbay of *Holy-rood-houſe*; and then an Indictment of High Treaſon was exhibited againſt him before the Parliament, in the Month of *May* following, *eftir that he was deid, and departit frae this mortal Lyſe*. What followed hereupon, and how this noble Family was reduced to the utmoſt Brink of Deſtruction, may be ſeen at large by the Records of Parliament in the Month of *April*

The Earl of *Huntly* is ſlain, and his Son Sir *John* executed.

The Earl's dead Body found guilty of Treaſon, and his Eſtate forfeited.

1567,

(a) This Gentleman appeared afterwards very eminently for the Queen, during her Miſfortune.

1562.

1567, that are yet remaining (*a*). This only is proper to be remembred, in all the publick Tranſactions, either of Parliament or Privy-Council, which have a Relation to this diſmal Emergent; that the Earl of *Huntly*'s great Enemy, the Queen's natural Brother, had now the ſole Sway at Court, and had the Intereſt to act any Part he pleaſed againſt that Family. The Earl of *Huntly*'s Friends affirm, that "the true Occaſion of the Conflict at *Corrichie*, and of all the Troubles which happened to the *Gordons*, was the ſincere and loyal Affection they had to the Queen's Preſervation; and 'tis moſt certain, that the Earl of *Huntly* gathered theſe Forces, at her Majeſty's own Deſire, to free her from the Earl of *Murray*'s Power" (*b*).

After the unfortunate Calamity which befell the Earl of *Huntly*, his eldeſt Son the Lord *Gordon* having fled toward his Father-in-Law the Duke of *Chaſtelherault*, was by the Queen's expreſs Order, detained Priſoner by him at his Houſe of *Kinneil*; and afterwards, upon her Majeſty's Return to *Edinburgh*, he was committed to the Caſtle on the 28th Day of *November*; and on the 8th Day of *February* thereafter, 1562-3, he was brought forth to a publick Trial for his Life, as having been *Art* and *Part* in his Father's treaſonable Practices (*c*); tho' I do not find it alledged, that he was in the Field of *Corrichie*. And ſo regardleſs did his Enemies appear to be of the common Forms obſerved in all criminal Trials, that no Indictment was preferred againſt him, until the very Day he was brought to the Bar of Juſtice; and yet ſuch was their prevalent Power at the Time, that he was quickly found guilty of High Treaſon, and condemned to *be hangit whil he war deid, drawn, quarterit, and demainit as ane Trator, at oure Soveranis Pleſor*. This laſt Clauſe in the Sentence, was the only thing that ſaved this noble Perſon from loſing his Life; for the Queen commiſerating the Misfortunes which had of late befallen his Family, was pleaſed to ſuſpend his Execution, and only ſent him Priſoner to the Caſtle of *Dunbar*, there to remain till her Pleaſure ſhould be farther known.

And the Lord *Gordon* found guilty of Treaſon likewiſe:

But his Execution is ſuſpended by the Queen.

The Reader will ſee, in the *Lives of the Lords Chancellors*, how narrowly this Nobleman eſcaped being put to Death, upon a falſe Warrant from the Queen.

Beſides the publick Regiſters, there are moreover two miſſive Letters on Record, which contain ſome Things relating to this fatal Expedition, which ought likewiſe to be laid before my Readers: one is from the *Engliſh* Reſident, the other from the *Scottiſh* Secretary; neither of them Friends to the Family of *Huntly*. Theſe Letters will give us Inſight into other Matters, and are as follow:

A Letter from Mr. Randolph, *To Sir* William Cecil, *18th* November *1562 (d)*.

Letter from the *Engliſh* Miniſter to the Secretary of *England*.

'AT all other Times ſince the Beginning of the Troubles in the North-parts of this Kingdom, the L. of *Lidington* left unto me the Report of them unto your Honour, which from time to time I have done as truly, and with as much Expedition, as the Place where I have been, would ſuffer (*e*).

(*a*) Theſe Records, ſo far as they concern this noble Family, may be ſeen tranſcribed in the *Lives of the Lord Chancellors*, &c. by the laborious Mr. *George Crawford*.

(*b*) MS. by Sir *Robert Gordon* of *Gordonſton*, of the Bed-chamber to K. *James* VI. and K. *Charles* I. Mr. *Holinſhed* of *England*, who is allowed to be a Writer of much Exactneſs, ſets down ſeveral Particulars pretty favourable on the Earl of *Huntly*'s Side. And if it be true, as both Mr. *Knox* and Mr. *Buchanan* relate, that the Queen appeared little pleaſed with the Earl of *Huntly*'s Defeat; this will ſtill confirm that that whole Affair has been tranſacted through the prevailing Intereſt of her natural Brother, acting by an extorted Power and Commiſſion from the Queen, ſince we ſee the few Counſellors about her Majeſty were her Brother's faſt Friends.

(*c*) See the Records of Parliament, and the Lives of the Chancellors.

(*d*) Calig. B. 10. an Original.

(*e*) The Letters formerly written by this Gentleman from the Beginning of the Expedition into the North, are either altogether loſt, or concealed in ſuch obſcure Corners, that they are no longer to be ſeen.

1562. 'Now that theſe Matters are ended, wherein the Laird of *Lidington* had no ſmall Part, he hath promiſed to renew his old Courſe of Intelligence with your Honour, as well to avoid Suſpicion that you may gather of his long Silence; as alſo to confer with your Honour what in theſe troubleſome, dangerous and ſuſpicious Times is beſt to be followed, for the uniting of the Hearts of the two Queens in ſo firm a League, that whatſoever Inconvenience may ariſe, it ſhall never be able to diſſolve the ſame. Of this Matter ſeeing that he hath written unto your Honour at good length, I mean not further to trouble you therein, but rather to write of whatſoever I am moſt deſirous ſhould come unto your Honour's Knowledge of the State of Things here. After the Defeat of the Earl of *Huntly*, Conſultation was had what ſhould become of his Body; it was reſolved that it ſhould be kept till the Parliament, that according unto the Order, Judgment might be given againſt him in the three Eſtates. His Son *John Gordon* within three Days after was beheaded in *Aberdeen*, and Execution done upon certain others that were taken at the ſame time. He confeſſed, that at four diverſe Times he and his Company took Purpoſe to have ſlain the Earl of *Murray*, the Earl of *Morton*, the Laird of *Lidington*, and the Juſtice-Clerk; the Places, the Times, and Number of Men, were ſo convenient, that only the Hand of God did ſtay it: For ſmall was the Force that the Queen's Grace had at theſe Times to withſtand them, having alſo at that Time in her Company the Earl of *Sutherland* (who is a *Gordon*) whom ſhe truſted, and is now diſcovered for to be one of the Contrivers of the whole Miſchief. This *John Gordon* confeſſed; as alſo, that if his Father had taken *Aberdeen*, as he intended, he would have burnt the Queen, and as many as were in the Houſe with her. So cruel an Act, I believe, that never Man heard of! At *Old-Aberdeen*, where the firſt Purpoſe was to have ſlain the L. of *Lidington*, in the Night I was his Bed-fellow, in the Day for the moſt part in his Company, and at all other times of Danger where the Queen was herſelf; ſo that if the Houſe had been ſet on Fire, it had been hot for me being there. The Lord *Gordon* is made guilty in moſt part of theſe Matters, whom the Duke by Commandment from the Queen apprehended, and keepeth him Priſoner in *Kinneil (a)*. The Queen's Grace having put Order to the Country, returneth towards *Edinburgh:* By the way there meeteth her firſt *Villemont*, by whom I received your Honour's Letters, and within few Days after your Advertiſement ſent unto Sir *Thomas Dacres* to be given unto me. I know that there lacketh no Good-will in him to work what Miſchief he can; howbeit, whatſoever he doth, he does it without Commiſſion, and little Credit I am ſure given unto him. But to give ſome Token of his Good-will to diminiſh his Miſtreſs's Credit and all her Counſellors with this Queen, he declareth that full Reſolution was taken, that if God had done his Will with her Majeſtie when ſhe was ſick, that this Queen was bar'd from all Succeſſion. With this honeſt Report he maketh his firſt Entry; and that only one Man of the Council ſeem'd to favour her Right; and that this he learned of one of the Clerks of the Council, with whom I dare take it upon my Conſcience he never had any ſuch Purpoſe. The L. of *Lidington* being happily called to hear this Diſcourſe, had ſufficient Matter againſt him to reprove his Untruth, whom I had before informed what I knew aſſuredly therein. Letters he brought none from any of great Importance, as I am aſſur'd both by her Grace's ſelf and others; one Letter it pleas'd her to ſhew me herſelf, written by the Queen-Mother with her own Hand. The Occaſion was this, One Day in Talk I lamented the Caſe of the poor King and Queen his Mother, that he being young, and ſhe in her Heart favouring the Proteſtants, were forced to yield to that that might bring the Crown in hazard, and ſhe to do greatly againſt her Conſcience. Her Grace having reaſoned with me

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(a) This Lord *Gordon* married a Daughter of the Duke of *Chaſtelherault*.

1562. in the contrary, aſſured me that there is not in *France* a verier Papiſt than the Queen is, nor a greater Enemy unto the Prince and his Adherents. And now having at this Time received a Letter from the Queen by *Villemont*, greatly complaining of the Prince, and miſliking greatly, and in many Words my Miſtreſs's Determination to ſend Support unto thoſe that have taken Arms (as ſhe ſaith) againſt their Sovereign, thought that it ſhould be a great Confirmation unto that which before ſhe had ſpoken unto me, to ſhew me the Letter. I was better content at that Time to yeild unto her, than further to contend; it ſufficed me, that by that Letter I knew how well minded the Queen-Mother was unto my Sovereign: Which I thought good to report unto your Honour; as alſo to aſſure you, that *Villemont*'s Credit with this Queen is not as he look'd for, or truſted that it ſhould have been: Wherefore I doubt nothing that he is able to work; for to be plain with your Honour, under Pardon, he is known and eſteem'd but a falſe flattering Varlet; his Wife ran away with another Man in *France*, and he came hither to follow the old Trade of a Villain's Life, as he was accuſtomed. After him, within few Days, cometh *Chaſtelet (a)* from *Monſ. d'Anville:* His firſt Report to the Queen was, That he was ſtay'd eight Days in the Court. When the Queen herſelf told it me, I ſaid it was to make him good Cheer for his Maſter's ſake. He preſented unto the Queen one only Letter very long from his Maſter: little Knowledge is gotten yet what it contains; always I am aſſur'd by the L. of *Lidington*, that he hath neither Errant, Letter, Commiſſion, or Credit, to move this Queen in any thing that is prejudicial unto my Sovereign; and that if any ſuch thing were, as is ſuſpected, that he ſhould come to ſtir or move her any way againſt her Majeſty, that neither he, nor any other could prevail therein, no not if ſhe were herſelf willing; other Impediments there are that are immoveable *(b)*. What his Errant is, cannot be ſo haſtily known as I deſire, nor I truſt ſhall not be ſo long ſecret, but I ſhall ſhortly get wit by ſome means or other. He is well entertained by the Queen, and hath great Conference with her; he rideth upon the Soar-Gelding that my L. *Robert* gave unto her Grace; he preſented a Book of his own making, written in Meeter; I know not what Matter. I was preſent in Sight when the Letter was given unto her Grace. Her Countenance ſignified good liking enough of the Contents. He and I never yet ſpoke together; not for lack of Knowledge the one of the other (for his Maſter's ſake I did ſhew him Courteſy at his being here) but that I think it as reaſonable for him to offer it, as me to receive it; and if he require it not, my Sovereign I truſt will pardon me, if he have a ſlender Recommendation either to *Barwick*, or to any other that he ſhall have to do with.

' At *Dundee* the Duke meeteth the Queen, to become Suiter unto her for the Lord of *Gordon*'s Pardon; he received little Comfort, and nothing I think ſhall be granted before the Parliament. I talked with him at good length: I find him as always I was wonted to do; he deſireth to have his Service recommended unto the Queen's Majeſtie.

' By the way coming from *Aberdeen*, there cometh unto the Queen one *Donald Gormund* that pretendeth a Right to be Lord of the *Iſles*; he gave himſelf unto the Queen's Will, and hath promiſed his true Obedience; he is commanded to attend. This is he that was in *England* in Queen *Mary*'s Time, and by her was ſent into *Ireland:* I think that he is like to receive ſome Gift of Lands, upon Hope of his good Behaviour from henceforth.————————

(a) This unlucky Man had fallen deſperately in Love with our Queen: He had come along with her Majeſty into *Scotland*, in the Service of ſome of her Relations; and now again he obtains a Letter from *Monſ. Danville* to preſent to her Majeſty. His Flame put him upon the Extravagance of ſlipping one Evening beneath her Majeſty's Bed; but being diſcovered when the Queen was undreſſing, her Majeſty was ſo gracious as to forgive the Offence: But he fooliſhly acting the ſame Part a ſecond time, he was condemned, and beheaded the 22d of *February* following. He had a Talent of making Verſes.

(b) A very fair Confeſſion, that our Queen was at bottom deſtitute of all Authority. We may gueſs who were theſe *immoveable Impediments.*

1562.

'I ſend your Honour herewith a Letter from this Queen to the Queen's Majeſtie. At what Time ſhe gave it me, ſhe deſir'd me to witneſs of that that I had ſeen and heard of her good Mind towards my Sovereign. I truſt it be as well meant as it is ſpoken. I deſir'd her again not to be eaſy of Credit, nor ever doubtful where no Cauſe of Evil is meant. Theſe two Things I have oft fear'd in her Grace; and found it now needful to ſpeak a little Word thereof, becauſe of the *French*, that are daily rounding in her Lugs ſome Title-Tatles or other.

'To have more Commodity to write my Letters unto your Honour, I took my Leave of the Queen at *Dundee* upon *Sunday* laſt, to be before her Grace in this Town, who propoſeth to be here upon *Saturday* next. —— Then ſhall we be aſſured when the Parliament beginneth, which I aſſure your Honour will be ſore againſt her Will; for then ſhe feareth that her lovely Maſs ſhall go to Wreck. God for it be prais'd, my Miſtreſs's Credit was never greater in *Scotland* than it is at preſent. Thus with my moſt humble Commendations, I take my Leave. The 18th of *November* 1562.

Your Honour's always to command,

THO. RANDOLPHE.

A Letter from the Laird of Lethington *principal Secretary of State, To Sir* William Cecil, *14th* November 1562 *(a)*.

SIR,

Letter from the *Scottiſh* to the *Engliſh* Secretary.

"IF I have thus long forborn to write unto you, impute it not to any lack of Good-will, or that I mean a Breach of the Intelligence betwixt us; but rather judge, I pray you, that our Matters in the North have been in ſuch Caſe, and I therein ſo fully occupied, that my Leiſure was not great to think upon any other thing. Marry now (prais'd be God) they be brought to ſuch Terms, as I truſt the Example thereof ſhall ſerve to good Purpoſe, and be occaſion that no Subject hereafter ſhall be found ſo unnatural, as to attempt the like wicked Enterpriſes. What ungodly Delays have been conſpir'd, and what hath been the Iſſue, I need not enter in ample Diſcourſe with you, being well aſſur'd that Mr. *Randolph* hath not fail'd from time to time to advertiſe you ſufficiently thereof: This only will I ſay, I am ſorry that the Soil of my native Country did ever produce ſo unnatural a Subject, as the Earl of *Huntly* hath prov'd in the End againſt his Sovereign, being a Princeſs ſo gentle and benign, and whoſe Behaviour hath been always ſuch towards all her Subjects, and every one in particular, that Wonder it is that any could be found ſo ungracious as once to think Evil againſt her; and in my Conſcience I know not that any juſt Occaſion of Grudge was ever offer'd unto him. Well, the Event hath made manifeſt his Iniquity, and the Innocence as well of her Majeſtie as of her Miniſters towards him. And now God's Providence hath reſtored to us good and perfect Quietneſs; God grant we may long enjoy it. Marry, foreign Matters be now come to ſo hard Terms, that the diſcourſing upon them ſometimes will not permit me to live in perfect Security, and to have full Fruition of the preſent Tranquillity. I ſee they muſt with Time drive the Queen my Miſtreſs to be in a moſt perplexed Caſe; the War is now begun betwixt the two Countries, in the Earth which next her own be moſt dear to her, *France* and *England*, being deſcended of the Blood of both of them by her Father, and one of them by her Mother, having in both a ſpecial and particular Intereſt to wiſh them well; in the one, that Honour that ſhe was once Queen

"of

(a) Calig. B. 10. an Original.

" of it, and yet remaineth Dowager; in the other, ſuch as you, without my 1562.
" Writing, can of yourſelf conceive. When they ſhall mortally perſecute the
" one the other, it ſhall be a hard Matter for her to hold the Ballance juſt between
" twixt them. She hath Friends in both that be moſt tender to her; in
" *France*, the moſt part of all her Kindred, chiefly her Uncles, with whom
" ſhe hath been from her Youth nouriſh'd and up-brought, and who do honour
" and love her above all Creatures, and whom ſhe hath alſo good Cauſe
" to eſteem. In that Realm the Queen her good Siſter and Couſin, with
" whom, altho' ſhe be not as yet ſo thorowly acquainted, yet (I think) her
" natural Inclination can ſerve her to love her, as well for the Beginning of
" Friendſhip already contracted betwixt them, yea rather more, if this Entry
" in Amity be well followed out by both Parties. I perceive her Majeſtie
" will ſhortly be preſſed, as well by her Uncles in particular, as by the King
" and Queen-Mother, earneſtly requir'd by Virtue of the ancient League betwixt
" the two Realms, not to forſake the Defence of the King her Brother,
" and that Realm where ſhe had all her Education, and in which her Dowry
" is ſituate, now being invaded by the Forces of *England*. I know her Majeſtie
" will be ſore aſſaulted with theſe Meſſages, and many Perſwaſions
" tending to the Breach of Amity with her good Siſter; which Amity I know
" the State of *France* will never well digeſt, as a thing moſt prejudicial to
" their Wealth. When this ſhall come to paſs, I as he who moſt chiefly and
" ſpecially hath travelled at all Times to knit up Friendſhip betwixt the two
" Queens and Realms, and whom it behoveth moſt to ſtick to it, will not
" fail to take upon me to perſwade the contrary at my Power, and anſwer all
" their Objections ſo far as I can, and have good Hope to find her own Mind
" conformable enough. Marry, I ſee ſome Arguments to be laid againſt me,
" which it will be hard for me to anſwer ſufficiently. If ſhe being thus requir'd,
" ſhall forſake the Quarrel of the King her Brother and of her Uncles,
" caſting off their Friendſhip in their Neceſſity; ſhall ſhe not loſe them for
" ever? If ſhe have to do with their Aid hereafter in any Action, what Favour
" can ſhe look for at their Hands, whom ſhe hath firſt broken off? What
" Appuy, or of whom ſhall ſhe have, being forſaken of her own and old
" Friends? In the mean ſeaſon, ſhall ſhe not endanger the Loſs of her Dowry
" preſently? To countervail all theſe Dangers, I have no more to lay in Ballance
" fornent them, but only the Queen your Miſtreſs's Love, which altho'
" it is worthy to be much eſteemed, yet it is but incloſed in her own Heart,
" *& non tranſgreditur perſonam:* So that not being an Amity contracted
" with the Realm publickly, or approved by any open Fact or certain Demonſtration,
" but only a Familiarity contracted privately betwixt themſelves; if
" God ſhould at any Time call your Miſtreſs, then ſhall mine be left deſtitute
" of all Friends, when ſhe ſhall have moſt need. I have ever wiſh'd, and yet do,
" that the Amity were ſo ſtraitly knit up betwixt their Majeſties, ſo ſolemnly
" confirmed, and by publick Demonſtration uttered to the World, that for the
" Conqueſt of a greater Friend my Miſtreſs car'd not to hazard all others; and
" that the World might have occaſioun to judge that her Change in that Behalf,
" did not proceed of any childiſh or raſh Judgment, but rather that of
" Wiſdom ſhe had made a good Choice, and did beſt love that Perſon who did
" ſhew greateſt Token of Love towards her. The Danger I hear the Queen
" your Miſtreſs has been in of late, maketh me to write more affectionately
" in this Cauſe, for I ſhould be ſorry in caſe Death ſhould take ſo dear a Friend
" from mine, that then ſhe ſhould find herſelf deſtitute of all Friendſhip, and
" that by following my Advice. If your Miſtreſs will ſo far extend her
" Love towards mine, that by her Means ſhe may be put in full Security,
" that Hoſtility for no Occaſion ſhall ever enter betwixt her and any Perſon
" of that Realm (*a*), then I doubt not but your Miſtreſs by Love ſhall have

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(*a*) He means with reſpect to the Succeſſion to that Crown; and all his Drift here tends that way.

1562. “ more Power over her than all the World beſides; and that ſhe will rather be directed in all her Actions by the good Advice of the Queen her Siſter, than of all the Uncles ſhe hath. Marry, ſo long as in any Caſe the Forces of that Realm may be bent againſt her, it were no good Policy for her to loſe any Friend ſhe hath, but rather to purchaſe moe by all good Means that can be offer'd to her. I have heard it whiſper'd, that in this late Storm of yours, a Device was intended there to prefer ſome other in the Succeſſion to my Miſtreſs; which I cannot think to be true, ſeeing none is more worthy for all Reſpects, nor hath ſo good a Title. If her Religion hath mov'd any thing, ſeeing her Behaviour ſuch towards theſe that be of the Religion within her own Realm, yea and the Religion itſelf, which is a great deal more increaſed ſince ſhe came home than it was before, I ſee no Reaſon why thoſe that be zealous of Religion ſhould ſuſpect her. I would be glad to hear from you, how far hath been proceeded therein: As alſo, that you ſhould conſider as much of the Matter touched in this Letter, as is expreſſed therein; which I write to you rather to be weigh'd by your ſelf, than to be communicated to any others, unleſs it be to ſuch as you know can well digeſt it. I am well aſſur'd whatſoever cometh from me ſhall by you be uſed to the beſt. I have ever judged it a chief Felicity for both, that *England* and *Scotland* might be join'd together, and whoſoever hath Credit to do Good in it, cannot employ it to a better End; as for me, I always remain one, and will continually ſhoot at that Scope, more for common Charity, than for particular Advantage for our Side: For let others judge as they liſt, I am aſſur'd Men that will judge indifferently ſhall perceive, that your Gain is as apparent therein as ours (*a*). And ſo after my moſt hearty Commendations, I take my Leave. From *Dundee* the 14th Day of *November* 1562.

Your Honour's at Commandment,

W. MAITLAND.

The Cardinal of *Lorrain* propoſes to the Emperor a Match betwixt his Son and our Queen.

In the Summer of this Year, the Cardinal of *Lorrain* had made a Viſit to *Ferdinand* the Emperor of *Germany*, in his Way as he was returning home from aſſiſting in the Council of *Trent*; at which Time he propoſed a Marriage (*b*) between our Queen and Arch-Duke *Charles*, ſecond Son to *Ferdinand*. But this Project coming to the Knowledge of Queen *Elizabeth*, to whom the Arch-Duke was likewiſe a Suitor; ſhe ordered Mr. *Randolph* to declare to our Queen, that “ If ſhe liſtned to the Cardinal as to any thing relating to that Match, it would prove the ready way to diſſolve the good Agreement between *Scotland* and *England*, if not to exclude her from any Hopes of ſucceeding to the Crown of *England*: Which that ſhe might not come ſhort of, ſhe warned her, as a Friend, to make Choice of ſuch an Huſband out of the *Engliſh* Nation, as might be both acceptable to her, and lay the Foundation of a firm Peace between the two Kingdoms at the ſame time, and ſecure her Succeſſion to the Crown; which could never be declared, till her Choice were publickly known as to this Matter” (*c*). Beſides the Propoſal of this Match, Mr. *Knox* informs, that an Embaſſy came likewiſe from *Sweden* this ſame Summer, requeſting our Queen in Marriage to the King of that Nation: But that his Suit was not granted. The ſame Author mentions alſo the Infant of *Spain*, the Duke of *Nemours* in *France*, and the Lord *Darnly*, their having been all talk'd of, for Partners of our Queen's Bed. And truly that *Don Carlos* was projected by his Father the King

Several other Propoſals of Marriage.

(*a*) Perhaps 'tis to the Contents of this Letter written by the Secretary, that Mr. *Camden* refers in this Part of his Annals: And probably alſo our Queen herſelf has touched the ſame Things in her Letters to Q. *Elizabeth*. We ſee by the preceeding Diſpatch, that Mr. *Randolph* ſent a Letter from her Majeſty unto his Miſtreſs.

(*b*) *Melvill*'s Memoirs.

(*c*) *Camden*.

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King of *Spain* to be the Husband of our Queen, is evident from original Letters already made publick *(a)*. And the Event of Things hath made it certain enough, that the Talk concerning the Lord *Darnly* has not been without Foundation, at that Time. This Writer alone makes likewiſe mention of an Embaſſy from our Queen, by Secretary *Maitland*, both to the Queen of *England*, and the *French* Court: He confeſſeth indeed, that he is ignorant of *Lethington*'s Credit; however that he has been in the right concerning the Embaſſy, is evident from the following Inſtructions delivered to that Gentleman, which bear in them aſſured Marks of the general Time of the Embaſſy *(b)*, tho' the preciſe Date be now irrecoverably loſt.

(c) INSTRUCTIONS by the Queen of Scots *to her Secretary Mr.* William Maitland *younger of* Lethington *(d)*.

“IN the *Firſt*, Ze ſall recommend ws hertlie——declair to hir the greit Contentment we reſſavit——Letters perceaving thairby alswele hir gude Recovery——dangerous Sicknes, as Reſtitutioun of hir———— quhilk ſendle [*ſeldom*] chances to ony in that kind of Diſtreſſe——being a rare and ſingular Takin of God's Gudneſs towerdt——had bene a ſufficient Occaſioun that we ſuld have——to congratulat with hir in that Behalf, being leſs rejoſit of hir gude Luk thairin, than gif it had bene——Perſoun, ſeing Luif hes producit betwix ws ſic Simpathy——the ane moſt of Neceſſitie have ſum Senſe, and feiling of that which happynneth to the uther.

The *Scottiſh* Secretary is ſent with a publick Character into *England*; and from thence, if need be, into *France*.

“*Item*, Ze ſall declair that hir Letter wes the mair welcome to ws, for that it wes lang lukit for; ſa greit a Tyme paſt befoir, without reſſaving ony Word from hir: Quhilk Silence we mon confeſs ſpecially in this Seaſoun, quhilk of itſelf is able anewch to breid Suſpicioun, had put ws in ſum Doubt, gif we had not had the greiter Confidence in hir Conſtancie, quhilk we beleve neyther Tyme, nor uther Circumſtance, can change or vary a Jote; the rather being induced ſa to think be the Aſſurance of hir ſaid Letter.

“*Item*, Ze ſall impart to oure ſaid gude Suſtar this unquyet Thochtis and manifeld Cairis quhilkis this troubleſum Tymes dois breid unto ws, quhairin the preſent Calamiteis we ſee be ſo greit, that thay cannot wele reſſave ony Increſs, and zit we cannot bot feare werſs to cum. The Deſolatioun alreddy chanſed in that noble Realme is lamentable to all Men, be thai nevir ſo far Strangearis unto it; zea I think very Inymeis in quhome Nator mon worke ſum Horror or Compaſſioun, eyther for Pietie, at leiſt for the Examples ſaik, to ſee the People of ane Cuntre, Kynsfolk and Bretheren, ryn blyndlings and hedlong to the Diſtructioun the one of the uther: Bot to ws mon be maiſt dolorous for the Honor and particular Intereſt we haif thair. We conſider the brader the Flamb groweth, it ſall entangle and endanger all the Nychbouris the more; and thairfore Chriſtian Luif and common Charitie requirethe, that every one put to his helping Hand to quenche the Fire. The Mater is ſo far gone alreddy, and oure Conſcience begynnis to prik ws, that we haif to long forborn to deal in it ſa far as we micht convenientlie, at leiſt to aſſay, gif be oure Mediatioun any Gude micht be wrocht, or that God wald————now to myſlik the————lang kept ws back, and to think that the ſame——reſpectis aucht maiſt chieſlie to have ſterit ws fordewert, quhilk hes bene oure Miſhap, that the Perſounis in the Warld quha are moſt deare and tendir to ws, is incidently fallin ſo deid in this Querell of *France*, that thay ar——becum as principall Parties; and on

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(a) *Laboureur de vita & reb. geſt. ſereniſſ. Princ. Mariæ Scot. Reg.*

(b) This Embaſſy muſt have been in the End of the Year, after the Queen's Return from the North Parts; ſince herein our Queen congratulates the Queen of *England*'s Recovery from Sickneſs, which Mr. *Randolph* had mentioned the 18th of *November*. The Parliament of *England* alſo, which is touched in the Inſtructions, ſat down in the Month of *January* following.

(c) This Title is ſupplied.

(d) Shatter'd MS. a Copy.

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(a) *Uther Inſtructionis to the L. of* Lethingtoun *our Secretar and Ambaſſatour to be uſit, gif the Caus ſa requiris, and at his Diſcretioun.*

“GIf he gettis ony Knawlege, Advertiſment or Underſtanding, that in the Parliament of *Ingland* preſentlie haldin, it be proponit, movit, or ony Queſtioun or Difficultie aryſs tweching the Succeſſioun of the Crown of *Ingland*, failzying of oure gude Suſter and the lauchfull Iſſue of hir Body,

“quhair-

(*a*) By this latter Part of the Inſtructions, it appears they have been given in the End of the Year 1562, ſince the *Engliſh* Parliament ſat in the Month of *January* 1562-3.

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“ quhairthrow ony Danger may appeir, that ayther be Myſknawledge of oure Titill, or neglecting the ſamyn, the Succeſſioun may be eſtabliſſit in the Perſoun of ony uther than ws: Than and in that Caiſs, oure ſaid Ambaſſadour ſall not onlie renew unto oure ſaid gude Suſter, and reduce to hir Remembrance all Conferences and Communicationis paſt betwix oure ſaid gude Suſter and him of before, tweching that Mater, but alſwa ſall enlarge unto hir, and mak manifeſt the gude Titill and Intereſſe we have and pretend to the Succeſſioun of that Crown, as neareſt and lauchfull in the richt Lyne from King *Harie* the Sevint, be juſt Diſſent from his eldeſt Dochter *Margaret*, ſumtyme Quene of *Scottis*: And deſyre oure ſaid gude Suſter, that according to Juſtice and Equitie, having allua Reſpect to the gude Amytie and Intelligence preſentlie ſtanding betwix ws, intertenyit for oure Part be all gude Offices, ſcho nather do procure nor ſuffer to be done, or procurit ony thing that may be prejudiciall to ws and oure Titill foirſaid; and in caiſs hir awin Conſcience, the Luif of hir Cuntre, or erniſt Sute of the People, preſs hir to eſtabliſs in hir——gif God ſuld call——to his Mercy——quhilk God forbid, then hir——Deſſyre that we—— Perſoun, God and Nature be——hes plantit the juſt Titill of Succeſſioun; may be appoynted——Succeſſor and Air apparent to the Crown, aſſuring hir, that as the————cannot be ony Law or Titill, for ony Reſpect, be juſtlie transferrit to the Perſoun of ony uther, ſa lang as we ar on Live; ſa can ſche fynd na uther that ayther is mair tendir to hirſelf, or zit may or will ſtand hir in mair Steid; and this Poynt ze ſall enlarge according to the ——tioun and ample Declaratioun of oure Mind maid to him [you] in this Behalf.

“ *Item*, Ze ſall deſyre to have Acceſs and Intres in the Parliament-Hous, to the Effect ze may in the Preſence of the Eſtattis of the Realme, declair the Validity of oure Titill and Interes we pretend; and deſyre of thame the Hedis contenit in the former Articlis; anſwer, gif neid be, the Objectionis to be movit in the contrair; and in cais thay wald ſa fer neglect the commoun Law, gude Ordor, and Equite of oure Caus, that ſetting the ſamen apart, thay will refuiſs oure reſſonable Deſyre, and procede further to the contrary; Ze ſall in oure Name, and upoun oure Behalf, publiclie and ſolempnitlie proteſt, That we are thairby injurit and offencit, and for ſic lauchful Remedyis as the Law and Conſuetude hes providit for thame that ar enormlie and acceſſivlie hurt.” *(a)*

The Story of a Famine in Mr. *Knox* corrected.

There is much Notice taken by Mr. *Knox*, of a great Famine both of Corn and Fleſh-meat in the Spring of this Year; but Mr. *Buchanan* mentions only a Proclamation to have been emitted againſt eating of Fleſh. This laſt Author is in the right; for in the Records of Privy-Council, there is an Act dated at *Edinburgh* the 11th Day of *February*, againſt eating of Fleſh, during the Seaſon of Lent in all Times thereafter, becauſe, as the Act bears, the Cattle had ſuffered much by the tempeſtuous Storms of the Winters bypaſt. But of any Scarcity of the Fruits of the Earth, there is not the leaſt Inſinuation *(b)*. Mr *Knox* is at much Pains to make the credulous World believe, that this Calamity was an immediate Puniſhment upon what he calls “ the Idolatry of our wicked Rulers;” and he adds likewiſe, that “ the riotous Feaſting and exceſſive Banqueting uſed in City and Country whereſoever the prophane Court repaired, provoked God to ſtrike the Staff of Bread, and to give his Maledictions upon the Fruits of the Earth.” Every Diſtreſs is ſurely the Effect of Sin: But we find by Queen *Elizabeth*'s preceeding Inſtructions to Sir *Henry Sidney*, that immoderate Rains had fallen in *England*, where no *Knoxian* Idolatry was tolerated, as well as in *Scotland*. And why might not

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(a) Our Queen's good Intentions for a Peace, took no Effect; for there was no Peace concluded betwixt *France* and *England* until *April* 1564, and there was no Mediator therein. See the Treaty in *Rymer*'s *Fœd. Angl.*

(b) See the Act of Privy-Council in the Appendix, Numb. 3.

1563. Mr. *Knox* have imagined that the Malediction of God had lighted on the Land, for the riotous Feaſting, exceſſive Banqueting, and the prophane Maſquerades at the pious Prior of St. *Andrew*'s Marriage? He muſt have known that God is no Reſpecter of Perſons. Or if the prophane Court muſt ſtill be the principal Cauſe of the Calamity, certainly that Court conſiſted moſtly, if not altogether, of Mr. *Knox*'s religious Friends.

There is nothing in the Regiſters of Privy-Council, relating to publick Affairs, worth the noticing, from the Queen's Return out of the North, during the Courſe of this Period, excepting a Bond by the *Maſter Cunzier* granted to the Queen; which as it may be uſeful or agreeable to ſome curious People, upon that Account I have taken the Freedom to inſert it in the *Appendix (a)*.

CHAP. VI.

Containing Matters of State, from the 1ſt of April 1563, *until the Arrival of the Earl of* Lenox *in* Scotland, *in the Month of* September *of the following Year* 1564.

SEVERAL hiſtorical Facts of this Year having been altogether neglected, and others not duly related, by former Hiſtorians; the beſt Method I can think of to ſupply theſe Defects, is to make uſe of the Abſtract *(b)* of Letters written by Mr. *Randolph* out of *Scotland*, from the 1ſt Day of *April* this Year, directed moſtly to his Correſpondent the Secretary of *England*; and ſome few to that Queen herſelf.

To Sir W. Cecill, *1ſt* Aprile 1563.

The Queen in Grief for the Death of her Uncles.

The Queen of Scots *full of Grief for the Death of her Husband (c), her great Dangers, and the want of aſſured Friends. He comforted her with the Aſſurance of the Love of his Soveraigne her Siſter, whoſe Letters ſhe received with infinite Expreſſion of her Comfort; having hard to her Grief the Death of her Uncle and the Grand-Prior (d). The Admiral and* Beza *Authors of her Uncle's Murder; the laſt incourageinge the Murderer faintinge in his Reſolution with theis Words,* Alles vous en, prennes courage; les Anges vous aſſiſteront. [*i. e.* Go, and undertake it couragiouſly; Angels will aſſiſt you.]

To Sir W. Cecill, 10th Aprile.

Queen-Mother of France *writeth to this Queen, to defend the Right of* France, *according to the ancient Alliance between the two Realms. Semeth ſhe*

(a) Numb. 4.

(b) This Abſtract is in the *Cotton* Library, Calig. B. 10. p. 217. under this Title, *An Abſtract of Mr.* Randolph'*s Letters from* Scotland, *from the 1ſt of* Aprile 1563, *untill the 30th of* March *followinge.* What may have become of the principal Letters themſelves, we cannot now know.

(c) The Death of the Queen's Uncle the Duke of *Guiſe*, had revived the Loſs of her Husband. 'Tis natural for People to recall former Diſaſters, upon the Intervention of new ones, or perhaps *Husband* is tranſcribed for *Uncle*.

(d) The Grand-Prior had fought valiantly at the Battle of *Dreux*, where he received ſuch Wounds, as cut him off on the 6th of *March* this Year. The Duke of *Guiſe* was barbarouſly aſſaſſinated by one of his own Gentlemen, *Poltrot*, on the 18th Day of *February* 1562-3, while he was beſieging the City of *Orleans*, defended by the *Proteſtants*. The Admiral *Coligni* the Chief of the Proteſtants, and *Theodore Beza* the famous Proteſtant Miniſter, were indeed charged with having contrived the Murder; which however that Party ſtill denied: And *Coligni* called the Murder, *a wicked Deed.* Far more ſober was he than Mr. *Knox* here at home, whoſe Words concerning this Murder are, *God, in the* February *before, had ſtriken that bloody Tyrant the Duke of* Guiſe. 'Tis true, God may be ſaid to *do* what He only *permits:* But one would think Mr. *Knox* means *more* here; and that as he tells the Thing with an Air of Satisfaction, ſo it had been his Mind that God had inſtigated *Poltrot* to this Murder. May God preſerve all ſober Men from ſuch dangerous *Divinity*. The Duke of *Guiſe* was ſurely a great Man, both in the Cabinet and in the Field; and *Mezerai* deſcribes him, a Man not at all inclined to Cruelty.

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ſhe is jelous of her for England, *and hath courted her with two Letters of her owne Hand, the leaſt of them more of Lines, than ſhe hath received from her ſince her cominge out of* France. *It ſemeth by ſome Paſſages of Speach, that the Queen-Mother had formerly offended her. She* [Queen of *Scots*] *doubteth what will be the Iſſue of this Deſire in the Queen-Mother, to governe all alone.*

To Sir W. Cecill, *1ſt* May.

Queen feareth to be preſſed at this inſtant Parliament in Matters of Religion. Divers Prieſts taken in Eaſter, *ſaing Maſſe in ſecret Houſes, Barnes and Woods. Earle of* Southerland *that conſpired with* Huntley, *hath had Speach with the Earle of* Murray, *to procure the Queen's Mercy; to which he is willinge to put himſelf. The Lady* Huntley *can get neither Acceſſe nor Hope in her Sute (a).*

To Sir W. Cecill, *15th* May.

Propoſal of Marriage to the Queen.

La Crock*'s Arrivall in* Scotland. *His Imployment to taſte this Queen's Minde about the Marriage of her to the Emperor's youngeſt Sonne, moved by her Uncle the Cardinal of* Lorraine. *The County of* Tyroll *is offered in Dowry from the Emperor, worth 30000 Francks by Yere. Of this Marriage the* Ringrave *hath ſignified to this Queen as much. She deferreth Anſwere untill* Liddington*'s Returne* [*viz.* from his late Embaſſy.] *The Biſhop of St.* Andrew*'s, with others, to be arraign'd for Maſſing.*

20th May.

La Crock *departing, ordered to acquaint the Queen of* Englande *with his Imployment in* Scotland. [What the Conſequence was of this Information made by our Queen to the Queen of *England*, I ſhall quickly impart to the Reader, by a ſurer Inſtruction than has been hitherto publiſhed.] *The Biſhop of St.* Andrew*'s arraigned (b); ſo was the Prior of* Whithorne, *and the Abbot of* Corſerogall *ſhould, but could not be taken. This, though the Queen be otherwiſe in Religion, countenanced with her Perſon, then not far off.*

To Sir W. Cecill, *3d* June.

The Parliament ſits.

Cauſe of the Biſhop's Arraigenment, the tranſgreſſinge the Queen's Ordonance at her firſt cominge, That Religion ſhould ſo ſtand as ſhe found it in her Realme. The Prieſts of Scotland *Catholique fly into* England *for their Refuge. The Parliament began 26th* May, *on which Day the Queen came to it in her Robes, and crowned; the Duke carryed the Crown,* Argill *the Scepter, and* Murray *the Sword (c). She made in* Engliſh *an Oracion publiquely there, and was preſent at the Condemnation of the two Earles,* Huntley *and* Southerland *(d). The Earl of* Montgomery, *by means of* Li-

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(*a*) She could not, ſo long as the Earl of *Murray*'s Court laſted, tho' ſhe was his Lady's Aunt. But ſhe was a Papiſt.

(*b*) I thought not fit to curtail theſe Abſtracts of Letters, even in ſuch Things as belong to Church-Matters.

(*c*) Mr. *Knox* ſays, " Such ſtinking Pride of Women, as was ſeen at that Parliament, was never ſeen before in *Scotland.*" This Author's mean Reflections are too often far below the Dignity he aſſumed to himſelf; and he makes but too evident his unquenchable Thirſt of reviling the Queen, where he has no manner of Foundation afforded him. This was the firſt Time the Queen had ever ſeen a Parliament; and 'tis cuſtomary in all Nations (and not without good Reaſon) for Princes at ſolemn Occaſions, to appear in great State and Majeſty. Mr. *Knox* by his Manner, deprives himſelf of due Regard, if at any time he have Ground to make Complaints.

(*d*) What befell the Family of *Huntly* at this Parliament, hath been already obſerved. Several Gentlemen deſcended from the Family, and who had adhered to their *Chief*, were likewiſe forefaulted; as was alſo the Earl of *Sutherland*, a Relation of the Family. Tho' the Record of this Parliament be loſt, yet the Record of the Parliament in *April* 1567 being ſtill preſerved, wherein there was a Reduction of theſe ſeveral Forefaulters, we thereby come to know the particular Perſons that were now forefaulted; and theſe were, *John Gordon* eldeſt Son to *Alexander Gordon* of *Straithdown*, *Alexander Gordon* eldeſt Son to Mr. *George Gordon* of *Baldovuye*, *Patrick Gordon* Son to *James Gordon* of *Leſmoir*, *John Gordon* of *Carnburro*, *James Gordon* of *Tulyangus*, Mr. *George Gordon* of *Baldouvye*, *Thomas*, *Alexander* and *Elizabeth Gordons*, Children to *Thomas Gordon* of *Craigcullie*; beſides *James*, *Adam*, *Patrick*, *Robert* and *Thomas Gordons*, all Children to the late Earl of *Huntly*.

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thington, *hath a Remiſſion of Juſtice, though he be a violent Papiſt* (a). Bothwell *we hear is at Libertye* (b), *but extream poor.*

An Act of Oblivion granted by the Queen.

The Record of the Parliament is loſt; however the Record of the Parliament in *April* 1567 mentions both the 20th and 27th of *May* to have been appointed for the Beginning of it; and the printed Acts bear Date the 4th of *June:* Yet in all Probability the Parliament has met on the Day condeſcended by Mr. *Randolph,* ſince the Sentences of Foreſaulture againſt the Earl of *Huntly, &c.* were all given on the 28th Day of *May.* Among the twenty printed Acts of this Parliament, we find the Act of *Oblivion,* which had been mentioned at the Treaty of *Edinburgh* (c). And we are very much obliged to the Information of Archbiſhop *Spottiſwood,* who has taken Care to advertiſe, that the Queen would not allow that Act to paſs "with any Regard to *that* Treaty, which ſhe would never acknowledge. "Wherefore (*ſays he*) it was adviſed, that the Lords in the Houſe of Parliament ſhould upon their Knees entreat the paſſing of *that* Act; which accordingly was done." This indeed is a very material Point to be known: And 'tis farther to be noticed, that the Act is drawn up with all the Caution imaginable for ſecuring from all future Puniſhment, the Diſturbers of Peace, and Tranſgreſſors of the Queen's Laws, from the 6th of *March* 1558, to the 1ſt Day of *September* 1561, of which Number were all thoſe who had preſently the chief Handling about the Queen; and within which Space of Time is included the pretended Parliament in the Month of *Auguſt* 1560: A moſt plain and convincing Indication, that the Queen lookt upon that Meeting as illegal; and a tacite, or rather open Acknowledgment in the States, that they had no Right to frame Acts in that Meeting.

To Sir W. Cecill, 13*th* Junij.

The Queen goes into *Argile ſhire,*

and her Brothers to *Inverneſs.*

In this Parliament, tanquam clavam è manu Herculis, *the Miniſters have inferred Adultery to be Death.* [But Mr. *Knox* differs here from Mr. *Randolph,* and avers, that "this Act proceeded from the Courtiers themſelves, "in order to preſerve ſome Credit with the Miniſters." And indeed that Author ſeems not to be in the wrong, when he ſays of this Act, and another concerning the Manſes and Gleibs of Miniſters, that "no Law and ſuch Acts were "both alike;" the firſt of theſe at leaſt, being in Truth conceived in a very ſingular Form. But he takes Notice, that the Act of Oblivion was formed in another Strain, "becauſe (*ſays he*) ſome of the Lords had Intereſt therein." Anger ſometimes extorts the Truth.] *The Queen,* (continues the Abſtract) *the Parliament nowe ended, hath made her Highland Apparel for her Journey into* Argile. [Mr. *Knox* acquaints us, that ſhortly after the Parliament, Secretary *Maitland* returned from his Negotiations in *England* and *France*; and that ſometime after the Queen's Return from the Hunting, her three baſtard Brothers went into the North, as far as *Inverneſs* (d), where Juſtice-Courts were holden; and beſides the puniſhing of Thieves and Murderers, two Witches were burnt. Lord *John* of *Coldingham,* he ſays, died at *Inverneſs.*]

To

(a) He muſt mean *Montgomery* Earl of *Eglinton,* who was indeed Popiſh at that Time. And this Remiſſion is perhaps for the Divorce of his firſt Lady, and marrying another by the Pope's Diſpenſation. See the *Peerage.*

(b) See the Story of his Impriſonment in Mr. *Knox,* when that Earl was accuſed of Treaſon by the Earl of *Arran.*

(c) See the Conceſſions, p. 137. N. XI.

(d) There is no Diet of Privy-Council from the 14th of *October* till the 14th of *December,* in which Time 'tis likely the Earl of *Murray* has gone North; for he is preſent at all the preceeding Diets of Council. And the Queen having ſat in Council at *Glaſgow* the 8th Day of *July,* after which Day both ſhe and the Earl of *Argile* are not in Council until the 19th of *Auguſt* at *Dumfries*; that probably has been the Time her Majeſty was in the Country of *Argile.*

To Sir W. Cecill, 19*th* Junij.

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The Engliſh Miniſter preſents Letters for his Departure home.

Randolph *preſents his Letters for his Return* [into *England*;] *which ſhe* [Queen of *Scots*] *granteth upon* Lithington's *Return from* England *(a)*. *Queen of* Scots *offended that a Packet to her brought by a Merchant was opened at* Newcaſtle. *I anſwered, That no Merchant ſhould carry cloſe Letters through the Borders, by an auncient Order.* Randolph *adviſeth Sir* William Cecill, *if any ſuſpected Letters be taken, not to open them, but ſend them to my Lord of* Murray, *of whoſe Service the Queen of* England *is ſure (b). The Queen of* Scots *deſirous to free the Biſhop of St.* Andrew's, *could not, although ſhe wept to ſe her Power reſiſted and oppoſed.*

To Sir W. Cecill, 26*th* Junij.

An Ambaſſador comes into *Scotland* from *Sweden*

An Ambaſſador from the Kinge of Sweden; *his Buſines ſuppoſed eyther to renue the old Sute of Marriage for his Maſter, or to crave ſome Supporte againſt the Kinge of* Denmark *or* Muſcovites *(c)*.

From this Date to the 4th *September* following, there is no Abſtract of Letters; ſo that the intervening Space, has been the Time of Mr. *Randolph*'s Abſence in *England*.

From Randolph *to Sir* William Cecill, 4*th* Septemb. 1563.

The Miniſter of *England* returns into *Scotland*.

The Nobility [of *Scotland*] *like well of his* [*Randolph*'s] *Returne. The Queen receiveth gratefully the Letters and my Meſſage, but adjourneth me to a further Conference with Herſelf,* Murray *and* Liddington, *whom ſhe will only be made privy to the Matter. She deſireth my Propoſicions in Writing; which with Importunacy I granted. Here they miſlike as much of* Auſtria, *or any forraine Mach, as we doe.*

A probable Account why Q. *Elizabeth* wanted to ſee Mr. *Randolph*.

The Reader doth, by the above Abſtract of Mr. *Randolph*'s Letter, perceive that that Gentleman was already returned into *Scotland*. The Reaſon of Queen *Elizabeth*'s having recalled Mr. *Randolph* at this Time, was, no doubt, to receive oral Information from him concerning our Queen's Marriage with the Arch-Duke, and to concert Meaſures with her Council and him, concerning the Form and Manner of returning an Anſwer; And likewiſe to impart to him her Deſign of making an Offer of *Robert Dudley* to our Queen. All which Points, that wiſe Queen has thought ſhe could better talk with Mr. *Randolph*, than truſt her Mind to be conveyed in Writing. Mr. *Camden* ſays only, that "Queen *Elizabeth* repeated by Mr. *Randolph* the ſame Advice ſhe had given "our Queen before, in relation to this Point. And farther, that ſhe recom"mended to her in plain Terms *Robert Dudley (d)*, whoſe Wife, one *Rob*"*ſert*'s Heireſs, died of a Fall from ſome Height *(e)*. And engaged farther, "That if ſhe would marry him, ſhe ſhould be declared by Act of Parliament "her Siſter, Daughter, or Heir to the Crown, in caſe ſhe herſelf died without "Iſſue." This is a good ſhort Account of Queen *Elizabeth*'s Anſwer. And Sir *James Melvill* agrees with Mr. *Camden* as to the private Inſtruction concerning Lord *Robert Dudley*; to be communicated, I ſuppoſe, only when he ſhould find it convenient. Sir *James* likewiſe ſets down the *Writing* which

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(a) The Secretary was not in Council on the 18th of *June*; but he was preſent next Council-day, *viz.* 8th *July*.

(b) We ſee the entire Confidence Mr. *Randolph* places in the Earl of *Murray*, for the Queen of *England*'s ſecret Service; and this at a Time when he was chief Miniſter about his Siſter!

(c) Whether this has been a ſecond Embaſſy from *Sweden*, or that Mr. *Knox* laſt Year has intended only this preſent Embaſſy, is uncertain: But I ſuppoſe there has been no Embaſſy laſt Year from that Country, otherwiſe 'tis probable this Reſident would have noticed it.

(d) Some report, that Secretary *Cecil*, who hated Lord *Robert*, put it into Q. *Elizabeth*'s Head, to name him for our Queen's Husband, merely to work his Overthrow. But I find Sentiments divided on this Point.

(e) After her Life had been attempted to be taken away by Poiſon, in order to render her Husband capable of another Wife, who he projected ſhould be Q. *Elizabeth*; ſhe was at laſt by his Order made to fall from the Top of a Stair-caſe, and ſo was murdered by the Fall.

Mr. *Randolph* gave in to our Queen at this Time. Perhaps indeed, nay 'tis even very likely, that Mr *Randolph* might have given in ſuch a Paper as Sir *James* tranſcribes, framed upon the Model of the Inſtructions which he received from his Sovereign: But I make no doubt, that in every Event, the Readers will not take it amiſs to lay before them a Copy of the original Inſtructions, as they were ſigned by Queen *Elizabeth* herſelf, and delivered to her Agent.

ELIZABETH R.

A Memorial of certain Matters committed to our Servant Thomas Randolph, *ſent to our good Siſter the Queen of* Scots, *20th* Auguſt 1563 *(a).*

An authentick Meſſage by him to the Queen of *Scots* from her Siſter of *England.*

'FIrſt you ſhall declare, That becauſe we have found you agreeable to her for the Entertainment of the Amity betwixt us, we have preſently ſent you to declare our Mind in a Matter of ſuch Weight, as the Importance thereof, if it be well uſed by us, may bring a continual Comfort to us both, and an immortal Wealth to both our Countries; and being contrariwiſe uſed, muſt needs bring notable Diſcontentation to us both, and irrepairable Damage to our Countries.

'The Matter is the Marriage of our Siſter, which we wiſh moſt fortunate to our Siſter, and ſee great Cauſe to doubt, whether that which may have Appearance to ſome of her Friends, of Happineſs, may not prove manifeſtly to the contrary; and for Diſcharge of our Friendſhip, and for Satisfaction of our Siſter's Requeſt, we have not only deeply thought thereon, but have now thought it neceſſary by you to advertiſe her, what we think therein both meet and unmeet for her to underſtand, and neceſſary for us, by way of Friendſhip, to declare; and therein we do perſiſt, for the Order of our Conſideration, in the ſame ſort as we partly ſhewed our Mind to the Secretary the L. of *Lidington*

'*1ſt*, There is to be by her conſidered (which is of great Moment in all Marriages) the mutual Contentation betwixt both Parties in reſpect of their private Perſonages, that the Love may probably have Continuance before God and Man.

'*2dly*, That the Perſon may be ſuch, as ſhe being a Queen of a Realm and Multitude of People, may be ſure of an unfained Allowance and Love of him, by her Realm, her Nobility and Commons.

'*3dly*, That the Choice be ſuch, as the Amity which is now ſo ſtraight betwixt us, not only for our own Perſons, but alſo for our Nation, may be continued, and not diſſolved or diminiſhed.

'Of the *Firſt* and *Second* you may ſay, Although we doubt not but ſhe and her Counſellors ſhall find much to be conſidered, yet we will thus paſs [*run*] them over. For her own Contentation, conſidering our Siſter hath hithertofore been married, we doubt not but ſhe will be therein well adviſed, and therein can we ſay very little.

'For the *Second* we could ſay much, but for that we know ſhe hath good and faithful Counſellors, who can judge what is meet for the Policy of that Realm. And becauſe we will not enter into the Conſiderations of the Conditions of the People of another Prince, we will forbear; only wiſhing our Siſter to think, no Rule nor Government either eaſy or happy that is kept by Force, or ſubject to Alterations; but contrariwiſe, That only happy that is ruled by natural Allowance of the Nation.

'The *Third* and *Laſt* is the Matter moſt properly belonging to us to give Advice in, and ſo jointly appertaining to us both, as the good Direction thereof muſt breed either notable Contentation, or notable Diſquietneſs, beſide common Profit or Damage to our Kingdoms.

(*a*) *Cotton* Library, Calig. B. 10. an Original. This is the Information I promiſed, *p.* 239.

'The ſeeking of a Husband for our Siſter, is honourable and convenient for her, and a Thing that we like very well in her, although hitherto we have not found ſuch Diſpoſition in ourſelf; remitting nevertheleſs our Mind and Heart to be directed by the Almighty God as it ſhall beſt pleaſe Him, for His Honour and the Weal of our Realm: But this herein we conſider, that to ſeek ſuch a Husband, as we well many Ways perceive is ſought for in the Emperor's Lineage, by her Uncle the Cardinal of *Lorrain*, of whoſe former Practices againſt us we have had good Experience, muſt needs bring a manifeſt Danger to our private Amity; an apparent Occaſion to diſſolve the Concord that is preſently betwixt our Nations; and thirdly, an Interruption of ſuch a Courſe, as otherwiſe might be taken to further and awake ſuch Right or Title, as ſhe might have to ſucceed us in this Crown, if we ſhould depart without Iſſue of our Body.

'For our private Amity, we cannot forbear, but frankly let our Siſter underſtand, that by ſuch a manner of Marriage, as we take this to be intended by ſome of her Uncles, we do well judge, that no Good is intended towards us: And how we can continue an Amity, where ſo great Cauſe ſhall be miniſtred (we mean not by our Siſter, for we think ſo ſincerely of her, that for her own Part ſhe will never ſeek to break the Amity) we muſt leave it to be judged by herſelf.

'But although we ſhould contend for the Friendſhip that is betwixt us, with Nature, that is, not diſallow that which we know is intended againſt us; yet our Siſter ſhall plainly underſtand, that there be many Cauſes why this kind of Marriage ſhall ſpeedily diſſolve the mutual Concord that is betwixt our Nations; and to repair *that* we muſt confeſs, that neither it ſhall reſt in the Power of her nor us.

'*Laſtly*, To conſider her own Particular, which, in way of Friendſhip towards her, we do moſt weigh; We do aſſure her, by ſome preſent Proof that we have in our Realm, upon ſome ſmall Report made hereof, we well perceive, that if we do not intermeddle and interpone our Authority, it will not be long before it ſhall appear, that as much as Wit can imagine will be uſed to impeach her Intention for the Furtherance of her Title: And conſidering the Humors of ſuch as (except our Authority and the Fear of us ſhall ſtay them) mind their own Particular, what can our Siſter think more hurtful to her, than by this manner of proceeding by her Friends that be not of her natural Nation or her Kingdom; firſt, to endanger the Amity betwixt us; ſecondly, to diſſolve the Concord betwixt two ſuch mighty Nations; and laſtly, diſappoint her of more than ever they ſhall recover?

'Wherefore you ſhall conclude, that our Advice is, She ſhould not be thus abuſed, under Pretence of Greatneſs, to hazard not only the Well of her Country, but alſo the Expectation of more than all her Friends can procure her. And further than this our Meaning is, that you ſhall not proceed. But if you ſee that ſhe ſhall think light of this manner of Advice, and ſhall preſs you to know preciſely what we would have her to do, and what manner of Marriage ſhe ſhould ſeek; then if you ſee no other Means to content her, you ſhall ſay, We are well content, if our Siſter will in her Marriage have Regard to theſe Things, and content us and this our Nation in her Marriage, upon aſſured Knowledge thereof, to proceed to the Inquiſition of her Right and Title to be our next Couſin and Heir, and to further that which ſhall appear advantageous for her, and to hinder and impeach that which ſhall ſeem to the contrary; uſing alſo therein ſuch Means as may be to the Contentation of our Realm, both Nobility and Commons.

'And if ſhe ſhall preſs upon you, what kind of Marriage you think might beſt content us and our Realm? Ye may well ſay, That it muſt be ſuch as may not be apparent to us or our People, that it is only ſought to procure Trouble to this Realm, as ſhe ſaw was done in the Time of her Marriage to the *French* King: And therefore you may ſay, You can but wiſh that

1563. ' there might be found ſome noble Perſon of good Birth within this our Realm, that might be agreeable to her; or if that ſhall not be, yet of ſome other Country, being one whom neither we nor our Realm ſhould have manifeſt Cauſe to judge to be ſought, for the Trouble of this Realm *(a)*; and then might we more readily and eaſily ſhew and extend the Good-will, that we have to the Furtherance of our Siſter: And otherwiſe you may plainly ſay, We can promiſe nothing agreeable to the fervent Deſire that we have to do her Good; which is of our own natural Diſpoſition, to have her to enjoy before any Creature any Thing that we have, next to ourſelf, or to our Children, if God ſhall ſo order us to have any. And this you may ſay, we aſſure her at this Time is our Deſire unfainedly *(b)*.

ELIZABETH R.

I ſhall leave it to my Readers to form their own Reflexions on the preceeding Inſtructions; and ſhall proceed in the Abſtracts of Mr. *Randolph*'s Letters.

To Sir W. Cecill, 13*th* December 1563.

A Ring preſented to our Queen from Q. *Elizabeth*.

Defect of Juſtice on the Borders, for lack of the Lord Governor's Preſence (c). The Abbay of Hedington *in* Lodian *given by the Queen to* Lithington. Randolph *attendinge, ſhe being ſick, ſent in his Sovereign's Token by the Lady* Argile, *which the Queen received gladly, and often kiſſed it. He attended the next* Sunday, *and preſented boeth his Letters, together with Thanks for the Cardinal's Friendſhip to Sir* Nicholas Throckmorton *(d). The Queen wore the Ringe on her Finger that the Lady* Argile *had delivered afore from me, haveinge upon the ſame alſo a Ringe of her Husband's, ſayeing, That theſe two ſhould never goe out of her Sight. The Lord of* Arrain *is growne againe into his Madnes.*

Convention of Peace for the Borders of both Nations.

The Borderers of both Nations were always very troubleſome Neighbours. Not much above two Months ago, every thing relating to the Peace of the Borders had been ſettled, extended at great length, and ſealed by Commiſſioners deputed by both the Queens: On the Part of *Scotland*, by Sir *John Maxwell* of *Terreigles*, afterwards Lord *Harris*, Warden of the Weſt-Marches, and Sir *Thomas Bellenden* the Juſtice-Clerk; and on the Part of *England*, by Sir *Henry Scroope* Warden of the Weſt-Marches, Sir *John Forreſter* Warden of the Middle-Marches, Sir *Thomas Gargraif* Vice-Preſident of the Queen's Council in the North, and *John Rookbie* Doctor of Law, and one of the ſaid Council; at *Carlile* in *England*, and at *Dumfries* within *Scotland*, on the 11th and 23d Days of *September* 1563 *(e)*. This Border-Treaty was the Reſult of two Letters, exchanged betwixt one of the *Engliſh* Wardens and the *Scottiſh* Secretary; for which ſee the *Appendix (f)*.

To Sir W. Cecill, 21*ſt* December.

Aſſembly of ſeveral Noblemen; and its Cauſes.

Aſſembly of the Lords for three Cauſes. One about Unkindnes from the French, *in not payeinge the Queen's Dowery, deprivinge* Chaſtelerhault *of his Duchie, and beſtowinge the Captaine's Office of the Guard upon a* Frenchman; *the Appointment of that being the Right of the Prince of* Scotland. 2do, *To end the Quarrel between* Rothes *and* Lindeſay *for the Sheriſwick of* Fife. 3tio, *To take Order with* Knox *and his Faction, who intended by a mutinous Aſſembly made by his Letter before, to have reſcued two of their Brethren*

(*a*) *i. e.* in other Words, ſome Perſon inferior to the Majeſty of our Queen.

(*b*) Theſe Inſtructions are all written in *Cecil*'s Hand, and ſign'd and counter-ſign'd by the Queen of *England* herſelf.

(*c*) I ſuppoſe he means the *Engliſh* Borders, and the *Engliſh* Governor; for there was no ſuch Title *now* in *Scotland*.

(*d*) This Gentleman had been made a Priſoner at the Battle of *Dreux*, by the Duke of *Guiſe*.

(*e*) See this Convention or Agreement at full length in *Rymer*'s *Fœd. Angl.* Tom. XV. under the Title of *Conventiones inter Reginam Scotiæ, Doageriam Franciæ, & Elizabeth appunctuata, & concluſa.*

(*f*) Numb. 5.

Brethren from Courſe of Lawe, for uſinge an Outraige upon a Prieſt ſainge Maſſe to the Queen's Houſhold at Halliruydhows.

To Sir W. Cecill, 30*th* December.

Sonday 26*th* December, Randolph *ſent for to Courte. Queen demandeth what Anſwere from her good Siſter: He anſwereth, her Majeſties great Care for her Siſter's Marriage; and that to mach in eyther of thoſe great Houſes (a) would make Diſſenſions: Therefore none more fit then ſome Nobleman of her Realme. For the Matter of Title, he anſwereth as in his Inſtructions, ſignifying further the Queen of* England'*s Pleaſure to treat further of theſe Matters with any the Queen ſhould ſend. He perceiveth* Argile *willinge to be employed in it, but the Duke will be diſpleaſed. Many importune to knowe what Perſon the Queen means; ſome imagine my Lord* Amb. Dudley, *ſome* Darnley, *now my Lord* Robert *(b). The Lord Treaſurer of* Scotland *(c) put to open Penance in the Church, for getting a Wench with Child.*

The Inſtructions pointed at in this foregoing Letter, ſeem to be the *Memorial* of the 17th *November*, tranſmitted from Queen *Elizabeth* to her Reſident; which for the greater Satisfaction of my Readers, I judge proper here to ſubjoin.

ELIZABETH R.

A Memorial for Thomas Randolph, *ſent by the Queen's Majeſtie to the Queen of* Scots, 17*th* November 1563 *(d)*.

Memorial by the Queen of *England*.

'WE have heard and ſeen in Writing ſhewed to us by you, how diſcreet Anſwers the Queen our good Siſter hath made to you, to ſuch Things as you have propounded to her; wherein you ſhall ſay to her, we do perceive her good Acceptation of our Meſſages to the Sincerity of our Meaning, whereof we are very glad, and thereby are provoked to proceed to ſome further Perfection: And in one Thing only we find ſome Lack in peruſing of the Anſwers, that is, we ſee not ſo much Inwardneſs and Frankneſs uttered in Words, as we perſwade ourſelf we ſhould have found in private Communication with her ourſelf; which laſt tho' we find, yet do we not blame it, conſidering we impute it to her great Circumſpection, and Advice uſed in committing of her Mind to Writing, wherein commonly more Strangeneſs and leſs Familiarity is uſed than in Speech.

'And for the Matters, you may ſay, That we are very glad to ſee her not diſallow of the Manner uſed by us, in Diviſion of the Matters requiſite to be conſidered by her in the Marriage; which being principally three, that is,

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(*a*) *viz.* of the Emperor, or King of *Spain.*

(*b*) Becauſe Mention has already been, and will be hereafter made, of my *Lord Robert*; ſuch Readers as are unacquainted may know, that this was a Gentleman of the Sirname of *Dudley*, whoſe Father had been firſt created Lord Viſcount *Liſle* by King *Henry* VIII. [He was likewiſe made Admiral of *England* by this King, and in that Quality commanded the Fleet which arrived in the Frith of *Edinburgh* in the Beginning of *May* 1544. See above *p.* 46.] He was afterwards created Earl of *Warwick* [the ſame who was Lieutenant General under the Duke of *Somerſet* at the unfortunate Battle of *Pinkie*, *Anno* 1547] and Duke of *Northumberland* by King *Edward* VI. But both he and his eldeſt Son were executed in the firſt Year of Queen *Mary* of *England*, upon an Indictment of High Treaſon, for their ſetting up the Lady *Jean Gray* to be Queen. Nor was that Title revived in the Family by Queen *Elizabeth*. Her Majeſty however created *Ambroſe Dudley* (the ſame who is here mentioned) Earl of *Warwick*, and his Brother *Robert Dudley*, who was fifth Son to his Father, ſhe created Earl of *Leiceſter*, to render him thereby a proper Match for our Queen, as ſhe pretended. Every Body knows of the Eſteem his Miſtreſs the Queen of *England* bare him; and Sir *James Melvil* tells us, that when ſhe made him Earl of *Leiceſter* (the Solemnity of which Creation is very particularly related by ſome *Engliſh* Writers) "her Majeſty, who helped to put on his Ceremonial, could not refrain from putting her "Hand in his Neck, ſmilingly tickling him, as he ſat on his Knees before her; Sir *James* and the *French* Ambaſſador ſtanding "by."

(*c*) This was Mr. *Robert Richardſon* Commendator of St. *Mary-Iſle.*

(*d*) *Cotton* Library, Calig. B. 10. and Lawyers Library, an Original. Theſe Inſtructions are in *Cecil*'s Hand, and ſigned and counterſigned by the Queen.

1563. 'the Contentation, firſt of herſelf, next of her People, and thirdly of us and our Realm; whereof the two former ſeem to be well regarded by her; and in the third, which concerneth us and her, remaineth moſt Difficulty. Therefore, omitting the two former, you ſhall ſay, That we have conſidered her Anſwers to the ſame, and mean to let her underſtand what we think thereof.

'You ſhall ſay, That where, by her Words, ſhe deſireth to clear us of a Doubt, which we have conceived of the Intention of ſome Marriage, wherein no Good is meant to us, aſſuring us firſt, of her own ſincere Meaning; and next, undertaking for her Uncles, that they will always be ready to do us Pleaſure, and conſequently praying us to ſuffer no ſuch Impreſſion of them by ſiniſter Reports, to take place with us: Surely we never conceived any ſuch Opinion in this Matter of her Marriage upon her own Intention, but do think of her even as ſhe would have us do. Neither have we regarded any Reports made of any of her Uncles, but ſuch as their own Deeds have confirmed; and for her Sake we have been content to caſt behind us into Oblivion all former Acts of ſome of them, which not only ourſelves, but all the reſt of Chriſtendom did ſee to be prejudicial to us; and in that we do let our good Siſter underſtand what it is that we miſlike in ſome of them. We aſſure her, we have not been ready to give light Ear or Credit thereto; but when ſuch Things paſs abroad from Country to Country, even from themſelves originally; when no Pains nor Travel are ſpared, to notify to the World their Earneſtneſs in renewing their former Deſigns and Practices, we pray our Siſter not to impute this our Conceit to the ſiniſter Perſwaſion of any other: For indeed both for her Sake, and for Reſpect of the honourable Houſe and Family of her Uncles, we would be rather content to have good Offices of Friendſhip nouriſhed betwixt us and them, likeas we have not foreborn, for all Unkindneſs paſt, to ſhew ourſelves to ſome of them very well content to uſe them not unkindly; and except manifeſt Cauſe be given us to the contrary, we mean not to ſhow any Offence towards any of them.

'And for the laſt part of our Siſter's Anſwer, whereunto ſhe deſireth to be anſwered in two Points, that is, firſt, What Perſon we think for Marriage ſuitable for her, and whom we allow, and whom not; next, What way we mean to proceed to the Declaration of her Title to be our next Couſin; upon Knowledge whereof, ſhe will give us a reſolute Anſwer. You may ſay, that theſe two Matters are of ſuch Weight, as we are very loth to make Anſwer thereunto by Meſſage, if we might do otherwiſe conveniently, finding ourſelves better diſpoſed to deal in ſuch Matters by Communication and familiar Speeches, ſo as the one of us might ſatisfie the other in any Doubt, and neither of us to be ſubject to be miſtaken in Friendſhip.

'Nevertheleſs, becauſe ſhe ſhall perceive we mean not in any part to ſtay this ſo neceſſary a Matter, we will not forebear to deſcribe to her what kind of Perſon we think meet, and conſequently to manifeſt to her in ſome ſort of Speciality, rather who are not meet, than preciſely to appoint by Name who are meet.

'A Perſon meet for her in Marriage (as we judge) ought to be choſen out of ſuch as having other Qualities agreeable to her own Liking and to her Realm, have no leſs Diſpoſition and Determination to continue the ſtrait Bond of Love and Concord that is now knit between us two, and our People and Countries. And if upon adviſed Conſideration had, none can be found, being a Stranger born to both our Countries, with ſuch an aſſured Diſpoſition and Affection; the Weight of this Matter is ſurely ſuch, being adviſedly weighted and conſidered, that it were to be wiſhed (and ſo for our Part we would be right glad) that ſome Nobleman of right Birth and Credit within this Iſle, might be found, having natural Affection towards this our Bond of Concord, and not unmeet in Condition and Qualities for the other two

1563.

'Points requiſite to be conſidered in this Behalf. Herein if our Siſter ſhall adviſedly conſider our Opinion, uſing the Advice of thoſe who both love herſelf and Country; She ſhall well underſtand, that whatſoever Mountains of Felicities, or worldly Pomps, may be hoped for by others being Strangers, if this natural Diſpoſition to conſerve Concord betwixt us, and this our Realms after us, be not aſſuredly found in them, the Succeſs thereof ſhall not anſwer her Expectation; for we account this laſt Matter in Choice of her Husband, not to be of leſs Moment than any of the other: And well may we call this Conjunction of us Two and our Countries, the principal Marriage that ſhall make all other Marriages (not only of herſelf, but of her People, and ours alſo) fortunate, happy and fruitful; and therefore we earneſtly pray our Siſter to think, that this our Limitation or Deſcription of the Quality of a Perſon, without naming to her of any, groweth of good and long Deliberation.

'And as to the Declaration whom we think not meet, our Siſter may eaſily underſtand That, by comparing the contrary; and yet to ſpeak more openly, we think our Siſter may moſt readily judge what ſort of Perſons are not meet, by the Example of her paſt Marriage with the *French* King: Wherein whatſoever our Siſter ſhall for Reſpects affirm to the contrary, all wiſe Men in the World did ſee, that the Device thereof was neither for the particular Weal of her or her Country, nor to maintain Quietneſs between theſe two Kingdoms; and ſo did the Succeſs alſo declare the ſame. And we are of Opinion, that none who ſhall practiſe in like ſort to make any Marriage betwixt her and the Children of *France*, *Spain* or *Auſtria*, can have any other Intention, if not worſe, than was in that of *France*. And therefore to conclude this Point, our Siſter may perceive what manner of Choice we wiſh her to make, not naming any Perſon in any Country, nor ſecluding any for the Nature of the Country, ſo that the Perſon have both Condition and Diſpoſition agreeable for both theſe two Countries; but being very deſirous that Almighty God may pleaſe to direct her Heart, to allow ſuch an one, either abroad in other Parts of Chriſtendom, or nearer home (if it ſo be) even in our own Country, as with her Contentation, may alſo be effectually, or rather naturally, given and affected, to the perpetual Concord and Weal of theſe two Kingdoms; the Conjunction whereof aſſuredly made, we account as the very Marriage only of Continuance and Bleſſedneſs to endure after this our Age, for our Poſterity, to the Pleaſure of Almighty God, the eternal good Renown of both us being Queens, and as God-mothers and Parents of our Countries. And if our Siſter ſhall not think this our Anſwer ſpecial or particular enough for Choice of ſome meet Perſon, we pray her to weigh and examine our Words well, with their Circumſtances, and ſhe ſhall find no great Obſcurity therein *(a)*.

'As for the laſt Part, to know by what way we will proceed to declare her Title; Therein we do promiſe her, that if ſhe will give us juſt Cauſe to think, that ſhe will in the Choice of her Marriage ſhew herſelf conformable to this our Opinion declared, we will thereupon further proceed to the Inquiſition of her Right by all good Means in her Furtherance, and ſhall be content to give Ear to any Thing that ſhall be thought meet by her and her Council to be declared in her Favour: And if we ſhall find the Matter to fall out in her Behalf, then upon plain Knowledge had with whom ſhe ſhall match in Marriage, we will proceed to the Declaration of her Right, as we might do for our natural Siſter or Daughter. And if this Anſwer ſhall not ſeem to content our Siſter, you may ſay, That the proceeding herein dependeth ſo upon her proceeding in her Marriage; and without the Succeſs thereof, this cannot follow as ſhe and hers would deſire: And ſo we doubt not but her Council ſhall have great Reaſon to perſwade her. Finally, If you find her not ſo well ſatisfied herein, as thereupon ſhe will, according to her Anſwer laſt made unto

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(*a*) Surely the Words appear dark enough, whatever the Circumſtances may have been. It would appear the Queen of *England* had not Courage as yet to name the Perſon whom ſhe intended.

1563-4 ‘ you, give us a reſolute Anſwer by you; then may you require her to ſend ſome of her moſt truſtieſt Servants hither, to confer further with us therein, and yourſelf have Leave to return home: And if ſhe ſhall give you a reſolute Anſwer, then may you return.

‘ Although in this Memorial, mention is made that we have ſeen our Siſter's Anſwer in Writing, as we did; yet conſidering that Anſwer was made in Speech, and put in Writing at your Requeſt, we are content that you ſhall not preſs any Argument upon the Writing, but upon her Anſwer in Speech.

ELIZABETH R.

To Sir W. Cecill, 13*th* January 1563-4.

Murray *ſemeth to like well of the Mach* [with Lord *Robert Dudley*] *but dares not perſwade, it is ſo full of Difficulties. The Duke* [of *Chaſtleherault*] *ſheweth himſelf an earneſt Friend to the Proteſtants. The Queen by miſſing her Attempt to have* Knox *puniſhed for his former ſeditious Letter* (a), *ſeeth there will be made Difficulties to attayne her owne Deſire, the Power of the Faction is ſo ſtrong. A Purpoſe in this Queen to writ into* England *in favour of* Bothwell, *for Licence to departe into* France. [Mr. *Randolph*'s Information in this has been very well grounded, ſince we have the following Letter left on Record.]

Letter Queen of Scotland *to the Queen of* England *(b).*

Letter from the *Scottiſh* to the *Engliſh* Queen.

“ Richt excellent, &c. We wrait to zow laitlie at the Deſyre of certaine the Erle of *Boithwillis (c)* Friendis here, That it micht pleis zow to grant him Libertie to pas furth of that zowr Realme to the Parteis bezond Sey quhair he likit beſt; and becaus thay undirſtand that he is to repair towert zowr Court for obtenyng of the ſamin, hes maid new Suite unto ws to put zow in Remembrance of owr former Requeſt: Quhairfore we prai zow, deireſt Siſter, to gif Command, that the ſaid Erle may haif Fredom to depart furth of zowr Realme to ſic Countreis bezond Sey as ſall ſeame to him maiſt convenient, as ze will do ws acceptable Pleſour. And thus Richt excellent, Richt heich and michtie Princeſſe, &c.

To the Queen of England, 21*ſt* January.

The Queen-Mother of France *and the Cardinal of* Guiſe *underſtand by* de Fois *(d) this intended Mach, and* [inſinuate to] *this Queen, that it is not ſafe to truſt the Queen of* England'*s Counſell in her Marriage, who meaneth therein only to ſerve her own Turne; nor honorable to mach ſo baſely as with the Lord* Robert *or Earl of* Warwick, *of which the one ſhe intendeth to her, and the other to herſelf.*

To Sir W. Cecill, 22*d* January.

Upon a Jealouſie of this Amity with England, *Letters full of large Promiſes are ſent* [from *France*] *by the L. of* Scheldon *to the Queen of* Scots, *wherein they deſire the old Amity to be continued betwixt both Nations, and offer to the Queen*

(a) This moſt probably is the Letter inſerted by Mr. *Knox* in his Book, of the Date at *Edinburgh* the 8th of *October*, together with his Accuſation for it before the Queen. Mr. *Randolph* does not miſname it, when he calls it *ſeditious*; for it was abundantly ſo.

(b) Shatter'd MS. a Copy.

(c) The Reader will ſee in our Hiſtorians, that this Nobleman having been put in Priſon, upon the Information given againſt him by the Earl of *Arran*; he made his Eſcape, and chanced to be caſt upon the Coaſt of *England*, in his Paſſage abroad by Sea.

(d) His Name is *Paul de Foix*; he was now *French* Ambaſſador in *England*.

1563-4. *Queen a new Aſſurance for her Dowry and Penſion, payinge Part in hand; Proviſion of Wynes for her owne Houſhold without Impoſt or Cuſtome; Artilary and Munition what ſhe ſhall need; the Band of Men at Armes to be reſtored, and the Lord* Robert *of* Scotland *made Captaine; the old Order of the Garde to be renewed; Merchants to enjoy their Priviledges; Penſions to be continued to ſuch of the* Scotts *Nation as had formerly, and newe to be granted to thoſe ſhe ſhall commend.*

From Mr. Randolph *to Sir* W. Cecill, *27th* February.

Of Continuance of Amytie he nothing doubts; much of the other [*viz.* of the Match with my Lord *Robert Dudley.*] *The Reaſons objected to him* [are, the] *Queen's Spirit will not deſcend to mach below herſelf. To move her from her Dignytie, it is unfriendly, ſuſpicious, and in a Subject dangerous; and Reſpects of Profit in Princes not ſo fit as Honor. But ſhould ſhe yeild, the Queen her Siſter would offer no doubt the beſt; and that beſt being the Man herſelf ſo much eſteemeth, it will be ſtrainge, and for him to be divorced from that worthy rome* [Queen *Elizabeth's* Affection] *wherein he is placed, it will eyther mach him to Diſhonour or Diſlike; and therefor the Impoſſibility proves it a Shew rather of good Will then of a good Meaninge. For the Matter of her Title to be hereby eſtabliſhed, the Aſſurance cannot be much the better; for what one Parliament doeth confirme, another may revoke. But the Diſparagement by ſuch Mariage is without Remedie: whereas to mach in her own Ranck, it increaſeth Honour and Alliance, whereby Princes will be more fearfull to offer her Indignitye, and ſhe better enabled to hold her owne, and recover her Right, if it be oppoſed.* [This is a Continuation of the Objection made in *Scotland* againſt the Match.] *He finds* Murray *and* Lethington *willing to the Mach; but doubting of the effecting, wiſhing me to deal openly with the Queen concerning the Perſon (a). Some Unkindnes between* Murray *and the Queen about* Knox, *whoſe Parte he* [Murray] *taketh. He* [Randolph] *deſcribeth a great Feaſt, to which he was invited, and ſaw his Miſtreſs much honoured. The Verſes of the Shewe he ſendeth, which were ſpoken at the ſerving up of every Courſe.*

The Firſt Service to the Table, blind *Cupid* was brought in, the Wayters ſaying to this Verſe.

Queſte colui chel mondo chiama amore,
Amaro come vedi & vedrai meglio
Quando fia tuo, come noſtro ſignore,
Manſueto fanciulo & fiero veglio
Ben ſa ch'il prova, & fiati coſa piana.
Anzi mill'anni e in fin adhor ti ſueglio.

El'nacque d'otio & di laſcivia humana,
Nutrito dipenſier dolci & ſoavi.
Fatto ſignor & dio da gente vana,
Quale e morto da lui, qual co' piu gravi
Leggi, mena ſua vita aſpra & accerba,
Sotto mille cathene & mille chiavi.

The Second Service, a fayer younge Maid.

Caſtitas blandi domitrix amoris,
Caſtitas vitæ ſpecimen prioris,
Labe cum puras ſoboles colebat
Aurea terras.
Caſtitas vitæ ſpecimen ſecundæ,
Morte cum victâ ſociata membris
Pura mens puris radiantis aulam
Incolet æthræ.

Una nec certam Veneris ſagittam,
Jura nec fati metuis ſeveri,
Quippe quæ rurſus moriente major
Morte reſurgis.
Pura cum puris agites ut ævum
Angelis; quorum ſtudium ſecuta
Colliges fructus ſocios ſecundæ
Reddita vitæ.

(a) By this it would appear that Mr. *Randolph* had not as yet mentioned the Lord *Robert* from his own Mouth for our Queen.

1563-4. The Laſt was a younge Childe, ſet forth like unto Tyme. Theſe Verſes were ſung by the Wayters.

Armata telis dexteram,
Lævam veneno ſæviat
Mors: cuncta tempus demetat
Falce, aut ſenecta deterat.
Non mortis hoc propinquitas,
Non temporis longinquitas
Solvet, fides quod vinculum
Intaminata nexuit.
Mors & ſenectus obruit
Cum Scipione Lælium,
Canam fidem non obruet,
Non pectorum conſtantiam.
Durabit uſque poſteris
Intaminata ſeculis
Sincera quæ Britannidas
Nectit fides Heroidas.
Rerum ſupremus terminus
Ut aſtra terris miſceat,
Regina Scota diliget
Anglam, Angla Scotam diliget.

From Mr. Thomas Randolph *to Sir* William Cecill, *8th* March.

The Queen's Anſwere about the Mariage is generall, and as uncertain as ſhe had my Meſſage doubtfull, yet profeſſing all Love and Reſpect to her Siſter. For Expedicion of pore Mens Cauſes, the Queen hath ordered three Dayes a Week, augmenting the Judges Stipends for their Attendance, and ſitting herſelf, for more Equitie, often tymes. The Cardinal of Loraine *hath ſent to her to procure, if ſhe can, her People to receive an* Interim *(a).*

Neither good Mr. *Knox* nor Mr. *Buchanan* take any Notice of this Piety in the Queen; tho' we may, without Breach of Charity, take the Freedom to ſay, That had either of them had a bad Thing to tell, they would not have failed to tranſmit the ſame to Poſterity, and that alſo in more odious Terms than it could well bear: Their ordinary Practice gives but too much Ground for this Surmiſe. However, to leave this, I ſee a Project for the Adminiſtration of Juſtice very much reſembling this, in the Records of Privy-Council on the 28th *December* before. But as the Regiſters of the Council are now amiſſing after the 2d Day of *March* 1563-4 *(b)*, I am not enabled to afford my Readers any farther Account of this Matter, than what is recorded on the ſaid 28th Day of *December*; which is as followeth,

Apud Edinburgh 28. *Decembris, Anno Dom.* 1563.

SEDERUNT

JACOBUS *Dux de* Chatelarault, *&c.*
JACOBUS *Comes* Moraviæ,
ALEXANDER *Comes de* Glencarne,
JACOBUS *Comes de* Mortoun, *Cancell.*
ARCHIBALDUS Ergadiæ *Comes,*
WILLELMUS Mareſcall. *Comes,*
PATRICIUS *Dominus* Ruthven;
Joannes Wiſhart *de* Pitarro *Miles, Rotulator,*
Willelmus Maitland *junior de* Lethingtoun *Secretarius,*
Magiſter Jacobus Macgill *de* Nether-Rankellor *Clericus Regiſtri.*

The

(*a*) It were too tedious to narrate here the Hiſtory of that particular Book and imperial Conſtitution, term'd the *Interim.* It may be ſufficient for the ordinary Readers to know, that in the Year 1548, the Emperor *Charles* V. did by his Authority cauſe ſome Articles of Agreement, concerning religious Matters, to be drawn up; which got the Denomination of *Interim,* for this Reaſon, that both Papiſts and Proteſtants within the Empire of *Germany* were bound to agree to them *in the mean Time* only, until a General Council ſhould meet in ſome Town within the Limits of *Germany.* So that by an *Interim* projected at this Time in *Scotland* by the Cardinal of *Lorrain,* 'tis plain that Prelate meant, that the Subjects of *Scotland* ſhould be dealt with, to come into a Surceaſe concerning religious Differences, during a certain Space of Time, until ſome more regular Order might be taken therewith. The Author of *Martyre de Marie Stuart, &c.* ſpeaking of the Things which were to be handled in the Parliament in *March* 1565 6, reckons up this——— "That the Catholicks might be permitted to live after the accuſtomed Manner, and "to worſhip God according to their own Conſciences, without being conſtrained to embrace *Calviniſm.*"

(*b*) Theſe Regiſters were in the Hands of ſome Perſons very lately, but are now abſtracted. The firſt after this Date begins the 5th *September* 1571. During this Space therefore I ſhall be obliged to make uſe of theſe following Helps: 1. The Abſtracts of the Privy-Council, drawn out by *Thomas Hamilton,* the Lord Regiſter in the Reign of King *James* VI. afterwards created Earl of *Haddingtoun.* 2. Abſtracts of Privy-Council made by Sir *Alexander Seton* of *Pitmedden,* Lord of Seſſion in the Reigns of King *Charles* II. and King *James* VII. 3. Such Acts of Council as are preſerved by ſome late Writers. 4. Particular Acts of Privy-Council copied by Mr. *Robert Miln* Writer to the Signet before the Revolution in 1688, ſince which Time he has withdrawn from Buſineſs, and is now much employed in collecting what may be uſeful to the Knowledge of our *Scottiſh* Affairs, and who very generouſly afforded me the Uſe of the Acts tranſcribed by him; which are ſo very plentiful, that they may well nigh ſerve for a complete Record of the more publick and important Tranſactions. To ſuch Acts as I ſhall take from him, I ſhall affix the Letters *R. M.*

1564. The Quenis Majeſtie, with Aviſs of the ſaidis Lordis, underſtanding that the Cauſſis quhilks the poir Liegis of this Realm had decidit in the Conſiſtorie (a) of befoir, be lang Delay of Juſtice ar fruſtrat, and thai compellit to leif the Soit of the ſaidis Cauſſis: Thairfore, and that the ſaidis Cauſſis may haif the mair ſummar Proces and ſchortar End, hir Hienes, with Aviſs of hir ſaid Counſale, hes thocht gude that Juriſdictionis be erectit in ſundrie Partis of this Realm for diſcuſſing of the ſaidis Cauſſis, and that Commiſſaris be appointit to gif Attendence thairupoun. And becaus preſentlie the ſaidis Lordis cannot gudlie await upoun the deviſing of the hale Ordour of the ſaidis Juriſdictionis, Thai haif ordinit Henrie Biſchop of Roſs *(b)*, Richart Maitland of Lethingtoun Knyt, William Maitland his Sone, Secretar; the Clerkis of Regiſter, Juſticiarie, and Advocat, to ſit doun and aviſs upoun the ſaid Ordour, that thaireftir the ſamyn may be put in Articlis, and the ſamyn Articlis with the Commiſſionis to be grantit to the ſaidis Commiſſionaris, to be ſubſcribit be the Quenis Grace for Corroboratioun thairof.

Note, That on the 12th Day of *March* 1563-4, the Queen ſubſcribes *Inſtructions* to the Commiſſaries, which may be ſeen at length in our Books of Law. And *Note*, There is nothing elſe in this Book of the Regiſter of Privy Council relating to any publick Matter, but what I have laid before the Readers.

To the Queen of England, 8*th* March.

Randolph *willed by the Queen* [of *Scots*] *to ſignifie to her Siſter her Affection, judgeinge better of her Meaning then her Words. Princes have not at all Tymes their Will, but her Heart is her owne, and that immutable; and ſhe deſireth that their Enemyes may rather envye the Kindnes between them, then be able to remove it.*

To Sir W. Cecill, 18*th* March.

By the Queen of England'*s Letters of the 5th of* March, *underſtanding her Majeſties Minde of the Perſon intended, he will at his beſt, next Audience, declare him to this Queen.* [This we ſee is the firſt Time that Mr. *Randolph* had warrant to name the Lord *Robert Dudley* to our Queen.] Knox *askt in Church to be marryed to* Margrett Steward, *the Daughter of the Lord* Ochiltre. *Much the Queen is offended, and determined to baniſh him,* [not for his Marriage with the Lord *Ochiltree*'s Daughter, but for his ſeditious Behaviour, as will be ſeen in the Eccleſiaſtick Part.]

To the Queen of England, 30*th* March 1564.

Randolph *upon Receipt of the Queen's Letter 5th* March, *acquainted the* Scottiſh *Queen with the Perſon, my Lord* Robert, *whom ſhe offered to her Siſter as the fitteſt Mach. She hard it with Patience, but deferreth Reſolution.*

(a) Theſe were Courts belonging to the Biſhops in former Times.

(b) *Henry Sinclair*, a Son of the Family of *Roſlin*, five Miles from *Edinburgh*, had been Abbot of *Kilwinning*, and Parſon of *Glaſgow*, the Deanry of which Church likewiſe he enjoyed by Excambion for his Abbacy: He was a Man of very valuable Parts, and ſingularly knowing in the Laws; was firſt a Lord, and afterwards Preſident of the Court of Seſſion. "By his Advice (ſays "Abp. *Spottiſwood*) many Things were bettered in the Form of Juſtice, and divers Abuſes in the Forms of Proceſs amended." And moſt probably it has been he who adviſed the Queen to the making this good Act. This worthy Prelate having been ſore afflicted with the Stone, went over into *France* in the Beginning of *July* this ſame Year; where he ſuffered the Operation of being cut, but chanced to die ſoon after, in the Beginning of *January* following. Mr. *Knox* diſcovers only his own Prejudices, when he talks indiſcreetly of this learned Perſon: But the Liberty of that Writer's Tongue is no Scandal; however it ſavours of ſomewhat worſe than I ſhall name, to ſay, that *God ſtruck him according to his Deſervings*. Mr. *Knox* had acted a wiſer, as well as more Chriſtian Part, not to affix the Epithet of *Judgments* upon the common Maladies of our humane Nature.

1564. *lution. The Emperor is ſtill a Suter to the Cardinal, for his Sonne to marry this Queen. He offered* 2000000 *Francks yerely, and after his Death* 3000000.

To Sir W. Cecill, *30th* March.

At his acquainting the Queen with Lord Robert's *Name, ſhe ſayeth that one of the three Advices the Queen of* England *ſent her, her Choice was to reſpect her Honour; and can that* [be] *my Honour to marry a Subject? He anſwered, Yes; for by means of him, ſhe is like to inherit a Kingdom. Not ſo,* [replied the Queen of *Scots*] *for my Siſter may have Children, or outlive me. It is not, ſaid ſhe, conforme to her Promiſe to uſe me as her Siſter or Daughter, and marry me to her Subject, although I hear well of the Gentleman. I ſaid, it might nowe ſtand with her Promiſe; for there was not a worther Man to be found in her Kingdom: And this will ſuccor Peace, inrich your Countrey, and advance Juſtice between both Nations. The like Conference he had the ſame tyme with* Murray, Argile, Liddington, *appointed by the Queen, and in them reſolved of a Conference and Meting to be had at* Barwick. *And the Earle of* Bedford *was well liked of by the Queen of* Scotts *to be one; but the Tyme is not appointed. He hath good Hope of the Buſineſs, if he be aſſiſted with Sir* W. Cecill's *Directions; for he findeth the Men here fearfull.* [Our Queen reaſoned here ſmartly like herſelf. And the *Engliſh* Reſident ſaid as much as his Subject could admit, and that was, very little. And no doubt, theſe brisk Repartees from our Queen, nettled the Queen of *England*, and had their own Weight in the Diſpleaſure (*a*) that Queen conceived ſome ſhort Time after this.]

To Sir W. Cecill, *14th* April.

Randolph *hath ſignified my Lord of* Bedford's *Arrival at* Barwick (*b*) *to the* Scottiſh *Queen.* Ceſford *is charged by her to proceed in Matters of Border-Juſtice uprightly. Queen here expecteth daylie from* England *an Anſwer to the laſt Conference.* [That, I ſuppoſe, which is contained in the foregoing Abſtract, betwixt our Queen and *Randolph*] *I underſtand by one nere the Queen, that in this Buſines ſhe will caſt Anchor betwene* Dover *and* Barwick, *though perchance not in that Parte we wiſh for.* [*i. e.* The Queen of *Scots* will take a Huſband out of *England*; but not my Lord *Robert*. 'Tis not improbable that our Queen might have had already in her View the Lord *Darnly*.]

To Sir W. Cecill, *22d* May.

He hathe traveled earneſtly with the Queen. Murray, Argile *and* Lethington, *to knowe a Reſolution concerning the Interviewe* (*c*), *but cannot work it. He feareth it will not be this Yeare. A Brute here of one comitted to the Tower of* London *for writing a Book againſt this Queen.* Lennox *hath a Licence to come home, and ſue his Right* (*d*). *I hope my Miſtreſs will ſtay him till ſhe hear further. An Ambaſſador from* Denmark *to work this Queen from permitting her Subjects to ſerve the King of* Sweden *in his* [forte, her] *Name.*

The Perſon mentioned in this Abſtract to have been committed to the Tower, was moſt probably *John Hales* Clerk of the *Hanaper*, who the Year before had publiſhed a Treatiſe, intituled, *A Declaration of the Succeſſion of the Crowne*

(*a*) See *Melvil's* Memoirs, *p.* 44.

(*b*) This Nobleman was Governor of the Town of *Berwick*.

(*c*) This has been a new Project for an Interview between the two Queens, ſet on foot by the Queen of *England*, for her own Reaſons.

(*d*) We ſhall hear much of this Matter by and by.

1564.

Crowne Imperiall of Ingland *(a)*, in which he labours to invalidate our Queen's Right to the ſame, and to transfer it on the Houſe of *Suffolk (b)*. Sir *Nicholas Bacon*, the Lord Keeper of *England*, was lookt upon to have aſſiſted Mr. *Hales* in forming this Scheme; for which his Lordſhip had well nigh loſt his Office, by the Accuſation of the Earl of *Leiceſter*: However, he was reſtored again to his Queen's Favour by the Intereſt of Secretary *Cecil*. When Mr. *Camden* is talking of this Affair, he informs that the Zealots of the Reformation were keen for excluding the Queen of *Scots* from the Succeſſion to the Crown, upon a few nicer Punctilio's in Law, however clear and unqueſtionable her Title was in other Reſpects. That the greateſt part, at leaſt the cooler Heads among the *Papiſts*, were of Opinion our Queen's Pretences were good, and ought to ſtand, being firm, and according to Law; and that another Party were for ſetting up *Margaret*, the Queen of *Scots* Aunt, Wife to *Matthew Stewart* Earl of *Lenox*, and her Children, as being *Engliſh* born. Of all theſe Things this Author ſays, our Queen was not ignorant; who to prevent them what ſhe could, ſent for *Matthew* Earl of *Lenox* into *Scotland*, by Advice of her Aunt the Counteſs of *Lenox*, upon Pretence of reſtoring him to his ancient hereditary Eſtate *(c)*; but in Truth and Reality, to adviſe with him in theſe Particulars.

A Book publiſhed in *England* againſt the Right of the Queen of *Scots* to that Crown.

From Randolph *to Sir* William Cecill, 4*th* June.

Scotts *Queen with Excuſes breaketh the Internour to*——————

[We have no more of this Abſtract. By *Internour* would ſeem to be meant *Interview*; for we ſee there had been ſome new Talk concerning an Interview betwixt the two Queens. Queen *Elizabeth* glanceth at ſuch a Thing in her Memorial 17th *November* 1563, but in ſuch a manner as if it behoved the Queen of *Scots* to make the Offer; of which however it appears by Sir *James Melvil*, *p.* 47. that our Queen had no Intention, nor indeed of an Interview at this Time.]

Some freſh, tho' faint Mention of an Interview.

5*th* July.

Queen of England *writeth to the Queen of* Scotts *to ſtay the coming of* Lennox *into* Scotland. [If it be true that the Queen of *England* did write thus at this Time to her Couſin, I am at leaſt able to convince my Readers, by what ſhall be here ſubjoined, that ſhe did not always ſo. But whatever might be the Purport of her Majeſty's Letters at this Seaſon, we find that the ſame was by no means agreeable to our Queen, and hereupon ſhe wrote back pretty ſharply to her Couſin; and thence did ariſe in the Mind of the *Engliſh* Queen much Diſpleaſure, as may be ſeen both by her Diſcourſe with Mr. *James Melvil*, whom our Queen ſent into *England* in the Month of *September*, with ſeveral both publick and private Inſtructions *(d)*, and by the Queen of *Eng-*

A Difference falls out between the two Queens; whereupon *Melvil* is ſent into *England* with a Memorial.

(*a*) This Treatiſe may be ſeen at full length in the Appendix to *Bedford's hereditary Right to the Crown of* England.

(*b*) The Pretenſion of the Family of *Suffolk* to the Crown of *England* ſtood thus: *Charles Brandon*, firſt Viſcount *Liſle*, and afterwards Duke of *Suffolk*, a great Favourite of King *Henry* VIII. had the Honour to get to Wife that King's younger Siſter *Mary*, then Queen Dowager of *France*. By her he had two Daughters, *Frances* and *Eleanor*, on whom their Uncle entail'd his Crown after his own Son and Daughters, excluding thereby the Queen of *Scotland*, deſcended from his elder Siſter. Which Entailment however by her Father, Queen *Elizabeth* did not much favour. Lady *Frances Brandon* was married to *Henry Grey* Marquis of *Dorſet*, and afterwards created likewiſe Duke of *Suffolk*. By this Lady that Duke had three Daughters, *Jean*, *Katharine* and *Mary*. Lady *Jean* was married to the Lord *Guildford*, fourth Son to *Dudley* Duke of *Northumberland*; and to this Lady *Jean Grey*, alias *Dudley*, King *Edward* VI. did by his Will and Teſtament bequeath the Crown of *England* after his Deceaſe, excluding his own two Siſters *Mary* and *Elizabeth*. Lady *Jean* was proclaimed Queen by the Partiſans of the Houſe of *Suffolk*; but loſt her Life in the Cauſe very ſoon after, having been Beheaded by Order of Queen *Mary*; ſo that the next Branch of the Houſe of *Suffolk* was the Lady *Katharine Grey*, on whom Mr. *Hales* laboured now in his Book to fix the Succeſſion of the Imperial Crown of *England*. Perhaps the Thing that moved *Robert Dudley* Earl of *Leiceſter*, to intereſt himſelf againſt Sir *Nicholas Bacon* and Mr. *Hales*, has been the unfortunate Succeſs of the Lady *Jean Grey*, married to his own immediate elder Brother; and unleſs he ſhewed ſome Keenneſs againſt the Pretenſions of the *Suffolk* Family, Queen *Elizabeth* might look on him with a leſs favourable Aſpect. The late Writer of his Life ſays likewiſe, that he did this to recommend himſelf thereby the more to our Queen's Favour.

(*c*) The Reader hath already ſeen in this Work, the Occaſion of this Nobleman's Baniſhment and Forfeiture.

(*d*) *Melvil's* Memoirs, *p.* 44.

1564. *land*'s own Inſtructions alſo to Mr. *Randolph* her Agent, of the Date the 4th of *October* following.]

27th (a) September.

Lennox *cometh to* Edinborough *(b)*. *Queen of* Scotts *by Letters promiſeth to reſtore* Lennox *to his Lands.*

The Queen goes North to *Athole, Inverneſs*, &c.

By Mr. *Melvil*'s Inſtructions, and by the Account we have from Mr. *Knox (c)*, we come to be appriſed that our Sovereign the Queen had gone into *Athole* to a Hunting in the Month of *July*, and from thence had made a Progreſs into the more Northern Parts of the Realm, and that ſhe returned to *Edinburgh* by the low Eaſt-road through *Fife* in the Month of *September*. And now it was that the Earl of *Lenox* came and preſented himſelf to her Majeſty in her Palace of *Holy-rood-houſe*, from whom his Lordſhip met with a very gracious Reception; which, with ſome other Particularities not hitherto known, ſhall be the Subject of the following Chapter.

CHAP. VII.

Containing Matters of State from the Arrival of the Earl of Lenox *in* Scotland, *in the Month of* September 1564, *until the Arrival of his Son the Lord* Darnly *in the Month of* February 1564-5.

IN the preceding Chapter I have taken the Freedom to find Fault with two of our Hiſtorians (one of them living in the Time, and ſo the more blameable) as well for their Inconſiſtency, as for the Lameneſs of their Narrations. Mr. *Knox*, 'tis to be acknowledged, blunders not here as his contemporary Friend does; but then he contributes but very little to the Knowledge of the publick Tranſactions of the Time: So that had it not been for ſome original Letters and Inſtructions that are ſtill remaining, and which I have taken Care to inſert here, all this Civil Part of our Hiſtory had remained buried in Obſcurity, and been utterly loſt. Mr. *Camden* acquaints us, that not only did the Earl of *Lenox* obtain Queen *Elizabeth*'s Leave

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(*a*) I can hardly think that Mr. *Randolph* has been the Author of this Abſtract of the 27th *September*, which is but the very Day preceeding the Date of Mr. *Melvil*'s Inſtructions, ſeeing *Melvil* found *Randolph* at *London* at his Arrival there. And Mr. *Randolph*'s own Inſtructions bearing Date the 4th of *October* following, confirms the Suſpicion that Mr. *Randolph* has gone away into *England* very ſoon after our Queen took Journey into *Athole*. Perhaps alſo there is a Miſtake in Mr. *Melvil*'s printed Inſtructions, which carry the 28th of *September*, ſince that Gentleman ſays expreſly that he ſaw Lord *Robert Dudley* created Earl of *Leiceſter*. Now 'tis certain that Creation was made on or about *Michaelmas* Day the 29th of *September*. It ſeems likewiſe neceſſary that Mr. *Melvil* muſt have been in *London*, ſooner than his printed Inſtructions would well bear to give Time for new Inſtructions to be drawn up and delivered to Mr. *Randolph* on the 4th *October*; which Inſtructions nevertheleſs make Mention of Queen *Elizabeth*'s having had Opportunity already to diſcourſe with Mr. *Melvil*. All theſe Conſiderations therefore laid together, will afford Ground to ſuppoſe that *Melvil*'s Inſtructions have been at leaſt given on the 20th *September* inſtead of the 28th, by an eaſy Miſtake of either the Printer or Tranſcriber.

(*b*) By the two laſt Abſtracts 'tis moſt obvious that Mr. *Buchanan*, and after him Abp. *Spottiſwood*, have been greatly in the wrong to report, that the Earl of *Lenox* arrived in *Scotland* in the Year 1563, after an Exile of twenty two Years. That noble Lord left *Scotland* in the Year 1544; ſo that he was abſent the Space of twenty Years only, and according to their Account only nineteen Years, ſince they make him to have returned in the Year 1563. Both theſe Hiſtorians have run their Narrations precipitantly forward into the Year 1564, omitting in a great meaſure the Tranſactions of the Year 1563; or ſo jumbling the Tranſactions of theſe two Years together, that they have bred thereby a world of Confuſion to their Readers.

(*c*) Mr. *Knox* takes no Notice of the Queen's having gone any farther North than *Murray*: But Mr. *Holinſhed* of *England* obſerves, that her Majeſty went from *Athole* through *Badzenoch* into *Inverneſs* and the Chanonry of *Roſs*, and returned by *Gartley*, *Aberdeen* and *Dunotar*. [This is a Caſtle belonging to the Earl *Mariſchal* in the Shire of *Mearns*, a *Peninſula* Rock in the Sea, one Mile South of *Stonehaven*.] Mr. *Knox* ſeems likewiſe to be miſtaken, when he ſays, that "all this while there was appearance of Love and tender Friendſhip betwixt the two Queens; for there were many Letters full of Civility and Compliments ſent from either of them to the other, in Sign of Amity." However this is true enough in the general; and this Author might not have known the later Diſpleaſure that had fallen betwixt theſe Queens.

1564.

Leave to depart out of *England*, but alſo her Letters of Recommendation to the Queen of *Scots* for a kindly Reception: And Mr. *Knox* obſerves likewiſe, that the Earl of *Lenox* at his home-coming preſented to our Queen, Queen *Elizabeth*'s Letters written in his favour (*a*). Now both theſe Accounts are well fortified by the following remarkable original Letter written by our Queen to Queen *Elizabeth*, ſoon after the Arrival of the Earl of *Lenox*: And conſequently if it be true, that Queen *Elizabeth* wrote to our Queen to ſtay this Earl's coming into *Scotland*, we can only reconcile that Queen's Letter with themſelves, by having Recourſe to the Refinement and Politicks of Courts. And if Queen *Elizabeth* was in good earneſt deſirous to have the Earl of *Lenox* reſtrained from coming into *Scotland*; no body had That ſo much in their Power as her Majeſty's own ſelf.

Letter from the Queen of Scotland *to the Queen of* England (*b*).

“Richt heich and michtie Princeſſe, oure deire and weilbelovit Siſter and Couſin, we greit zow weill: By zowr Lettris gevin at *Northamptoun* the Firſt of this Inſtant, and deliverit to oure Handis be the Erle of *Levenax*, we perſave how entierlie ze tendir the Cauſs of him, and of our Richt truſtie and weilbelovit Couſin his Wyff. And to the Effect it may appeir, not onlie to zowr ſelf, bot alſwa to all utheris in baith the Realmis, quhat gude Regaird we haif to zowr Requeſtis, by oure gentill entreatinge of ſic as frome zow ar erniſtlie recommendit; we haif not onelie at the——firſt gevin him ſum Caſt of oure gude Will, in the favourabill receaving of him, and hering of his Petitionis, bot alſwa meane to proceid further to the full Reſtitutioun of him, quhairby he ſall be abill to enjoy the Privilegis of a Subject, the Liberteis of his native Cuntrie, and his auld Tittlis. Beſydis, that we intend to deal ſa favourabillie with him, and our ſaid Couſin his Wyff, in all thair Suitis and Cauſſis reſſonabill, that thai ſall haif gude Occaſioun to acknawlege thameſelſſis bund unto zow for the Benefyte thai ſall receave at oure Handis: And thairfoir rander maiſt humill Thankis unto zow, for quhais Saik and Recommendatioun maiſt cheiſlie oure Favour is extendit towartis thame. We will alwayis willinglie embrace all ſic Meanis as ſall be offered, quhairby ze may cleirlie underſtand how weill we can be content to do zow Pleſſour. And ſa Richt heich and michtie Princeſſe, our deir and weilbelovit Siſter and Couſin, we pray the Almichtie God to grant zow as proſperous Succeſs in all zowr Effaris as we wiſche unto oure ſelf. Gevin at oure Palice of *Halieruidhous* the——Day of *Septembir* 1564.

Letter from the Queen of *Scotland* to the Queen of *England*, acknowledging that Queen's Recommendation of the Earl of *Lenox* to come into *Scotland*, &c.

As to Mr. *Melvil*'s Negotiation in *England*, I muſt refer my Readers to that Gentleman's own Account thereof (which in this preſent Point is well worth the Peruſal) and ſhall only here ſet down the latter Part of the Report he made to his Miſtreſs. “After that her Majeſty (*ſays he*) had at great length underſtood all my Management and Proceedings in *England*, ſhe enquired whether I thought that Queen meant truly toward her inwardly in her Heart, as ſhe appeared to do outwardly in her Speech? I anſwered freely, That in my Judgment there was neither plain Dealing nor upright Meaning, but great Diſſimulation, Emulation and Fear, leſt her [our Queen's] princely Qualities ſhould overſoon chace her from the Kingdom, as having already hindred her Marriage with the Arch-Duke *Charles* of *Auſtria*. It appeared likewiſe to me by her [Queen *Elizabeth*'s] offering unto her [the Queen of *Scotland*] with great Earneſtneſs my Lord *Leiceſter*, whom I knew at that Time ſhe could not want.” This is a heavy Charge upon the Queen of *England*; and may be the better credited, that Sir *James Melvil* was a firm

Mr. *Melvil*'s unfavourable Sentiments of the Queen of *England*.

(*a*) But I ſuſpect the Earl of *Lenox* came not into *Scotland*, by the means *chiefly* of the Earl of *Murray*, as Mr. *Knox* adds.

(*b*) Shatter'd MS.

1564. Proteſtant, and ſo not byaſs'd with Views of Religion in Prejudice of that Princeſs.

Beſides the Returns which the Queen of *England* gave to Mr. *Melvil*, we have likewiſe her own Memorial of the 4th *October* already mentioned, delivered to Mr. *Randolph*, whom ſhe ſent back into *Scotland* very ſoon after Mr. *Melvil*'s Arrival in *England*; and we have alſo ſome original Letters written by Mr. *Randolph*, &c. all which together will afford us a tolerably good Proſpect into the Buſineſs of this otherwiſe dark Period.

ELIZABETH R.

A Memorial for Thomas Randolph, *being ſent to the Queen of* Scots, *in Meſſage from the Queen's Majeſtie*, 4*th* October 1564 *(a)*.

Randolph returns into *Scotland* with a Meſſage of Reconcilment betwixt the two Queens.

'YOU ſhall, after our affectionate and accuſtomed Recommendations made to our good Siſter, with the Delivery of our Letters, ſay, That your Coming was appointed, and your ſelf ready to come before the Coming of her Servant [*James*] *Melvin* laſt hither, to have declared to her the Cauſes that laſt moved us ſo long to forbear the returning of Anſwer to your laſt Meſſage brought to us from thence; and to have ſhewed unto her our Determination for the Continuance of our Amity, and further proceeding to the good Courſe already begun betwixt us Two. And although we did impart to the ſaid *Melvin* ſome of the Cauſes that moved us to forbear our Anſwer, and have received a full Satisfaction by his Meſſage to all Doubts; yet, as well for the aſſured Satisfaction of our good Siſter in all Events, as for Anſwer to be given to your Meſſage, we thought it very pertinent to both our Amities, to ſend you at this Time thither.

'And before you ſhall enter to declare the Cauſes of our former Stay, you ſhall firſt pray our good Siſter to reſt herſelf ſtill upon her old Opinion of us, for our conſtant and unchangeable Amity towards her, whatſoever Accident hath happened to come to our Knowledge that might in appearance anywiſe diminiſh or alter the ſame in us: And upon that Requeſt granted to us, you ſhall tell, That you are commanded to ſignifie to her the Particularities of the Matters which ſtay'd us from Anſwer. And ſo ſhall you begin.

'*Firſt*, upon your Return, you ſhall ſay, We did ſo well like the Offer of our ſaid Siſter to have the Matter treated upon by truſty Perſons of both Parts with Secrecy, that we did both determine who the Perſons ſhould be for our Part, and upon what Points they ſhould treat, and to what Ends. In the midſt of which Conſiderations, the ſame being ſuch as we were not delighted a little to be therein occupied, we had Intelligence given us out of *France* by Parties of no ſmall Credit, that it was there underſtood, and frequently reported in that Court, that News were lately come from *Scotland*, what Motion and particular Offers we had made to her of her Marriage, and how neverthelеſs ſhe was determined ſo to uſe the Matter as ſhe would entertain us in a Communication thereof, but ſhe would direct herſelf by Advice of her other Friends, to take another way than that which we propounded; and ſo we were adviſed to beware how we ſhould enter any farther in this Matter, leſt we ſhould loſe both our good Will and our Labour. This Matter of Advertiſement (you may well ſay) ſeem'd unto us very ſtrange, being alſo ſo well confirmed by ſundry Arguments to have Credit, that herewith we were much perplexed. And to increaſe our Perplexity, within a few Days after we heard the ſame newly confirmed by Report here in our Realm; and found thus much thereof to be true, that ſome of the *French* Miniſters did not only report by Speech here in *England*, but advertiſed into *France* the

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(a) Calig. B. 10. an Original.

1564.

very Particularities of our Offer of Marriage made to her; whereof we could not but conceive ſome miſliking, at the leaſt that a Matter meant by us for divers Reſpects ſo ſecretly dealt in, ſhould thus be made open, and ſo common in that ſort: And yet notwithſtanding the ſame, finding no Change of good Will in our ſelves, we continued our Purpoſe to have advertiſed her what Perſons we intended to ſend to confer with ſome of hers. But behold upon a juſt Occaſion given us to write a Letter ſomewhat before that Time to our ſaid Siſter, for a Matter concerning the Earl of *Lenox*'s coming thither, we received in that unſeaſonable Time an Anſwer from our ſaid Siſter in Writing, much different from our Deſert and Expectation; and therewithall we did ſee ſome Letters written from the Laird of *Lethington* to ſome of ours in the ſame Matter, of a ſtranger Manner than ever had come to our Knowledge before, uſing ſome ſharper Words in diſallowing of our Requeſt, than was reaſonable in ſuch an Argument, wherein our dealing was ſuch, as although we had not Thanks for our Care had to the Repoſe of our ſaid Siſter, and her Country; yet we did not look to have our friendly Conſiderations reproved, or reprehended. And how juſtly we did conceive ſo much of both the Letters, you ſhall ſay, That we mean not to have her underſtand it now by you, but we could not but ſhew it to her Servant *James Melvin*, who hath ſeen the Letter's ſelf (*a*).

'This manner of Writing to us, mov'd us to think that ſome new Humour might have entred, not into her Breaſt, but rather conveyed into ſome of their Heads that were of Credit in Counſel with her; and therefore being by theſe Accidents much perplexed, and carried into divers Diſpoſitions, ſometimes to neglect all theſe Scruples, and ſend Anſwer according to our firſt Intention; ſometimes again to fear that our Intention would prove vain, and be abuſed in the End: We thus determined, that underſtanding that Lord *Robert* and our Secretary (who were alſo much perplexed herewith) had written both to the Earl of *Murray* and L. of *Lethington*, by way of Complaint, of this oblique Dealing with us in the Matter of the Earl of *Lenox*, we ſhould ſee by the Anſwer to their Letters, ſome Proof whereof this ſtrange Anſwer made to us did proceed, that meant ſo ſincerely, hoping therewith that they ſhould have Anſwer with Speed, and ſo thereupon it would appear whether there were indeed ſuch Change of that Part in any Intention, as by the former Accidents we did gather; and ſo either we ſhould proceed as we firſt intended, and earneſtly deſired, or elſe ceaſe and leave off, without more Inconvenience. But with great Grief, after this our Mind was burden'd, hearing no Anſwer made to the ſaid Letters, we are loth to have any Repetition made, miſliking altogether with ourſelves the Remembrance thereof. And after ſome time unpleaſantly paſſed, wherein Anſwer might have once or twice been ſent, behold unhappily it cometh to our Knowledge, that our Subjects upon our Borders, eſpecially upon the Eaſt and Middle Marches, had Knowledge given them, by means to them credible, that her Wardens had Commandment ſecretly from the Court there, that they ſhould not uſe Diligence and Readineſs in Adminiſtration of Juſtice to our ſaid Subjects, as they had of late uſed, but they ſhould hold their Hands ſomewhat ſtraiter. And for the Proof of ſuch an Intention in the Wardens indeed, they at their next Meetings with ours refuſed directly without Colour to anſwer Juſtice in manifeſt Cauſes.

(*b*) 'You ſhall now pray our Siſter, but imagine with herſelf how far we were tempted hereby to call our former Intention in queſtion; ſo as notwithſtanding all theſe former Scruples and unreaſonable Accidents, from the which notwithſtanding all former Provocations, how far off we were here to breed any new Offence, it may manifeſtly appear by this one Thing, that in this very Time being ſo cumberſome, contrary to the Expectation and Deſire of

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(*a*) 'Tis proper here that the Readers look into Sir *James Melvil*'s Memoirs.

(*b*) Tho' this Paragraph appears very confuſed, yet the Original, written by Secretary *Cecil*, is exactly ſo.

1564. 'our People, yea contrary to the Diſpoſition of no ſmall Number of our Council, and that alſo to ſome part of Detriment to ourſelf, for our own private Lucre, by the Intention of our People, to have gratified us with ſome Subſidy; we did even then by Proclamation prolong our Parliament (a), that now ſhould have been begun in *October*, meaning of purpoſe to have no Aſſembly wherein the Intereſt of our Siſter might be called in queſtion, until it were better conſidered, that no Harm thereof might enſue to her, and that we two had further proceeded in the Eſtabliſhment of our Amity. Though in Conſideration of Wiſdom we had Cauſe to make ſome Stay, yet our inward Friendſhip, and our natural Affection toward our Siſter had taken ſo deep Root, as neither Suſpicion nor Doubt could ſhake it (b): And to ſay the very Truth, our Judgment was overcome with our Love, and from that whereunto Reaſon and Advice would have led us, Love and Nature carried us, and provoked us not to forbear any longer Time, nor to conceive any Doubt on her Part, but to ſend you thither with our Letters, and withal this Meſſage that now you bring.

'And as we had reſolved with ourſelf, and commanded you to put yourſelf in Readineſs, you may ſhow her, as the Truth was, how her Servant *James Melvin* came, by whom, both by the good Letters which he brought from our good Siſter, and from others there, we were made ſuddenly ſo glad, as having been overburdened a long Time in our Mind with Care and Trouble with the inward Contention betwixt Love and Reaſon, and thereby toſſed hither and thither, we have found by this her Meſſenger's coming, a whole Delivery of all theſe Offences, and have received more Good for Quietneſs ſake at the one Inſtant, than ever we did before by any Meſſenger ſent to us (c).

'So as you ſhall conclude, That we thought it convenient not to change the ſending of you, to declare this Comedy how it had paſs'd from the Beginning, aſſuring her, that the Paſſions therein have been almoſt like a Tragedy, but by Cauſe the End hath brought Quietneſs. And for the Matters that have troubled us, howſoever they have happened, we are minded to neglect them all without further——of the Natures, the Cauſes, or other Circumſtances thereof, as you ſhall aſſure her, that there is no Change in us towards her, neither do we think that there has been in her towards us: And therefore you ſhall ſay, That we are determined fully to recontinue our former Motion; and to the End ſome Conferences may be had thereupon ſecretly, and without Delay with ſome of hers, as ſhe hath deſired, we have thought meet, for the avoiding Inconveniencies of making the Matter too open, to appoint you to attend with our Couſin the Earl of *Bedford*, to commune hereupon with any ſuch Perſons as ſhe ſhall name: Or otherwiſe, if ſhe ſhall think better, to ſend any of hers hither to us, we will appoint like Perſons to commune with them. Wherein we mind to proceed frankly and plainly without Obſcurities, as to our Amity doth belong.

'And if ſhe will have the Matter treated upon our Frontiers, as we firſt mentioned, you ſhall ſay, That you have Commandment, Inſtruction and Authority, for the Earl of *Bedford* and yourſelf, to confer thereon. For which Purpoſe you ſhall, as you ſee Cauſe, return to *Berwick*; and upon Conference with the ſaid Earl, you ſhall agree upon ſome Time and convenient Place for that Purpoſe: And thereof advertiſe us with Speed, to the End as Cauſe ſhall be, we may give you further Direction.

CECILL.

An

(a) See Mr. *Camden* his Reaſon for Prorogation of the Parliament.

(b) 'Tis a Pity this great Queen ſhould have ſwerved at any Time hereafter from her Motto, *Semper eadem*, i. e. *Invariable*. Or, may not ſome Craft be ſuſpected here?

(c) But this Meſſenger ſuſpected (and perhaps not without Reaſon) her Majeſty's Mind not to be genuine in her Profeſſions either now, or at any Time hereafter. See his Memoirs.

An Abſtract of Mr. *Randolph*'s Letters out of *Scotland* of the 24th of *October*, and the 3d and 12th of *November* 1564 *(a)*. 1564.

To Sir William Cecill, 24*th* October.

Murray *and* Lethington *queſtion Mr.* Randolph *why he deferred the Anſwer of their laſt Meſſages, and talked of the Unkindneſs fallen between their two Miſtreſſes, by reaſon of their Book of Succeſſion publiſhed by* Hales, *the Party being ſo ſtrictly puniſhed. They began to talk of their Miſtreſs's Right of Succeſſion, which I told them many doubted of; and I wiſhed them not much to truſt the Party that* Welch *(b) had undertaken for, I meant the Catholiques. He telleth them the Unkindneſs the Queen* [of *England*] *taketh, in that her Siſter received* Lenox *againſt her liking (c).* Murray *and* Lethington *to enjoy their Country, Liberty and Lives, by the Purchaſe of the Queen of* England's *Conſumption of her People and Treaſure.* Lenox *giveth to the Queen, and moſt of the Council, Jewels; but none to* Murray. *The* Scottiſh *Queen taxeth the Queen of* England's *Miniſters in* France, *eſpecially my Lord of* Hunſden, *for diſcloſing this Treaty of her Marriage. This Queen imputeth the coming of* Lenox *to the Queen of* England's *Requeſt (d) for him, to come to purſue his Right, and he came to follow his Title, which Juſtice cannot deny. She deferreth her Appointment to meet at* Berwick, *till further Speech with* Murray *and* Lethington. *The Queen undertaketh to end the Quarrel between the Duke and* Lenox, *whoſe Name now* Lethington *is ſuppoſed to favour, for the Love he beareth to* Mary Fleming *(e).* Seton *and* Lethington *are become Enemies in the Cauſe of* Douglas. *The Queen altereth her Determination for the Lieutenancy to* Murray; *at which the Proteſtants are offended. All Penſions granted by the Queen ſince her home-coming, are recalled. A new Reformation in hand, of the Thirds of the Benefices to be paid to the Preachers.* Buchanan *hath the Temporalities of* Corſeregal *(f) Abbey given to him from the Queen.*

To Sir William Cecill, 3*d* November.

Randolph *telleth the Queen, That if ſhe match with the Queen his Miſtreſs's liking, ſhe will examine her Right, and ſo declare her Siſter or Daughter-Heir. No Word the Queen maketh of* Darnly, *yet many ſuppoſe it concluded in her Heart; and that* Lethington *is bent wholely that way. This Queen now liketh well to hear of Marriage, and of the Party. No Anſwer yet of Appointment of Ambaſſadors to meet my Lord of* Bedford *about the Marriage. This Queen hath commanded the Duke and* Lenox *to abſtain from Quarrel, and then ſhe will take part againſt him that ſhall begin.* Lenox *complaineth of his Loſs by Baniſhment; the Duke defendeth it from the Prince's Authority, and his Deſert (g).* Argile *hath rendred what he had of his. The Duke and* Lenox *meet not but in the Queen's Preſence. He* [the Duke] *ſuppoſeth* Lenox *is called home for his Overthrow, eſpecially if ſhe marry* Darnly; *and that his Hope is only in the Queen of* England. Darnly *and the Lady* Lenox *look'd for.* Welch *had private Intelligence with the*

(*a*) Calig. B. 10.

(*b*) This Man has been a private Intelligencer to our Queen.

(*c*) If Queen *Elizabeth* had a real Intention that *Lenox* ſhould not come into *Scotland*, it was certainly in her Power to have ſtopt him.

(*d*) And we ſee by the Letter of the Queen of *Scots* to the Queen of *England* above ſet down, that ſhe ſaid no leſs to that Queen; So that Queen *Elizabeth* has both interceded for the Earl of *Lenox*'s Journey into *Scotland*; and complained that he was allowed to come.

(*e*) The Readers may ſee in the *Peerage*, the Relation betwixt the Earl of *Lenox* and the Lord *Fleming*.

(*f*) This Abbey is in *Carrick*. The Queen's Favours to this Gentleman have not been able to ſoften his Heart.

(*g*) The Difference betwixt theſe two noble Perſons takes its Riſe from *Lenox*'s Diſgrace, having proceeded during the Time of the Duke's Regency. The Reader has already ſeen the Pretenſions to Succeſſion of the Crown made by the Family of *Lenox* againſt the Family of *Arran*. 'Tis likely the Duke has had a Gift of ſome Part of *Lenox*'s Eſtate.

1564. *the Queen and* Lethington, *and telleth that all the Papiſts of* England *are of her Side.* Murray *and* Lethington *appointed to meet my Lord of* Bedford; *and what they agree to, ſhe conſenteth.*

To Sir William Cecill, *12th* November.

The Cardinal excuſeth himſelf, that having by John Baptiſta *made Offer of the Duke of* Orleans *for her Husband, he doth now by* Beton *offer another. The Queen offended with her Uncle for his Buſineſs in her Marriage, wherein he reſpects only his own Ends.*

A Letter from Mr. Randolph *to the Queen of* England *(a).*

May it pleaſe your Majeſtie,

Letter by Mr. *Randolph* to his Miſtreſs the Queen of *England*, containing the ſecret Reaſonings of our Queen concerning her marrying the Earl of *Leiceſter*.

‘THE more I deſire to ſerve your Majeſtie in ſort, as in Duty I am bound, the more Diſcontentment I find in myſelf, that all Things ſucceed not in your Majeſtie's Affairs as I would. How from time to time I have dealt with this Queen, and others with whom it pleaſed her that I ſhould confer, I have written as well as I can to Mr. Secretary; by whom I truſt that your Majeſtie knoweth the Effect of that which hath been ſaid, and how far I have proceeded. Some Things there are that, becauſe they do concern your Majeſtie's ſelf chieſly, I thought I would write them to no Man elſe. The chiefeſt are theſe, which I know by others than this Queen's ſelf: Some Suſpicion ſhe hath gathered, that your Majeſtie's Perſwaſion to her not to marry in the Houſes of *Auſtria* and *France*, is to no other End than that you may enjoy yourſelf whom of thoſe Houſes you like beſt. Whether by this it be meant either the Infants of *Spain*, or *Don Carlo* of *Auſtria*, I know not; for, for *France* they are aſſured, that there lacketh nothing but Age ſufficient that it is not ended. To this I have ſaid, that your Majeſtie ever had, and hath Choice of them all where you like beſt, and therefore needeth nothing to doubt that by this Queen, Impediment could riſe to your Majeſtie's Will: But as I thought rather, your Majeſtie having no Mind to marry at any time, and intending Good unto this Queen, would be loth that ſhe ſhould marry where her People had miſliking, as that of Q. *Mary* with *Spain*, or ſhould be an Occaſion of Enmity, as that of herſelf with *France* was, or Impoveriſhment of the Realm to take him that hath nothing, as ſome ſuch as have been mentioned and ſpoken of, without any kind of good liking, as far as ever I could perceive.

‘The other Doubt is this, Whether your Majeſtie intendeth as much in this Offer of my L. *Robert*, as by me is ſpoken, conſidering your Majeſtie's own Favour towards him, and therefore unlikely that ever your Majeſtie will depart with him to any other, wherein ſhe ſhould be plainly abuſed, if that ſhe gave her Conſent thereunto. And the more grievous of all is this, that if after many Perſwaſions ſhe could be brought to yeild unto your Majeſtie to be beſtowed as you would, and ſhe willing to accord unto your Majeſtie's Deſire touching my L. *Robert*, that then your Majeſtie might uſe the Example of her, that ſhe would be content to take him, to perſwade ſuch of your Majeſtie's Realm that have miſliking of it, that you ſhould marry him yourſelf (b). To both theſe I have anſwered, That there is no ſmall Injury done to your Majeſtie to be judged of, as to pretend that in Word which was never meant; but moſt of all, that your Majeſtie ſhould be thought to go about to abuſe any, much leſs ſuch a Princeſs, ſo near a Kinſwoman, and one of whom you have ſo good liking. And where the People offered with moſt humble Prayers

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(a) Calig. B. 10. an Original.

(b) We may perceive by this Letter, that Mr. *Camden* has not narrated theſe Suſpicions out of his own Head, but that he has narrowly inſpected the Records of Papers, &c.

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ers unto your Majeſtie great Sums of Money, that it might be found good to your Majeſtie to take him, there need no ſuch coloured Practices to be uſed. They aſk me then the Reaſon of your Majeſtie's Stay: To that I have ſaid, That I am ignorant, and in my Conjecture it is either that your Majeſtie intendeth not to marry, or will not match yourſelf with your own Subject. Of your Majeſtie's Diſpoſition, they ſay that they can ſay nothing, but that your Years, your Beauty, your Perſonage, require not to be married, as well as all theſe do in their Miſtreſs, they marvel; and to match with a Subject, they think it as unfit for her as for your Majeſtie. To this I have ſaid, That if there be any miſliking that ever your Majeſtie found in my Lord *Robert*, it was either for that he was not a King of a Realm of his own, for the Worthineſs that is in him; or a Subject of ſome other Prince, that worthily he might be called to be a King, where Soverainty and Vertue being met, Felicity and Proſperity muſt enſue to that Kingdom that he ſhall poſſeſs. We have ſo far proceeded in theſe Diſcourſes, that alſo it hath been aſked, What Profit or Commodity ſhall enſue to this Queen, if ſhe ſhall have him? I have in this adviſed them to follow the common Courſe of all theſe that are Marriage-makers, to know firſt what liking there is between the Parties, and after enter into Talk about the Conditions. Let us ſuppoſe, ſay they, that ſhe will. Then, ſay I, that I have perpetual Peace to offer them, a firm Amity to aſſure them of, which hitherto hath been none at all, or very uncertain; that I had a Man to offer her that I am aſſured through the World a fitter was not to be found for all Reſpects. We marry, ſay they, in theſe Days as well for Lands and Poſſeſſions, as Vertue and Qualities. For Peace and Amity, it is as much, ſay they, to be deſired on your Part as ours. I grant it needful for us both (though their old ſhaken Houſes teſtify yet who hath received the worſt) and will them to be as careful of it for their Part, that we fall not into the like, as we will be loth of ours. It is too ſore, ſay they to me again, to bind us to one, where ſo many good Choices are to be found. I ſay, that where the beſt is offered, they need no more Choice. It were not amiſs, ſay they, that ſhe made her own Choice. I ſay again, that ſeeing in her Choice ſhe will but uſe the Judgment and Advice of others, ſhe were beſt take him of whom moſt Men allow; and yet in this ſhe is not put from her Choice, but a friendly Advice given her to take the beſt. As good, ſay they, in your own Realm may be found as he. I will them to name him. It boteth not *(a)*, ſay they, ſeeing in ſo earneſtly preſſing the other upon us, you take away all Hope of getting any Man elſe. The Duke of *Norfolk*, ſaith one. I will them to name again; for that is not the Man they mean. If that you know him, ſay they, you ought yourſelf to name him, I ſay, if they be not aſhamed of him, I do marvel why they do not name him; (but I know for certain that the Man they mean is my Lord *Darnly*.) They ſuit at this, to have him rather offered by your Majeſtie than deſired by themſelves. How far they are from their Purpoſe, your Majeſtie both knows, and I am aſſured will conſider the Unfitneſs of the Match, for greater Cauſes than I can think of; of which the leaſt will not be the Loſs of many a godly Man's Heart, that by your Majeſtie enjoy now Liberty of their Country, and know not in how ſhort a Time ſhall loſe the ſame, if your Majeſtie give Conſent to match with ſuch an one, as either by Diſſenſion at home, or Lack of Knowledge of God and his Word, may perſecute thoſe that profeſs the ſame *(b)*.

‘ Such like Complaints I hear daily: This terrible Fear is ſo entred their Hearts, that the Queen tendeth only to that; that ſome are well willing to leave the ſame, others with their Power to withſtand, the reſt with Patience to endure it, and to let God work his Will. The coming hither of my Lady

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(a) *i. e.* It profiteth not; or, is to no purpoſe.

(b) This was a ſort of Cant, ariſing from *Darnly*'s being Popiſh; and ſome Perſons were already begun to thwart the Queen's Marriage with this young Nobleman.

1564. ‘ *Lenox* and her Son is looked for. I dare not take upon me to give my Advice where I know ſo far paſſeth mine; but always I am of the ſame Opinion that I was of her Husband, or rather worſe *(a)*. This further I thought fit to come to your Majeſtie's Knowledge, that if ſhe [the Counteſs of *Lenox*] claim her the Earldom of *Angus*, there will be a Gap open to diſprove a greater Title that ſhe pretendeth unto nearer your Majeſtie's ſelf, than that is ſhe ſeeketh for here. I attribute ſo much to the Workers hereof, and know how far that they have already waded, that I truſt ſhe ſhall be all the Days of her Life, or any of hers, far enough from wearing of a Crown *(b)*.

‘ The Duke ſo ſtandeth in Doubt of himſelf, that he is ſome time in mind, either with Leave or without, to forſake his Country: But for this I believe he feareth more than he needs; he hath many Friends here that would be loth to ſee him brought to that Point; much of his Hope is in your Majeſtie's Favour towards him, for the Succour of him and his Houſe. Thus much from him I am deſired to ſignifie to your Majeſtie, with moſt humble Recommendation of his Service *(c)*.

‘ The Queen hath now determined that my Lord of *Murray* and Lord of *Lidington* ſhall be at *Berwick* the 18th of this inſtant, to entreat of ſuch Matters as have been propounded unto her from your Majeſtie: She is now deſirous that they ſhould come to ſome Reſolution, and hath willed them that all their Doings tend to that End.

‘ How ſhe is bent already toward my L. *Robert*, I know not; I find that there are many here that wiſh it ſhould take Effect; and if I ſhould credit all that is ſpoken, it ſhall ſtay only in your Majeſtie's ſelf. Mary, withal I know that they look for no ſmall Matter to be offered unto them, as now in this Conference I doubt not but it will appear. I find in my Lord of *Murray* a marvelous good Will that any thing that is to your Majeſtie's Contentment ſhould take place *(d)*; but in this he is very loth to have to do: The Matter is of Weight, the Iſſue uncertain, the Burden not ſmall, the Danger great unto him, if ever after this there ſhould grow between your Majeſtie and his Soveraign any miſliking, or if in this ſhe find herſelf not well uſed. How many alſo there are that would be glad to ſee this Matter quell'd under his Hands, your Majeſtie doth ſufficiently conſider. Therefore, for his Part, he doth moſt humbly pray your Majeſtie, that however ſo earneſt he be in this Cauſe that to his Miſtreſs's Honour it may take Effect, that how earneſt ſoever he be to preſs or urge that, which in his Miſtreſs's Behalf or Right he thinketh Duty to do, or ſay, that your Majeſtie will rather think him the better Servant unto his Soveraign, than that he beareth not unto your Majeſtie that good Will of Service, that with Duty to his Soveraign he may. He truſteth alſo that your Majeſtie ſo far regardeth his good Will and Mind to the Entertainment of a perpetual Love and Amity between the two Realms, that whatſoever proceedeth from him to that End, your Majeſtie will take in good part; and the more affectionate he is thereto, your Majeſtie will bear the more with him, if in all earneſt ſort he do ſeek the ſame. What is in the L. of *Lidington*, your Majeſtie knoweth, for his Wiſdom to conceive, and his Wit to convey, whatſoever his Mind is bent unto to bring to paſs. I find him well affected to this Cauſe; but to preſs her, he will not in anywiſe: Whatſoever ſhe beſt liketh, that he moſt alloweth. Some there are that would I ſhould believe, that he liketh better of my L. *Darnly* than any other *(e)*:

‘ I have

(*a*) Mr. *Randolph* declares here his own Judgment; but his Miſtreſs knew better what ſhe intended, by her allowing firſt the Father, and next the Son to come into *Scotland*.

(*b*) The Readers can be at no Loſs to know, that Mr. *Randolph* means here the Succeſſion to the Crown of *England*; nor yet, what Right the Lady *Lenox* ſtood in to that Crown.

(*c*) As this Nobleman fluctuated hither and thither, ſo the Queen of *England* never ſhewed much Regard to his Family.

(*d*) He was no doubt a faſt Friend there, to his laſt Moments.

(*e*) There is no Perſon will call in queſtion the Laird of *Lethington*'s Wiſdom; and whatever wrong Steps he may have made, yet at bottom he was a far better Friend to his Queen and Country than *Murray* and the others of the Faction. No doubt he was for this Marriage.

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I have heard him at other times ſay much to the contrary; how he is newly affected, I know not, nor ſee no Cauſe why, except it proceedeth of his Miſtreſs's Affection to eſtabliſh this Crown to her Name again; whereunto ſhe hath, beſides her own Deſire, many that move her thereto, as the moſt famous Act ſhe can leave to her Poſterity (a). I doubt not but his Will is to preſs us to the furtheſt that we are able to ſay, and I think not but his Deſire will be rather to know what will be the uttermoſt of your Majeſtie's Will towards his Soveraign, than that we ſhall know aſſuredly what ſhall be her Mind, or whereunto ſhe will incline.

‘To meet with ſuch a Match (b), your Majeſtie knoweth what Wit had been fit; how far he exceedeth the Compaſs of one or two Heads that is to guide a Queen and govern a whole Realm alone, your Majeſtie may well think how unfit I am for my part, and how far he is able to go beyond me. I would that it were not, as I know it to be. How well my L. of *Bedford* thinketh of his own Ability; I think that it be ſignified to your Majeſtie before this Time by his own Letters, whoſe Care I know is greater in this than in any other that ever he had. Upon theſe Occaſions I have taken the Boldneſs thus to write, rather taking the Blame upon me thus much to trouble your Majeſtie, than that any Thing ſhould be left unknown to your Highneſs that I could wiſh ſhould come to your Majeſtie's Ears. Almighty God preſerve your Majeſtie's proſperous Eſtate, ſend your Majeſtie continual good Health, and us ſome happy Comfort, that ſhortly we may hear that which ſo long and oft in your Majeſtie hath been deſired; by whom we may hope to ſee of yourſelf a happy Prince, to cut off the Care that now all Men do take, to ſee your Majeſtie live a ſole Life. At *Edinburgh* the 7th of *November* 1564.

Your Majeſtie's humble and
obedient Servant,

THO. RANDOLPHE.

The Readers having ſeen by the foregoing Letters, that our Queen had agreed to a Meeting in the Town of *Berwick*, between the Earl of *Murray* and Mr. *Maitland* younger of *Lethington* on her Part, and the Earl of *Bedford* and Mr. *Randolph* on the Part of the Queen of *England*, wherein they were to confer together concerning our Queen's Marriage with the Earl of *Leiceſter*, and in which Place they did accordingly meet at the Time appointed; I ſhould reckon my Readers would juſtly complain, did I pretend to offer them any other Account of the Conference than what I am enabled to afford them by the following authentick Paper.

A Meeting at *Berwick* about the Queen's Marriage with the Earl of *Leiceſter*.

A Letter from the Earl of Bedford *and Mr.* Randolph, *To the Queen of* England, 23*d* November 1564 (c).

An Account of the Conference there, in a Letter to the Queen of *England*.

‘OUR bounden Duties to your Highneſs conſidered: It may pleaſe the ſame to be advertiſed, That the 18th of this inſtant, according to the Appointment of which your Majeſtie was made privy, there came to this Town my Lord of *Murray* and Laird of *Lidington*, in the receiving of whom there was nothing omitted that might be thought for your Majeſtie's Honour or Contentment, to have them well uſed.

‘The firſt Night the Time was paſſed over by their Conſent, rather in familiar Talk, than that any Thing of either Part was mov'd of that Matter we had

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(a) Had the Lord *Darnly* behaved himſelf prudently after he came to enjoy his Sovereign, her Majeſty's marrying of him was ſurely not a bad Step, in ſo far as it ſecured to their Poſterity a Right to the Crown of *England*, which the Deſcendents of either might have claimed, if well ſupported. His bearing the ſame Name of *Stewart* with her Majeſty, had no doubt its own Weight.

(b) Mr. *Randolph* here acknowledgeth the ſuperior Abilities of the Laird of *Lethington*, and owns himſelf unequally match'd with him, to meet and confer at the enſuing Appointment to be kept in the Town of *Berwick*.

(c) Calig. B. 10. an Original.

1564. had to treat of: The next Morning was thought the fitteſt Time. At our being together, we ſought as many means as we could to have had them have begun to ſpeak; to that by no means we could bring them, affirming that their Coming was to hear what would proceed from us, that either might concern the Continuance of Amity, or Furtherance of that Motion made by your Majeſtie concerning my L. *Robert*. In theſe Terms, after we had ſtood a little Space, we thought it for the beſt to let them underſtand your Majeſtie's good Will towards their Soveraign, the Deſire that your Grace hath to continue Friendſhip with her, and earneſt Will that the ſame may be confirmed in ſuch ſort as no doubt may be but the ſame may long endure. And having left nothing unſpoken of that which for the Time was convenient, or that we might think agreeable to your Majeſtie's Will, according to our Inſtructions, which being declared at good length, as well from what the Beginning of this Motion did ſpring, as alſo of the Continuance of the ſame; we gave them place to ſay what they thought good. To all that was by us ſaid, there anſwered my L. of *Lidington*, who acknowledged the great Benefits that his Country had received, beſides the particular Commodity of diverſe; he confeſſeth that there were no ſmall Tokens that have proceeded from your Majeſtie towards his Soveraign, and that not the leaſt that your Majeſtie is ſo mindful of her Eſtate, and careful of herſelf, as to have her well beſtowed in Marriage. He allowed all that was ſpoken of my Lord of *Lieceſter* for his Worthineſs, and added more than we ourſelves would ſpeak of his Vertues, and good liking the World hath of him; but withal he deſired us (as he was aſſured your Majeſtie doth) to have Regard to their Miſtreſs's Honour, and willed us to have in mind the three principal Points which your Majeſtie, by Advice in her Marriage, willed her to obſerve, wherein we in this Talk ſeemed to have little Reſpect, and only looked upon that which tendeth moſt to our own Commodity, and little or nothing to their Soveraign's Advantage, as to take my Lord of *Lieceſter* to Husband, and nothing more offered with him but in general Terms to ſay, that great Good would enſue to both the Realms, and that as the Queen's Majeſtie your Miſtreſs hath begun to advance him, ſo ſhe will go further as ſhe may perceive good liking of him from thence: This importeth nothing elſe but a Deſire in your Miſtreſs that ours ſhould not marry great, and herſelf to be at Liberty to do what ſhe will, and diſpoſe of our Miſtreſs as ſhe liſteth; for plainly I muſt ſay, that my L. *Robert*, as only Earl of *Lieceſter*, is no fit Match for our Soveraign (a), nor in that reſpect her Honour ſo conſidered as friendly and ſiſterly, as it ought to be. And in this long Propoſition of you my Lord of *Bedford*, to ſpeak frankly, and not to offend, What was there more ſpoken than was a Year ſince? or, What is my Miſtreſs the nearer to have demanded your Miſtreſs's Advice in her Marriage, and Offer made by her to follow the ſame, as in Honour ſhe might, and with the Contentment of her Subjects, of whom, though ſhe have free Liberty to marry where ſhe will, yet ſhe would be loth to be noted for want of Circumſpection in her Choice; beſides the Danger that might enſue to us in whom ſhe hath repoſed no ſmall Truſt, that we will do nothing but only what is moſt for her Honour and Surety? It is now two Years (ſaith he) ſince this Advice was demanded, a Year ſince my Lord *Robert* was offered and named to us: Thus long our Miſtreſs hath depended upon you, we have ſhow'd no Token of miſliking of him; What is the Iſſue, or to what End are we come unto? And of that which now we hoped for moſt, which is, that we ſhould have known in what State and Condition your Miſtreſs would have been content to have imparted with him, we are altogether fruſtrate of our Expectation, and have loſt our Labour; for nothing is ſaid more than was [formerly by you,] nor other Anſwer can be given on our Part than this, That without it ſeemed good unto the Queen's Maje-

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(a) Yet Sir *James Melvil* obſerves, that Queen *Elizabeth* thought the creating him Earl of *Leiceſter*, would be a ground of our Queen's higher Eſteem of him.

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' ſtie your Miſtreſs, to deal more frankly, and give further Signification of her Mind than hitherto ſhe hath done, that neither ſhe in Honour can aſſent unto her, nor we in Duty perſwade with her to that End, as otherwiſe we would be glad.

' To this, and like your Majeſtie, it was my L. of *Bedford*'s Will that I, who from the Beginning had dealt in this Matter, and by reaſon thereof better acquainted with it, ſhould give Anſwer; To whom I ſaid, That I did well approve in him the acknowledging of the Benefits received, and his Teſtimony of your Majeſtie's good Will towards his Miſtreſs; but where he deſired that we would have in mind the Advice from your Majeſtie in the three principal Points to be obſerved in Marriage, I ſaid, that that was the principal Point that yet your Majeſtie had Regard unto in this Motion of Marriage for my L. of *Lieceſter*: For if their Soveraign ſought either mutual Contentment, in reſpect of their private Perſons; or in ſuch a Man in whom unfain'd Allowance might be of him, by her Realm and Subjects; or Continuance of Amity with thoſe, with whom in Times paſs'd they have had Enmity; there was never more Likelihood that all theſe three Reſpects ſhould concur in one, than in that Offer of your Majeſtie for her to join with my L. *Robert*. To confirm this, I deſired no other Judge but themſelves, whether that if it were proclaimed in *Scotland* with Sound of Trumpet, that my L. *Robert* of *England* ſhould marry their Soveraign, whether any Man would do or ſay againſt it; or, whether that the moſt part would not prefer him, either to *Don Carlo* of *Spain* or *Auſtria*, to the Duke of *Orleans*, or Prince of *Condé*: I will ſpeak nothing of *Ferrara*, he is too warm placed in the Eaſt, to remove his Habitation ſo far North; ſo that your Majeſtie's Advice being well mark'd, there was no Cauſe why he ſhould think that your Majeſtie ſought only your own Commodity, and nothing that tended to his Soveraign's Advantage. To offer my L. *Robert* as he was only Earl of *Lieceſter*, I ſaid, that I thought it was not your Majeſtie's Mind; but to utter what you would do for him, as well in reſpect of Kindred, Amity and good Liking of their Miſtreſs, and good Will born to my L. *Robert*, I believed that your Majeſtie would not, nor no Man would that your Majeſtie ſhould, except ſome Things ſhould proceed from their Miſtreſs, whereby your Majeſtie might have ſome Underſtanding, Conjecture, or, at the leaſt, an Inkling, how her Offer ſhould be embraced; and before that that were done, we could not find it reaſonable that your Majeſtie ſhould proceed any further. And where that he alledged Generalities and Uncertainties in your Majeſtie's Offers, I ſaid, that your Grace's Offers had already paſs'd thoſe Bounds, in offering yourſelf to deal with their Miſtreſs as a Siſter, and with him as with a near Kinſman or Nephew. I did bid them weigh well theſe Words, and to conſider to what End they tended. Where they ask'd, what was profer'd at this Time more than was before? I ſaid, no ſmall Teſtimony of good Will, that notwithſtanding the ſmall Regard had to your Majeſtie's Offers, your Majeſtie continued in the ſame Mind, to do her and her Country Good, which I deſired them to make ſuch Account of, as worthily they might be thought well of, and to have done their Duty to their Soveraign. Where they ſay, that the Time hath been long; I anſwer, That in great Matters good Conſultation ought to be had; and yet, that if their Miſtreſs had at any Time declared her Mind, the Matter long before this Time had been ended. You ſay alſo, that you are fruſtrate of your Expectation, and nothing taken Effect that you came for; I ſaid, That you have much more than I thought to have delivered unto you, ſeeing you came only to learn and know of us what you could (as by ſome Letters of yours lately to the Court it was ſignified) and to impart nothing that might do Good, or further the Cauſe that is in hand. Where they alledged Fear and Doubt in themſelves; I told them, they needed not ſo to do having Power to perſwade with their Miſtreſs what they would, having Credit to do what they liſt, and their Soveraign's good Aſſurance, that whatſoever

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‘To this, and like your Highneſs, much was ſaid, too long to be rehearſed; much Talk there was to and fro, not without ſome Paſſions of either Part. Our Talk ended at that Time, to be continued after Dinner: At what Time my Lord of *Murray* beginneth merrily in this ſort, What means this? Can we find no means to bring any thing to paſs that may keep theſe Queens together? The Anſwer was given, that it ſtay'd in them. Why? (ſaith he) you offer us ever one Man, and take from us our Liberty and Choice: It is good (ſaith he) for Queens to know that they have their Will, and yet peradventure may be perſwaded to yield unto that they would not. To that it was ſaid, that we would be content to take that as a *Peradventure*, and that yet your Majeſtie had not taken from her that Liberty, nor was not willing to bring her to any Conſtraint, but at the firſt offered the beſt, herſelf being deſirous, and almoſt importunate to have him nam'd; and that your Majeſtie knew only who were not meet, rather than that you would appoint any unto her. We look'd here to have had my L. *Darnly* nam'd, of whom, for all that, there was not one Word ſpoken. You might (ſaid the L. of *Lidington*) reſtrain us within *England*. We bid him name whom he liked beſt. To confeſs you the Verity (ſaith he) I like as well of L. *Robert* as yourſelf, and wiſh him the ſame that you do, and will affirm the ſame alſo for my L. of *Murray*. It was ask'd, whereupon it ſtay'd? The Anſwer was, That he was not a King. It was ſaid, that Kingdoms were hard to come by, but where Queens were to be married. They wiſh'd him the beſt; and we confirmed the ſame. Many Things paſs'd our Mouths merrily, not worth the Rehearſal. In the End, thus ſaith the L. of *Lidington*, For both our Weals, I wiſh it might be thus, that your Miſtreſs would let mine marry where ſhe liſts, ſaving in thoſe Places where ſhe deſireth her to forbear, and give her ſome yearly Revenue out of the Realm of *England*, and by Parliament eſtabliſh unto her the Crown, if God of your Majeſtie do his Will, and leave you without Children: In this doing, your Majeſtie may have the Honour of having made the Marriage, and be known to the World to have uſed her as a dear and loving Siſter; and yet he doubted not, but that ſhould take Effect, that yet your Majeſtie deſireth in my Lord of *Lieceſter*. Many Perſwaſions were made on his Part, that your Majeſtie ſhould find it good; and as much was ſaid to the contrary as we could. We did put him in Remembrance of the Uncertainty of her Right, and Variety of Judgments for the Title; and ask'd him in Reaſon, why your Majeſtie ſhould ſo much ſeek her Contentment, ſeeing ſhe would do nothing that would ſatisfie your Majeſtie's Deſire? In the End, it was ſaid by my Lord of *Murray*, That there was nothing more needful for their Miſtreſs than to have theſe Matters put out of Doubt, and that ſhe could not long remain in theſe Terms, to be in an aſſured Friendſhip with no Man. Their Advice was to their Soveraign, that ſhe ſhould marry; the People crav'd it at her Hands; her Eſtate required it; and they the more earneſt to preſs her to it, becauſe ſome envious Men have ſpread abroad, that they would not that ſhe ſhould marry, that they alone might have the Government: Wherefore they warned and aſſured us, that if it took not Effect in *England* ſhortly, it muſt needs do elſewhere; and if that with theſe Conditions above ſpecified by him, or any other reaſonable, your Majeſtie would ſhew yourſelf contented, they promiſed that they would do to the uttermoſt of their Power to perſwade their Soveraign that it might take Effect, as your Majeſtie deſireth, towards my Lord *Robert*.

‘This, and like your Majeſtie, was the Effect of our Negotiation with theſe Lords; in the which, as near as we could poſſibly, we obſerved that

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which was given us in ſpecial Charge, nowiſe to exceed our Inſtructions, nor yet to have any Diminution of the old Friendſhip; which we have done to the uttermoſt of our Powers. Always we think it our Duties to ſignifie unto your Majeſtie, that by as much as we can gather by their Talk, their Miſtreſs intendeth ſo ſhortly as may be (within theſe five Months, as one of them ſaid) to join herſelf in League with ſome Prince or other, that her Subjects remain no longer in theſe doubtful Terms that hitherto ſhe hath held them in.

‘This being the Sum of what we thought worth to report to your Majeſtie, truſting that our good Wills, and hearty Deſire to deſerve well in all Charges, ſhall be acceptable towards your Highneſs; We pray Almighty God to preſerve long your Majeſtie's Life, to ſend your Grace a proſperous Government, and after many happy Years, perpetual Joy in the Kingdom of Chriſt. At *Berwick* the 23d Day of *November* 1564.

Your Majeſtie's moſt humble and obedient Servants and Subjects,

F. BEDFORD.

THO. RANDOLPHE.

Neither the Queen of *England*, nor the Earl of *Leiceſter*, very eager for our Queen's Marriage with that Nobleman.

This original Letter is not only well worth the Peruſal, as it ſerves to diſcloſe unto us the true Fact as it then paſſed, but likewiſe as it ſerves (like many others of theſe Letters) to confirm the Authority of what Mr. *Cambden* relates of our *Scottiſh* Affairs, in his *Hiſtory of the Life and Reign of Queen Elizabeth*. By the Accounts given by that Hiſtorian, and by Sir *James Melvil*, we have ground to believe that the Earl of *Leiceſter* had no mind to be very warm in the Buſineſs of the Marriage, and that Queen *Elizabeth* was herſelf afraid leſt it ſhould take Effect, and ſhe be thereby deprived of the Preſence of her Favourite. And indeed if ſome ſuch Thing was not at bottom, one may juſtly wonder to ſee ſuch trifling in the Affair, if the Queen of *England* had it as much at heart as ſhe pretended. This the *Scottiſh* Commiſſioners have ſo handſomely urged at the Conference, that they leave nothing for Perſons that come after them to obſerve. And both theſe Authors deliver it as their Opinion, that this Jealouſy was the chief Motive that induced Queen *Elizabeth* to allow the Lord *Darnly* to go into *Scotland*, at the Requeſt of his Mother, for the Space of three Months, under colour of enjoying a Share of the Satisfaction in his Father's Reſtoration; which was confirmed in the Parliament of *Scotland* in the Month of *December* following *(a)*. All our Hiſtorians are at Pains to inform us, that this Parliament was ſummoned *only* to take off the Earl of *Lenox*'s Forfeiture; and Mr. *Knox* farther ſays, that "tho' ſome "Articles were given in by the Church ..... there was nothing granted." But beſides the two Acts of this Parliament which are made publick (neither of them reſpecting the Earl of *Lenox*) we will ſee by the Abſtracts of the *Engliſh* Reſident's Letters *(b)*, that ſomething elſe did likewiſe paſs in the Parliament; and by the ſame Abſtracts, we will in like manner get a more clear and certain Light into the publick Tranſactions, than the private Hiſtorians afford us.

A Parliament in *Scotland*.

(a) Mr. *Knox* ſays, the Parliament was ordered to meet on the 13th Day of *December*; the printed Acts bear its Date to be the 15th; and Mr. *Randolph* takes notice, that our Parliament had already done Buſineſs on the 3d Day of *December*. Mr. *Buchanan* ſays, this Parliament was in the Month of *January* following: 'Tis ſurpriſing that ſo ſmall Credit is to be given to his very Dates of Parliaments, not only with reſpect to Days, but even Months. We ſhall find groſſer Miſtakes of the ſame kind, in this Author, afterwards.

(b) We have Abſtracts only of his Letters from the 2d of *December* this Year to the 17th of *March* following.

1564-5. An Abſtract of Mr. *Randolph*'s Letters out of *Scotland*, from the 2d of *December* 1564 to the 17th of *March* following *(a)*.

To Sir William Cecill, 2*d* December 1564.

Randolph *miſliketh that* Darnly *ſhould come*; *ſuſpecteth his Religion. The Earldom of* Angus *is confirmed to the young Earl (b), from my Lady* [Lenox] *and her Heirs, by the Queen*; *and that ſhe taketh to be better than to have her declared illegitimate, which was labour'd.* Scots *Queen offereth to be directed by* Murray *in her Marriage.*

To Sir William Cecill, 3*d (c)* December.

Lenox *reſtored, by Parliament called only for that purpoſe.* Murray *and* Lidington *write to Sir* William Cecill, *to know whether the Queen meaneth the Marriage with* Lieceſter. *This Queen made an Oration in the Parliament, ſhewing the Reaſon of reſtoring* Lenox; *and the rather, becauſe it was at the Requeſt and Suit of her Siſter of* England *(d).* Murray *has his Earldom, and* Grange, Ormiſton *and* Melros, *their Lands confirmed in this Parliament. Maſs made Forfeiture of Goods, Lands and Life, except in the Queen's Chappel.* Raulet, *her Secretary for the* French, *is clean out of Favour, for being, as it was reported, too familiar with one*; *and* Rizio *(e), an* Italian, *ſupplieth that Place.* Lenox *reporteth, that he hopeth the Queen will marry his Son.*

To Sir William Cecill, 24*th* December.

The Duke, Argile, *and* Ariskine *like well of this* Engliſh *Marriage with* Lieceſter. Shan-O-Neal *(f) deſireth Support out of* Scotland, *and offereth this Queen his Service.* Argile *is willing to do any thing againſt him.*

The Queen goes into *Fife*.

In the End of the Month of *January* 1564-5, the Queen made a ſhort Progreſs into *Fife*, viſiting the Towns and ſeveral of the Gentlemen of that Country. And while her Majeſty was at St. *Andrew*'s, we underſtand by the next Abſtract, that the *Engliſh* Reſident preſented to her Majeſty Letters from her Couſin of *England*.

To

(*a*) *Cotton* Library.

(*b*) The Counteſs of *Lenox* was the ſole Heir of her Father the Earl of *Angus*; and the Entailment of that Eſtate and Honour to the Male-Heir, was not very ſtrong: So it ſeems the Queen and Counteſs of *Lenox* have thought it adviſeable, in order to procure the Earl of *Morton*, and other Friends of the Family of *Angus*, to be Favourers of the Queen's Marriage with Lord *Darnly*, to confirm the Eſtate and Honour of *Angus* to the Male-Repreſentative, who was then young. The Readers will know, that the Male-Heir of the Family of *Angus* has attempted to ſet aſide the Counteſs of *Lenox*'s Right upon the Head of *Illegitimacy*, becauſe her Mother ſeparated from the Earl of *Angus* for Adultery.

(*c*) Perhaps this ſhould be 13th; and ſo the Difference of the Date of the ſitting down of our Parliament, would not be ſo wide.

(*d*) This was as publick a Declaration of the Fact, as our Queen could make; and 'tis to be preſumed that this, together with her Letter, *p.* 255. to Queen *Elizabeth*, will render the Fact indubitable.

(*e*) This being the firſt Time we have had occaſion to hear of this Man, who afterwards made ſo great Noiſe in our Country, 'tis fit here to give the Reader ſome ſmall Account of him: His Name was *David Riccio*, born at *Turin* in *Savoy*. His Father, who was but poor, bred him up and the reſt of his Children to Muſick. *David* went to the Town of *Nice*, where the Duke of *Savoy* then kept Court; and it was his Chance to be taken into the Service of *Monſ. Moret*, who was ſhortly to go Ambaſſador from that Duke into *Scotland*. The Queen had at this Time three *Valets de Chambre* who ſung three Parts in Muſick, but they wanted a Baſs to ſing the fourth Part. And *David Riccio* being a good Muſician, and a merry Fellow, they told her Majeſty of him, as a Perſon fit enough to make the fourth in Concert. It ſeems he had the Art to pleaſe her Majeſty ſo far, that ſhe thought fit to employ him ſome time in writing her *French* Letters, upon the Diſgrace of her former Secretary for that Language.

(*f*) An Account of this Perſon, and others of *Ireland* who diſturbed the Peace of the *Engliſh* Crown in that Realm, may be had from the *Engliſh* Hiſtorians.

To Sir William Cecill, *5th* February 1564-5.

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Randolph *preſenteth the Queen's Letters at St.* Andrew's *to the Queen, deſiring to know her Majeſtie's Anſwer to the Matter at* Berwick, *touching her Marriage. She anſwer'd after, That if the Queen will uſe her as her born Siſter or Daughter, ſhe will obey as a Siſter; but if not, ſhe muſt not look to be ſo far rul'd by her: For my Mind to my Lord* Robert *is as it ought to be to a noble Gentleman, and ſuch an one as your Miſtreſs would marry, if he were not her Subject; but in it your Miſtreſs may rule me, if ſhe pleaſe.* [*i. e.* as we may conjecture, by declaring our Queen preſumptive Heir to the Crown of *England*, &c.]

CHAP. VIII.

Continuation of State-Affairs from the Arrival of the Lord Darnly *into* Scotland *in the Month of* February 1564-5 *until the Marriage of this Lord with the Queen of* Scots, *in the Month of* July 1565.

THO' the Period aſſigned to this Chapter includes not a Space of Time much larger than the former, yet the Variety of Incidents that here occur, will afford a far larger Compaſs of Reading; and, like ſome others that follow, will prove an Entertainment ſo much the more agreeable to the Minds of the Readers, as the Things herein to be mentioned are not ſuſpended upon the uncertain and deſultory Accounts of either partial or private Intelligencers, but are conveyed to them from the very pureſt and moſt defecated Chanels, the Mouths of the then two *Britiſh* Sovereign Ladies, the Determinations of their Cabinet-Councils, and the Diſpatches of their immediate Servants and Miniſters of State.

To Sir William Cecill, *19th* February.

Lord Darnly preſents himſelf before the Queen.

Darnly *comes to Court* (a), *and well received* (b). *It is ſuſpected that his Preſence may hinder other Purpoſes, and that his Religion is Popiſh.* Glencairden *and* Morton *much diſlike him, and wiſh him away.*

To Sir William Cecill, *4th* March.

Murray *of* Tillibarden *come from* Bothwell *out of* France, *to ſue for ſome Favour, either Liberty to return, or Means to live there: They think him worthy of no Favour that conſpir'd to kill the Queen, and thoſe in Credit about her. The Cardinal practiſeth to match the Queen, either to the Duke of* Orleans, *or the* French *King; and for that purpoſe,* D'Oſell *ſent to* Rome *for a Diſpenſation. The Queen diſtaſteth her Uncle's meddling, and is wil-*

(*a*) Her Majeſty was then in the Caſtle of *Wemyſs* in *Fife*. Mr. *Buchanan* fixes the Date of the Lord *Darnly*'s Arrival about the 13th of *February*; Mr. *Knox* about the 20th; Mr. *Stow* of *England* ſays, his Lordſhip went from *London* on the 3d Day of *February*; and Mr. *Holinſhed*, that he came to the Queen's Preſence, in the *Wemyſs*, the 9th Day of *February*.

(*b*) Sir *James Melvil* ſays, the Queen "took very well with him, and ſaid he was the propereſt and beſt proportioned long "Man that ever ſhe had ſeen; for (*adds he*) he was long and ſmall, even and ſtraight." He was then only in the Twentieth Year of his Age. *Camden* reports, that he obtained Liberty to come into *Scotland* by the importunate Suit of his Mother. And 'tis true that Sir *James Melvil* had a ſecret Charge to deal with my Lady *Lenox*, to endeavour to procure Liberty for him to go to *Scotland*. See his Memoirs, *p.* 48. But if Queen *Elizabeth* was ſo highly offended at the Father's good Reception in *Scotland*, why did ſhe at all allow the Son to go after him, eſpecially ſince Mr *Randolph* had already advertiſed her, that *Lenox* had hopes that our Queen would marry his Son? And by the Conference at *Berwick* in *November* laſt, 'tis evident the Miniſtry of *England* were aware of ſuch a Project. There muſt have been ſome Court-Myſtery here.

1564-5. *ling to be directed by her Siſter of* England. *An* Italian Piemonteſe, *a Singer that came hither with Monſ.* Moret, *is in Place of* Raulet *her Secretary for the* French. *The King of* Denmark *warneth her Subjects to traffick no more with* Sweden, *nor to paſs the* Sound.

To Sir William Cecill, *15th* March.

The Queen miſliketh Bothwell'*s coming home, and hath ſummoned him to undergo the Law, or be proclaim'd a Rebel. He is charg'd to have ſpoken diſhonourably of the Queen, and to have threatned to kill* Murray *and* Lidington. David Pringle, *one of* Bothwell'*s Servants, will verifie it.*

To Sir William Cecill, *17th* March.

The Scottiſh *Queen deſireth a Paſport for* Lidington *to go through* England *into* France. *The Cardinal of* Lorrain *and* Grandville *have adviſed her not to be over-haſty to match with* England. *The Queen here grieved at the Queen's Anſwer, and miſlikes to have any more Delay mov'd, for ſhe hath abus'd her in ſpending of her Time (a), and now will not declare her Title, until herſelf be married, or declare ſhe will not marry.*

The *Scottiſh* Secretary ſent into *England.*

By the above Abſtract, we are informed of a Deſign in the Queen to ſend her Secretary into *France*. But whatever Intention might have been given out, I ſuppoſe it will appear by the Sequel, that that Gentleman went no farther than *England* at this Time. Mr. *Knox* ſays, the Queen was at *Stirling* when ſhe gave Order to Secretary *Lethington* to paſs into *England*, and that the chief Point of his Meſſage was to declare to the Queen of *England*, that the Queen was minded to marry her Couſin the Lord *Darnly*. And Mr. *Cambden* ſays, *Lethington* was ſent to Queen *Elizabeth*, to gain her Conſent for conſummating a Marriage with the Lord *Darnly*, and that ſhe might not be debarred ſo natural a Privilege upon Hopes and Proſpects merely precarious. To confirm in part the Meſſage entruſted to the Secretary, I have put into the *Appendix (b)* a Copy of the Commiſſion and full Powers delivered to him by the Queen in moſt ample Form.

We have been informed in the general by the Hiſtorians, that our leading Men were not very well pleaſed with the Proſpect of the Queen's marrying the Lord *Darnly*. But for a more particular Detail of what was a doing *here* betwixt them and their Friends in *England*, and of ſome other State-Buſineſs at the Time, we can have no better Information than by the following Letter.

A Letter from Mr. Randolph *to Sir* William Cecill, *20th* March *1564-5 (c).*

Letter from the *Engliſh* Reſident, containing ſeveral private Motions, Animoſities, &c. in *Scotland.*

'WHatſoever I have wrote unto my Lord of *Lieceſter*, I doubt not but your Honour is privy thereunto, and therefore to write the ſame again ſhould be double Pains. Of this Queen's Anſwer, and how the Matter was taken that I broke laſt with her Grace touching the Queen's Majeſtie's Reſolution, I have written to his Lordſhip; and becauſe there are diverſe other Things here which I deſire ſhould come to your Honour's Knowledge, which put me in great Doubt that either Troubles ſhall ariſe among themſelves, or ſome Unkindneſs grow between the Queen's Majeſtie and her Well-willers here, I thought good to put that in a Letter to yourſelf, to be conſidered of as you find juſt Cauſe.

'I hear daily ſo many and grievous Complaints of the State and Government of this Country, that either there is great lack of Wiſdom in theſe that have the chief Charge to direct all Things as they ought to be, or great Fault in

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(a) Obſerve how exactly Mr. *Cambden* narrates this ſame Thing.

(b) Numb. 5.

(c) Calig. B. 10. an Original.

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the Subjects, that through their Diſobedience, no good Order (be it never ſo well deviſed) can be obſerved. What Troubles have ariſen in this Country for Religion, your Honour knoweth: All Things are now grown into ſuch a Liberty, and her Grace taken unto herſelf ſuch a Will to do therein what ſhe liſts; that of late, contrary to her own Ordonances, as great Numbers have repaired to her Chappel, to hear Maſs, as ſometimes come to the common Church to hear Sermon. To have her Mind alter'd for this Freedom, ſhe deſireth to have all Men live as they liſt; ſhe can hardly be brought, and thinketh it too great a Subjection for her being a Prince in her own Country, to have her Will broken therein. The Subjects that deſire to live in the true Worſhip and Fear of God, offer rather their Lives again to be ſacrificed, than that they would ſuffer again ſuch an Abomination, yea almoſt permit herſelf to enjoy the Maſs, which is now more plainly and openly ſpoken againſt by the Preachers than ever was the Pope of *Rome*. This kindleth in her a Deſire to revenge, and breedeth in others a Liberty to ſpeak, and a Will to attempt to mend That by Force, which by no other means they can get reformed. What this may grow unto, except ſome ſpeedy Help be put unto it, I leave your Honour to think. For myſelf, I would I were far enough from the Sight of it. [There were] two notable Blaſphemies againſt God, yet not worthily puniſhed, though ſomewhat with Difficulty enough to have the Doers committed to Priſon. A Schoolmaſter at *Haddingtoun* made a Play to exerciſe his Scholars againſt the Miniſters, and baptized a Cat in the Name of the Father, the Son, &c. One of the Queen's Chappel, a ſinging Man, ſaid, that he believed as well a Tale of *Robin Hood* as any Word is written in the *Old Teſtament* or the *New (a)*. Her own Maſs, and the Reſort unto it; ſuch Blaſphemies as theſe unpuniſhed; her Will to continue Papiſtry, and her Deſire to have all Men live as they liſt, ſo offendeth the godly Mens Conſciences *(b)*, and ſo many beſides that deſire Alteration, that it is continually feared that theſe Matters will ſhortly break out to ſome greater Miſchief. By the way I will tell your Honour a merry Tale, but very true, which commonly Tales are not: There is one that attendeth upon this Court called *Moffet*, who commonly once in three Years entreth into a Phrenzy. Within theſe twenty Days his Paſſion taketh him with ſuch an Imagination that he is the Queen's Husband. A great Proteſtant he is, and very godly when he is in his Wits: He came one Day into the Queen's Chappel, and finding the Prieſt at Maſs, drew out his Sword, drove the Prieſt from the Altar into the Veſtry, broke the Chalice, and threw and pulled to Pieces all the Robes and Reliques; Croſs, Candleſticks, and all that was there, were cut and broken. The Maſs-ſayer was the Doctor of *Sorbon*, and at the hearing of it was the Queen's Phyſician, and (as he ſaith himſelf) never in greater Fear of his Life, and hid himſelf behind the Tapeſtry untill this Execution of this Maſs-god was paſt. This doth as much anger the Queen, as it doth pleaſe many others, to have her ſacred Place thus diſturbed.

'These often Debates, theſe common Controverſies between her Nobles, muſt needs bring great diſliking; and ſo often renewed, yea almoſt daily, to her Grace's Grief to hear of them, muſt needs grow to a Miſchief, and as they ſay, ***erumpere in nervum***. Above all the reſt this is that is feared (that will be the Breach of all good Accord and Quietneſs of this Eſtate, though the reſt be born with) that is, if ſhe match herſelf with a Papiſt, by whom ſhe may be fortified to her Intent. Of this Point there is no ſmall Care taken, and much Doubt riſen what ſhall become of thoſe who in Times paſt have ſo far attempted as to eſtabliſh here Churches, &c. without her Conſent. Sometime they

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(*a*) Mr. *Knox* relates the ſame Story, but with this Adjection, *viz. except it were confirmed by the Doctors of the Church*: Which Adjection however makes a conſiderable Alteration; tho' it was ſtill a very raſh and imprudent manner of talking, ſince 'tis probable the Man (whoſe Name was *Alexander Stephan*) meant no more than that the Scripture is believed to be the Word of God upon *external Evidence* only. A Poſition which has been held by a great many both good and learned Men.

(*b*) And yet theſe *godly* Men begg'd only that Liberty ſome few Years ago. Some of them were *ungodly* enough.

1564-5. ‘ take Advice to be Suitor unto the Queen's [of *England*] Majeſtie, that ſhe will be ſo careful of this Eſtate, and with thoſe that with all Reverence and humble Sort are ready to ſerve her, and obey her next unto their own Soveraign, that ſhe will ſo work and travel, yea and ſo provide for her in Marriage, that they may be void in that Care which now they do doubt, which they think can be noway ſo well, as if theſe Matters that have been ſo long in Conſultation took Effect, as to match her with my Lord of *Lieceſter*, being himſelf a Proteſtant, ſhould eaſily enough bring her to be of the ſame Religion, or, at the leaſt, cauſe her deal more moderately in theſe Matters than yet ſhe doth. If this take not Effect, whereunto ſhe is now meetly well inclined, aſſuredly, whomſoever ſhe doth marry, it ſhall be greatly to their Diſcontentment; beſides other Things that are to be doubted of the Inconveniencies that may ariſe between the two Realms, as if ſhe either ally herſelf with *France* again, or match with *Spain*, whereof what Likelihood there is, or how ſhe is able to bring it to paſs, your Honour may know much more than I. But to what End this Journey of my Lord of *Lidington* is to the Cardinal *(a)*, and what Devices are between *Grandville* and him, I know no further than what I wrote in my laſt Letter. One Thing I muſt alſo ſay, that Men here that either love the Commonwealth, or know what Benefit it is to live in Peace, think this Country happy, if they may get (as they call him ſtill here) my Lord *Robert*.

‘ I have over long held your Honour in one Purpoſe, having ſo many Matters to write, which I will lay before your Honour's Eyes as plainly and truly as I can, and leave the Judgment to yourſelf; for further is not my Part to wade.

‘ I have been always of Opinion, that my Lord *Lenox*'s coming into this Country might do more Hurt than Good, wherein I never had ſo much Reſpect unto himſelf, or any other Man here, as I did what theſe Men ſhould judge of my Soveraign; or whether it might be an occaſion of altering diverſe Mens Affections towards her Majeſtie *(b)*, who was, and yet is accounted a Protector and Defender of the Godly of this Realm, and in whom they had always ſuch Truſt and Hope, that as ſhe hath delivered them out of their Enemies Hands, ſo would ſhe have a continual Care over them, and keep off from them ſuch Inconveniencies as may fall upon them. My Lord of *Lenox* is come home, reſtored and eſtabliſhed in his Lands, in Place and Credit with the Queen, an Inſtrument, and ready to ſerve her againſt any, eſpecially thoſe whom ſhe moſt diſliketh. To this End he fortifieth himſelf; he joineth with theſe in moſt ſtrict Familiarity that are noted greateſt Enemies to all Vertue, as *Athole* and *Caithneſs*, Earls; *Ruthven (c)* and *Hume*, Lords; the Lord *Robert*, vain and nothing worth, a Man full of all Evil, the whole Guider and Ruler of my Lord *Darnly*. Theſe Things being ſpied and noted unto the World, it is eaſy to ſee whereunto they are bent, that in their Hearts are Enemies to the Truth, and deſire nothing ſo much as the Subverſion of thoſe that have been Maintainers of the ſame; as in ſpecial the Duke, the Earls *Murray* and *Argile*, who now perceiving their Intents, ſeek, by the beſt Means that they can, to prevent the ſame. Their chief Truſt next unto God is the Queen's Majeſtie, whom they will repoſe themſelves upon, not leaving in the mean Seaſon to provide for themſelves the beſt they can *(d)*. My Lord *Argile* has taken into his Defence in all his juſt Actions, the Earl of *Montgomery*, alias *Eglintoun*, and intendeth to make a Marriage between the Earl of *Caſſils* and the Duke's Daughter; or if that cannot be, between him and the Counteſs of *Crawford* his near Kinſwoman, and the greateſt Marriage in *Scotland*. To both theſe Earls, my Lord of *Lenox* hath Actions,

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(*a*) This confirms Mr. *Knox*'s Account of the Secretary's Meſſage into *France*.

(*b*) Is not this a plain Inſinuation that his Miſtreſs has had a hand in ſending *Lenox* into *Scotland*?

(*c*) Yet this Lord was a great Reformer of the Vices at Court, when he butcher'd *Riccio*.

(*d*) Here the Aſſociation is a forming, which afterwards broke out into open Rebellion.

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ons, who being now thus join'd in Friendſhip, ſhall be able enough to defend themſelves, or if he intend any thing by way of Deed, ſhall be able enough to debate their Quarrels; always they are loth to come to this, and are ſorry that any ſuch Gueſt is ſuffered to come amongſt them, that may give occaſion to enter into ſuch Terms, as now they are forced unto. It is now found by the wiſeſt among them, how great an Overſight it was in them to give their Advices to let him come home; and becauſe it was much eaſier to have been ſtay'd by the Queen's Majeſtie, than to be withſtood here, when this Queen's Affection towards his Return was known. They are ſorry that her Majeſtie did ſo much yield unto her Will, to let him come, who may, and is like enough to be the Occaſion of ſo great Troubles Of my Lord *Darnly* they have this Opinion, that in Wiſdom he doth not much differ from his Father: The Honour, Countenance and Entertainment that he hath had here, maketh him think no little thing of himſelf Some perſwade him, that there is no leſs good Will-born unto him by many of this Nation, than that they think him a fit Party for ſuch a Queen. How eaſily a young Man ſo born in hand, daily in Preſence, well uſed, continually in Company, either of the beſt or next about her, may be induced, either by himſelf to attempt, or by Perſwaſions of others to imagine, I leave it to the Judgment of others. Of this Queen's Mind hitherto towards him, I am void of Suſpicion *(a)*, but what Affection may be ſtir'd up in her, or, whether ſhe will be at any time mov'd that way, ſeeing ſhe is a Woman, and in all Things deſireth to have her Will, I cannot ſay. This is alſo needful for your Honour to underſtand, that this Queen hath conceived Diſpleaſure towards my Lord of *Argile*. Her Hatred is ſtill mortal towards the Duke, which lately burſt out in over many Words, and in too many Mens hearing. He thinketh himſelf in evil Caſe: I find him more pitied, and better beloved than ever he was *(b)*. He keepeth continually at home: Few of his Name repair to the Court; they ſeek all quietly to live, and through Innocency, or Not-offence of late, to avoid all Dangers that are intended, or what Miſchief ſoever ſhall be practiſed againſt them, whereof they do moſt aſſure themſelves, if this Queen do marry any other than my Lord of *Lieceſter*, but eſpecially if ſhe ſhall take my Lord *Darnly*. This putteth no ſmall Fear alſo among the *Douglaſſes*; for what Cauſe, your Honour knoweth *(c)*: With diverſe of them of late I have had ſome Talk; I maintain them in good Hope the beſt I can, that there is no Danger that way. From the Duke I have received this Meſſage, that he cannot be without Fear of the Overthrow of his Houſe, if the Lord *Darnly* marry the Queen As he hath hitherto ſhew'd himſelf Friend and Servant unto the Queen's Majeſtie, and he hopeth not a little but he ſhall always have occaſion to ſerve and honour her during his Life, and makes his whole Life bound unto her for ever; He did put me in Remembrance of a Letter written unto him by the Queen a little before his Soveraign's home-coming, aſſuring him of her Majeſtie's Favour and Support, if any thing ſhould be unjuſtly attempted againſt him, he doing his Duty to his Soveraign. He will therefore repoſe himſelf wholely upon the Queen's Majeſtie, and deſireth her Highneſs to have her Care over him, as one willing to ſerve her, and may hereafter be able to be a Friend at Commandment *(d)*. Of this Meſſage was my Lord [*Gavin Hamilton* Abbot] of *Kilwinning* Meſſenger, and the ſame again confirmed by my Lord of *Argile*, who for his own Part offereth all Service that lyeth in his Power, and of whom I have received the Effect of that which I have written in my whole Letter. Theſe Things I doubt not ſhall be weighed and conſidered by your Honour.

(*a*) Mr. *Randolph* ſeems to have been dup'd here by our Queen. Other People remarked her Affection riſe very quickly toward this young Lord.

(*b*) By *Murray* no doubt and his Aſſociates, who wanted only to ſerve a preſent Turn, of his Grace.

(*c*) By reaſon of the juſt Claim the Counteſs of *Lenox* had to the Earldom of *Angus*.

(*d*) Had this noble Peer dealt leſs with the Queen of *England*, he had made a better Figure in *Scotland*.

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'To help all theſe Unhaps, I doubt not but you will take the beſt way; and this I can aſſure, that contrary to my Soveraign's Will, let them attempt, let them ſeek, or let them ſend to all the Cardinals or Devils in Hell, it ſhall paſs their Power to bring any thing to paſs; ſo that that be not refus'd her that in Reaſon ought to content her. How long the Kindneſs will ſtand between my Lord of *Murray* and Lord of *Lenox*, your Honour may judge by this, that my Lord of *Lenox* hath join'd himſelf with thoſe whom my Lord of *Murray* thinketh worſt of in *Scotland*; what Opinion the young Lord hath conceived of him, that lately talking with Lord *Robert*, who ſhewed him in the *Scottiſh* Map what Lands my Lord of *Murray* had, and in what Bounds, the Lord *Darnly* ſaid, that it was too much. This came to my Lord of *Murray*'s Ears, and ſo to the Queen, who adviſed my Lord *Darnly* to excuſe himſelf to my Lord of *Murray*.

'Though theſe be no Matters to make or take Quarrels for, yet theſe Suſpicions, Doubts and Heart-burnings between theſe Noblemen, may break out to great Inconveniencies. And for my own Particular, I would not greatly care (though this be unadviſedly ſpoken, for I know there is of many of theſe much good Will born unto me) which End were forward *(a)*, ſo that the Queen's Majeſtie may ever be thought of, and repair'd to, to be a Patron and Friend to this Nation, as preſently ſhe is.——Moſt humbly I take my Leave. At *Edinburgh* the 20th of *March* 1564.

Your Honour's bounden
ever at Command,

THO. RANDOLPHE.

The Secretary of *Scotland* arrives at *London*; and thereupon enſues

Upon the Arrival of the *Scottiſh* Secretary at *London (b)*, his Commiſſion was laid before the Privy-Council of that Kingdom, wherein ſeveral vigorous Reſolutions were taken to impede our Queen's Marriage with the Lord *Darnly*, as may be ſeen in *Cambden* and *Knox*: However the following original Papers will let us in to a more circumſtantiate View of ſome ſucceeding Events, than what the private Writers have related; as likewiſe into the Knowledge of others, which they have either omitted, or had not the Opportunity themſelves to know.

A Determination of the Privy-Council of England *upon the Marriage for the Queen of* Scots, *1ſt* May 1565 *(c)*.

A Determination by the Privy Council of *England*.

'THE Queen's Majeſtie having underſtood from her good Siſter the Queen of *Scots*, by her principal Secretary the L. of *Lidington*, that the Queen his Miſtreſs continuing in her former Intention to require the Advice of the Queen's Majeſtie in her Marriage; and having for her ſake, as he ſaith, foreborn to hearken to the matching with any foreign Prince, hath thought meet to ſend him hither to underſtand her Majeſtie's Mind in a Matter mov'd to the Queen his Miſtreſs, for a Marriage with the Lord *Darnly*, what her Majeſtie liketh thereof; and further, to let her Majeſtie underſtand, that if the Queen his Miſtreſs may have her Majeſtie's good Will and Aſſent thereto, ſhe could incline herſelf to the ſame. Hereupon, although her Majeſtie at the firſt found this Matter very ſtrange and unlikely on the Part, as well of her Siſter, as on the Part of the Parents of the Lord *Darnly* himſelf, being her Majeſtie's Subjects *(d)*, and ſo much bound to her and the Crown of *England*, as none could be more: Yet her Majeſtie thought it very fit to com-

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(*a*) This Gentleman will eaſily obtain Credit in this. He was indeed a complete Tool for his Miſtreſs's evil Purpoſes.

(*b*) He arrived at *Weſtminſter* the 18th *April*.

(*c*) Calig. B. 10. a Copy.

(*d*) They might be called in Truth, Subjects of the Crown of *England*, from the Time that *Matthew* Earl of *Lenox* ſurrendred himſelf to King *Henry* VIII. of that Kingdom.

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'communicate this Meſſage to her Privy-Council, and to underſtand their Advices in the ſame; and to this Intent, the Counſellers whoſe Names be underwritten, were made privy to the Meſſage above mentioned, and to all other Circumſtances thereunto conveniently belonging.

'And after ſundry Conferences and long Deliberations, and many Arguments among themſelves, they all with one Aſſent and Judgment thought this Marriage of my L. *Darnly*, being attended with ſuch Circumſtances as therein do appear, to be unmeet, unprofitable, and directly prejudicial to the ſincere Amity between both the Queens, and conſequently perillous to the Continuance of the mutual Good, Concord and Tranquillity that at preſent is known to be, and were to be earneſtly deſired on both Parts to be made perpetual betwixt both the Realms; and therefore the ſaid Counſellers did for further Advice therein, think meet that if the Proceeding in this intended Marriage with the L. *Darnly*, ſhould depend upon the Queen's Majeſtie's Aſſent, ſhe ſhould do well not to accord thereunto, but according to the Proceſſion of the ſincere Amity that is betwixt their Majeſties, and in reſpect of the Continuance of the common Tranquillity, ſhould move her to forbear from this, as a thing plainly prejudicial to them both, and conſequently dangerous to the Weal of both their Countries (*a*), and offer unto her an free Election of any other of the Nobility, either in this whole Realm or Iſle, or in any other Place, being ſuitable to her Place, and agreeable to both the Realms (*b*); and therein alſo for her Satisfaction, to yield unto her as much Friendſhip and Benefit, as upon further Conference might be deviſed to be; firſt, as honourable as this is that is intended; and ſecondly, more commodious to both the Princes, and more profitable and plauſible to the Nobility and common People of both the Realms.

'Wherein the ſaid Counſellers (thinking the like of the reſt of the Nobility and Sage-Men of the Realm) did for their Parts, according to their moſt bounden Duties, humbly offer unto her Majeſtie, that whatſoever ſhould ſeem meet, and would be adviſed for the Queen of *Scots*, with ſome other meeter Marriage, being agreeable to the Honour of God, and Juſtice, and convenient, to maintain the Concord and Amity already begun between the two Realms, the ſame ſhould be allowed with their Advices, and furthered with their Services at all Times, when her Majeſtie ſhould command them, according to their moſt humble and loyal Duties: Whereupon they do firmly truſt, that if the Matter may be firmly thought upon and conſidered by wiſe and good Men on both Parts, good Succeſs may enſue, to the Honour and Comfort of both the Princes, and to the eſtabliſhing of a perpetual Concord, Peace and Tranquillity betwixt the two Nations (*c*). *Primo Maij* 1565, *Anno ſeptimo Elizabethæ Reginæ*.

WINCHESTER.	E. ROGERS.	RY. CAKEBYLE.
NORTHFOLK.	F. KNOLLYS.	EDWARD DERBY.
PEMBROKE.	WILLIAM PETRES.	W. HOWARD.
E. CLYNTON.	JOHN MASONE.	W. CECILL.

At the End of this Determination, the following Note is ſet down by S. R. Cotton, viz. *This is the Copy of the Paper delivered to Sir* Nicholas Throckmorton.

(*a*) 'Tis a pity this wiſe Council had not condeſcended on ſome particular Prejudices and Dangers this Marriage might bring to the two Queens and their Realms: However, tho' it were no difficult Matter to apprehend ſome of them; yet the Readers will ſee in the Appendix, Numb. 6. a more authentick Account of theſe drawn out by Sir *William Cecil*.

(*b*) In other Words, either to have no Husband at all; or to have a certain Perſon impoſed. One of which was no doubt the chief and ſole View of the Queen and Miniſtry of *England*. "The ſharpeſt Thorn, ſays *Caſtelnau*, that ever the Queen of *England* dreaded, was a potent Allianee to be made by the Queen of *Scots*."

(*c*) What Mr. *Camden* writes concerning *military Force* reſolved upon about this Time, will appear to have been true enough by ſubſequent original Papers.

1565. Upon the breaking up of this Council, the Queen of *England* loſt no Time, but gave immediately Orders to Sir *Nicholas Throckmorton* to repair into *Scotland*, and commune with our Queen concerning her intended Marriage. The Contents of that Gentleman's Inſtructions, and the Anſwers he received, will beſt appear by what follows.

Sir Nicholas Throckmorton *to the Queen of* England, *concerning his Negotiation with the Queen of* Scots, *21ſt* May 1565 *(a)*.

And a Meſſage into *Scotland* by Sir *Nicholas Throckmorton*.

‘MAY it pleaſe your Majeſtie to underſtand, that by my former Letters of this Inſtant from *Berwick* to the Earl of *Liecester* and Mr. Secretary, you might perceive ſuch Intelligence as I had received, both from Mr. *Randolph* your Majeſtie's Agent in this Country, as alſo otherwiſe concerning the Forwardneſs of this Queen's Affection in the matter of her Marriage; as alſo of ſuch former Honours as were intended by the ſaid Queen to be conferred on the Lord *Darnly*. Since which Time, accompanied with the L. of *Lidington (b)*, I paſs'd from *Berwick* to the Caſtle of *Dunbar* the 12th of *May*, and lodged there that Night, where I found the L. *Gordon* eldeſt Son to the Earl of *Huntly*, a condemned Man for High-Treaſon: There the L. of *Lidington* made me a very good Supper. The next Day we arrived together at *Edinburgh*, where I did communicate with Mr. *Randolph* your Majeſtie's Inſtructions given unto me for this Legation: There the L. of *Lidington* received a new Commandment to ſeek and uſe ſome Means to ſtay me at *Edinburgh* three or four Days, alledging the Queen's Infirmity at that preſent, and alſo that no Order was as then given for my lodging at *Stirling*. Nevertheleſs the ſaid L. of *Lidington* departed in great Diligence towards *Stirling*, and left me at *Edinburgh*, making me privy to his Charge, and remitting me to my own liking; where I learn'd by the means of Mr. *Randolph*, that this Queen intended to make the L. *Darnly* Knight and Baron, and alſo to create him Earl of *Roſs* the 15th of *May*, and the 16th to create him Duke of *Albany*. The Collation of all which Honours, her Mind was ſhould be paſt and accompliſhed before my Arrival at her Court. Whereupon the 14th I departed from *Edinburgh* to *Linlithgow*, and lodged there that Night. The 15th I arrived in the Morning at *Stirling*, and deſcended from my Horſe at the Caſtle-Gate, having ſent before my Couſin *Middlemore*, your Majeſtie's Servant, to demand my Audience. At my Arrival at the Caſtle, the Gates were ſhut againſt me; whether it proceeded from Fear, or of ſome other Paſſion, I know not. I thus remaining ſome time before the Gate, there came unto me the Maſter of *Arskine* and the Juſtice-Clerk, who deſir'd me, on the Queen their Miſtreſs's Behalf, to retire unto my Lodging which was appointed in the Town, ſaying that after I had repoſed myſelf, the Queen did mind to give me Audience. I preſs'd to have Audience forthwith, in as much as I did underſtand the Creations were to take Effect that Day; which I thought meet, for your Majeſtie's better Service, to prevent, and to defer by all the good means I could. Nothwithſtanding, my Requeſt could not be admitted, and thereupon I departed to my Lodging; to which Place, about Two of the Clock in the Afternoon, the Lords *Arskin* and *Ruthven* (two of the Queen's Privy-Council) came unto me, to accompany me from thence unto the Queen, whom I found in the Caſtle accompanied with the Duke of *Chatelerault*, the Earls of *Argile*, *Murray (c)*, *Morton*, *Athole*,

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(*a*) Calig. B. 10. a Copy.

(*b*) By Abſtracts of Letters out of *Scotland*, &c. written by Secretary *Cecil's* own Hand, it appears that Sir *Nicholas* and the *Scots* Secretary came in Company together from *London*. Theſe Abſtracts are continued from the 18th of *November* 1564, till the 19th *September* 1565, and ſhall be entirely inſerted in the Appendix; and therefore to ſave the Trouble of making continual Notes and Obſervations, I would wiſh my Readers to read theſe along with this Part of our Hiſtory, and to adjuſt the one by the other.

(*c*) Mr. *Buchanan* ſeems to ſay, that the Earl of *Murray* choſe to be abſent from this Convention; he ſays likewiſe, that it conſiſted moſtly of Court-Favourites: But the Regiſter here will ſhew, that few Parliaments have been ſo numerous in Nobility.

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The Negotiation whereof he communicates to the Queen of *England*;

Athole, *Glencairden*, and ſundry other Earls and Barons, ſo as it appears there were abſent very few of the Nobility of this Realm (*a*). I delivered your Letter to this Queen, and proceeded with her according to your Majeſtie's Inſtructions (*b*): And after I had declared unto her your Majeſtie's good Acceptation of her Conformity to uſe your Advice in her Marriage, as you did well perceive in her Ambaſſador the L. of *Lidington*; I did ſet forth your Majeſtie's Diſliking (*c*) and Diſallowance of her haſty proceeding with my Lord *Darnly*, as well for the Matter, as for the Manner, wherein ſhe err'd by Unadviſedneſs and Raſhneſs; and the ſaid Lord *Darnly* and his Parents had fail'd in their Duties, by their arrogant and preſumptuous Attempts to enterprize a Matter of ſo great Conſequence, without making you privy thereunto, being your Subjects.

‘ The Queen anſwered, That ſhe had not fail'd on her Behalf to communicate the Matter unto your Majeſtie in Time (that was to ſay) aſſoon as ſhe was reſolv'd of the Manner and the Matter; for other Promiſe, ſhe never made any, than to communicate unto your Majeſtie the Perſon whom ſhe would like to chuſe. And as for your Majeſtie's miſliking of the Match, ſhe marvelled not a little thereat, becauſe ſhe did but uſe her Choice according to your

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(*a*) In the Abſtracts of the Privy Council I find the following one, 15. *Maij* 1565, *Præſente Regina, Sederunt, Dux, Comites Morton, Murray, Glencairne, Athole; Domini Erskine, Ruthven, James Maxwell de Terregleis: Secretarius, Clericus Juſticiariæ, Regiſtri, Advocatus, Theſaurarius. Extraordinarii, ratione conventionis, Comites Crawford, Eglinton, Caſſils, Rothes, Cathneſs; Domini Home, Gray, Glamis, Borthwick, Zeſter, Fleming, Levinſton, Sempil, Roſs, Lindeſay, Lovet, Boyd; Somervcil; Magiſter de Graham, Magiſter de Sinclair.* At this Convention Mr. *Buchanan* takes notice, that not one Perſon oppoſed the Queen's Marriage, except *Andrew Stewart* Lord of *Ochiltree*; and yet in the above Liſt, Lord *Ochiltree* is not ſo much as marked to have been preſent. Thus we ſee the ſlender Truſt People ought to give this Author, when not ſupported by better Credentials than his own bare and bold Aſſertion. Mr. *Knox* was married on this Lord's Siſter; and yet he mentions no ſuch thing concerning him, tho' he takes notice of this Convention pretty largely. The Liſt given here by the Abſtract is exactly the ſame with that copied out of the Regiſter by Mr. *Robert Miln*, with the Chriſtian Names of the Members at full length; only in this Copy are added, *Robertus Commendatarius Sanctæ Crucis, Gavinus Commendatarius de Kilwyning, Andreas Commendatarius de Jedburgh, Jacobus Commendatarius Inſulæ Sancti Columbi, Joannes Commendatarius de Balmerynoch.* And Mr. *Miln* adjects this *Nota*, viz. *This is the firſt Time that Commendators have ſat in Council after the Queen's Return from* France.

(*b*) In which it may be thought was contained the Determination of that Queen's Privy-Council, according to Sir *Robert Cotton*'s Obſervation at the Bottom of the preceeding Paper.

(*c*) Both *Buchanan* and *Knox* acknowledge that this Marriage was very generally believed not to be contrary to the Queen of *England*'s liking, whatever Grimace ſhe might put on. And I have thought fit here to ſet down the *French* Agent, *Monſ. Caſtelnau de Mauviſſiere*'s Sentiments of this Matter. This Gentleman, ſpeaking of our Queen's Marriage with foreign Princes, ſaith, “ But all theſe great Alliances were equally diſagreeable to the Queen of *England*, who never dreaded a ſharper Thorn in her Foot than ſome potent foreign Alliance to be made by the Queen of *Scotland*, whoſe Kingdom lyes ſo cloſe upon hers, that they are only ſeparated by a Fordable River; and ſo ſhe might be eaſily annoyed from thence by a bad Neighbour.——— This the Queen of *England* foreſeeing, caſt her Eyes on the young Lord *Darnly*, to make a Preſent of him to the *Scottiſh* Queen———and found means to perſwade the ſaid Queen of *Scots*, by ſeveral powerful Conſiderations, that there was not a Marriage in Chriſtendom which could bring her more certain Advantages, together with the eventual Succeſſion to the Kingdom of *England*, which ſhe (the Queen of *Scots*) pretended to be lodged in her Perſon, than this with the Lord *Darnly*; becauſe they Two being joined in Matrimony, with the Conſent of the Queen of *England* and the wiſeſt Men in both the Kingdoms, would fortify each other's Title, and ſo take out of the way many Scruples which in the Event of Time might come to diſturb theſe two neighbouring States———Now this Purpoſe was the more ſpeedily executed, that it was approved by thoſe in whom the Queen of *Scots* repoſed moſt Confidence, namely, the Earl of *Murray*, baſtard Brother to that Queen, who had the Management of all her Affairs, the Laird of *Lethington* her Secretary of State, and their Confederates, who were all gained over to perſwade their Miſtreſs, not only to receive the ſaid Lord *Darnly* kindly, and to give him a new Title to his Father's Eſtate, but likewiſe to yield a favourable Ear to the marrying of him, as being more uſeful to her for obtaining the Crown of *England* than any other: And moreover, to repreſent to her, that if ſhe ſhould think of marrying either in *France* or *Spain*, the Expences and Difficulties of accompliſhing the ſame, would be greater than *Scotland* could well bear. Beſides, that ſuch a Marriage would not fail to create a Jealouſy in the Queen of *England*, who could take none at all againſt the Lord *Darnly*, her own Subject, and her own Blood, as the Queen of *Scots* herſelf was.” Then after he has told how fond our Queen became of this Marriage, and that ſhe ſent *him* into *France* to obtain that King and the Queen-Mother's Conſent to the Marriage, he adds, “ On my Road I met the Queen of *England*, who had been travelling into ſome Parts of her Kingdom; but her Majeſty did not outwardly ſhew the Joy and Pleaſure which was in her Heart, when I told her that this Marriage was advancing apace; on the contrary, ſhe affected not to approve it: Which Thing however did rather haſten than retard it.” After he had been in *France*, and obtained their Majeſties Conſent to the Marriage, he returns through *England*, and then ſays, “ I found the Queen of *England* much colder towards the Queen of *Scots* than formerly, complaining that ſhe had ſubtracted her Relation and Subject, and that ſhe was intending to marry him againſt her Conſent and Approbation. And yet I am aſſured that theſe Words were very far from her Heart; for ſhe uſed all her Efforts, and ſpared nothing to ſet this Marriage a going.” Now if theſe Obſervations be well founded, what ſhall we ſay of ſome Princes and Princeſſes? It will manifeſtly appear by ſubſequent and authentick Papers, that the Lord *Darnly* had a Licence from Queen *Elizabeth* to come into *Scotland*, and here to remain a certain Space; yet in her Inſtructions to Sir *Henry Norris* her Amballador in *France*, expreſſeth herſelf thus, “ It chanced that a young Nobleman, our near Kinſman, brought up in our Court, named the *Lord Darlie*, was ſecretly enticed to paſs into *Scotland*, upon other Preteuces, for private Suits for Lands, and ſuch like [the Lord *Darnly* neither had nor could have any Suit for Lands] and there without our Knowledge, according to the ſame former Practices, whereof we were not altogether ignorant, tho' we would not ſeem ſo jealous of the ſame, he was ſuddenly accepted by that Queen to be ally'd in Contract of Marriage with her, as one thought to be a meet Perſon to work Troubles in our Realm for her Advantage, yea contrary to the Advice of the wiſer ſort of her Council, [this is ſaid without ſufficient Foundation] and conſequently contrary to our Will and Liking, was married to her in all Haſte.” See Sir *Dudley Digges*'s *complete Ambaſſador*, *p.* 13.

1565. ' Majeſtie's Preſcription, fortifying her Sayings and Doings by your Majeſtie's Mind, declar'd not long ago by Mr. *Randolph*, to this Effect unto her, as ſhe alledged; that is to ſay, what Time ſhe did advertiſe your Majeſtie of the Motion made unto her of *Charles* Duke of *Auſtria*, your Majeſtie diſſwading her from that Match, and from any of the Emperor's Houſe, and likewiſe from the Houſes of *France* and *Spain*, you are contented that, theſe Houſes only excepted, ſhe might take her Choice of any Perſon within the Realms of *England* or *Scotland*, or any other Country. And becauſe ſhe thought none might be more agreeable to your Majeſtie, and the Realm of *England*, and likewiſe to her Subjects and Realm of *Scotland*, than the Lord *Darnly*, (he being your Majeſtie's Kinſman and hers, and participating of the *Engliſh* and *Scottiſh* Blood) ſhe did with the leſs Preciſeneſs proceed ſo far forward in this Matter as ſhe had done.

' Thereupon I replied, and took occaſion to impugn her Sayings by the very Words of Mr. *Randolph*'s Commiſſion, containing theſe three Articles; *Firſt*, For her own Contentation. *Next*, The Allowance of her People. *Thirdly*, That her Choice be ſuch, as the Amity which is now betwixt us, not only for our own Perſons, but alſo for our Nation, may be continued, and not diſſolved nor diminiſhed; proving to her by many and probable Arguments, the L. *Darnly* did not ſatisfy the Contents of that liberal Permiſſion, whereupon ſhe did chiefly ground herſelf to have your Majeſtie's Allowance.

' About this Matter we ſpent long Time, and had many and ſundry Diſputes, which I do omit to declare till my Acceſs unto your Majeſtie, and ſo alſo of all my other Negotiations with this Queen and her Council, ſeverally *(a)* and together. And in the mean Time, becauſe your Majeſtie may be truly advertiſed of the State of this Matter, to the End you may conſider of it in good Hour, and to direct your Councils and Proceeding, as ſhall be meeteſt for your own Surety and Commodity; it may like your Majeſtie to underſtand, That this Queen is ſo far paſt in this Matter with my Lord *Darnly*, as it is irrevocable, and no Place left to diſſolve the ſame by Perſwaſion or reaſonable Means, otherwiſe than by *Violence:* Albeit, though the Matter be not yet conſummate, neither ſhall be (as ſhe hath willed me to aſcertain your Majeſtie) theſe three Months, in which mean Time ſhe meaneth all the beſt means ſhe can deviſe, to procure your Majeſtie's Acceptation and Allowance of the Matter, offering in general Words, to leave nothing undone that ſhe may honourably, ſafely and conveniently do, to win your Majeſtie's Favour to this Matter. And for this purpoſe, ſhe meaneth (as I underſtand) ſhortly to ſend ſome one of her own (but not the Lord *Lidington*, who ſtandeth preſently not in the beſt Terms with her) to treat and negotiate with your Majeſtie in this Matter, and to procure that it may like you to ſend ſome Commiſſioners to treat with ſome of her Council, at a Place appointed by you for that Purpoſe.

' The Lord *Darnly* received the Honours ſpecified after my Audience the 15th of *May*, the Creation of Duke of *Albany* only excepted *(b)*, the conferring of which Honour, this Queen at my Leave-taking (which was the 19th of *May*) did promiſe to defer till ſhe might hear how your Majeſtie would accept the Proceedings and Anſwer to my Legation. Nevertheleſs I do find this Queen ſo captiv'd, either by Love or Cunning (or, rather to ſay

' truly,

(*a*) Sir *James Melvil*, *p.* 56. narrates how that this Ambaſſador had Inſtructions, in caſe our Queen would not follow Queen *Elizabeth*'s Advice, " to perſwade the Lords, and ſo many as were of the Proteſtant Religion, to withſtand the Marriage, till the Lord *Darnly* ſhould ſubſcribe a Bond to maintain the Reformed Religion, which he had *ever* profeſſed in *England*." And truly herein, as to the principal Aim, Sir *Nicholas* effectually prevailed. Perhaps *ever* in theſe *Memoirs* is erroneouſly printed for *never*; for in many other Narrations concerning the Lord *Darnly*, he is repreſented to have been of the ancient *Form* in religious Matters. Or if he has profeſſed the new *Form* at any Time, he has at leaſt not been thought very zealous in it. And the Truth is, his Years might abate of his Keenneſs either way. His Mother continued ſtill Popiſh.

(*b*) This ſerves to adjuſt the Time when theſe Honours were conferred, in which our Hiſtorians have not been preciſe enough.

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truly, by Boaſting or Folly) that ſhe is not able to keep Promiſe with herſelf, and therefore not moſt able to keep Promiſe with your Majeſtie in theſe Matters.

‘ The Day before my departing from this Queen, ſhe made me dine with her at her own Table only; and Mr. *Randolph*, accompanied with the Duke and the reſt of her Nobility, in another Chamber. After I had taken my Leave, ſhe ſent the L. of *Lidington* to my Lodging with my Diſpatch, who brought me in Preſent from her a Chain of Gold weighing fifty Ounces.’

And propoſeth his Advice.

‘ May it further pleaſe your Majeſtie to underſtand (notwithſtanding rendring the Accompliſhment of my Charge, as is before ſpecified) I do well perceive that it is in your Majeſtie's Power, either to diſſolve this Matter betwixt my L. *Darnly* and the Queen of *Scotland* (if you ſhall like to uſe your Power) as at my Coming I ſhall declare particularly unto your Majeſtie; or it reſteth in your Pleaſure to end the Matter more amicably, with ſuch Conditions as may be (in my ſimple Judgment) to your Honour, Surety and Felicity. And the rather, to bring the one or the other of theſe to paſs, it may pleaſe your Majeſtie to put in Execution ſuch Memorials as I have preſently addreſſed to my Lord of *Lieceſter* and Mr. Secretary *(a)*.

‘ I do mean (God willing) to be at *Berwick* the 23d of *May*——And for that I have learned by good means that there is a dangerous Practice intended in *Tork-ſhire*, I do mean to return by *Tork*, and to give the Lord Preſident ſuch Warning as he may foreſee, and provide for theſe Inconveniencies in Time.

‘ Herewith your Majeſtie ſhall receive a Memorial of ſeveral Honours which this Queen did confer upon the Lord *Darnly* the 15th of *May*, wherein is inſerted the very Form of the Oath which he made to the Queen of *Scots*, for ſome Reſpects not convenient for any of your Subjects to make to any foreign Prince, as you may perceive by the Contents of the ſame.

‘ This Queen reſolves to ſummon the Eſtates of her Parliament the 20th of *July* next *(b)*, and likewiſe intends to aſſemble the Miniſters of her Clergy about the 10th or 12th *June* next, to the End they may put in Readineſs for the Parliament ſome Matters concerning Religion and Eccleſiaſtical Polity. It is look'd for that they ſhould ſhew the Conformity to this Marriage, and tolerate to the Queen the retaining her private Maſs without Contradiction. About this Matter I perceive there will be much Ado *(c)*.

‘ This Queen hath travel'd very earneſtly ſince my Leave-taking, to compound all Differences betwixt her Noblemen, and namely betwixt the Earl of *Argile* and Earl of *Lenox*. She intends to depart from *Stirling* to *St. Johnſton*, as ſoon as my Lord *Darnly* ſhall be able *(d)* to travel, which is thought to be within theſe four or five Days.

‘ The Duke of *Chatelerault*, the Earls of *Argile*, *Murray* and *Glencairden*, do retire themſelves all to their own Houſes forthwith for a Time *(e)*.

‘ May it pleaſe your Majeſtie, I do underſtand that this Queen doth mean (if her Mind alter not) to ſend in Legation to your Majeſtie the Maſter of her Requeſts, and one of her Privy-Council, named *John Hay (f)*, who hath Repu-

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(a) The Memorial he wrote at this Time to the Earl of *Leiceſter* and Mr. Secretary, ſhall be immediately preſented to the Reader.

(b) The ſame Thing is related by our Hiſtorians; and the following authentick Voucher may not be diſagreeable. *Abſtract Privy-Council*, 19th *May*, The Loꝛdis of Secret-Counſale, with Aviſs of the Quene, hes thocht expedient that ane Parlement be called at Edinburgh 20. July, and that the Directour of the Chancellarie direct Pꝛecepts foꝛ the ſaid Parlement in Foꝛm as effeirs. And to Effect that Things neidful to be treated in Parlement, may be fullie agꝛied betwix the Quene and Loꝛdis befoir the ſaid Tyme, and that ſche may undirſtand what they will requyre of hir Majeſtis to be done, and als what ſche will command thame with; it is appoynted that the ſaidis Lordis of Secret-Counſale ſchall conveue inwith upon the 10. of June next.

(c) Perhaps 'tis the Account of this Aſſembly we meet with in *Knox*: But that Author rambles ſo hither and thither, that I dare not aver the Truth of it.

(d) By an Abſtract 30th *April*, we learn that this Lord was then ſick of the Meaſles.

(e) Theſe were the ſecret Cabal with the Queen of *England* to oppoſe the Marriage.

(f) There is but one Perſon here intended, *viz.* Mr. *Hay*, who was Maſter of Requeſts and a Privy-Counſellor. Mr. *Knox* ſays, he was likewiſe Prior of *Monimusk*, a Cell belonging to the Priory of St. *Andrew*'s, as that Priory was a Pendicle to the Abbey of *Holy-rood-houſe*: But we are aſſured that he was Commendator of *Balmerinoch*. The Queen did ſend him into *England*, as we ſhall preſently ſee.

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‘Forthwith this Queen doth ſend an expreſs Meſſenger into *France* to her Ambaſſador the Biſhop of *Glaſgow*, who hath in Charge from her to employ himſelf by all the good means he can to make this Match agreeable to the *French*. I do underſtand that of Marriages hitherto mentioned unto her, her Uncles did moſt deſire her Match with the Prince of *Spain*, which I perceive was in greater Towardneſs than was look'd for in *England*.

‘This Matter, as I can learn, was chiefly overthrown by the Earl of *Murray* and Lord of *Lidington*. As to the Duke *Charles*, I cannot find that ever ſhe was thereunto bent, neither earneſtly any of her Council. True it is that the Cardinal of *Lorrain* did carry *Spain* in his right Hand, and *Auſtria* in his left: And of all Men within *England* or *Scotland*, he did prefer the Choice of him that now ſhe hath. Almighty God preſerve your Majeſtie in all Health, Honour and Felicity. From *Edinburgh* this 21ſt of *May* 1565.

Your Majeſtie's moſt humble, faithful Subject and Servant,

N. Throckmorton.

Together with the above Letter, the Reader, I perſwade myſelf, will be much pleaſed to ſee this that followeth, written the ſaid Day by the ſame Perſon.

Sir Nicholas Throckmorton, *To Sir* William Cecill *principal Secretary of State*, Edinburgh 21*ſt* May 1565 (*a*).

As likewiſe to the *Engliſh* Secretary.

‘BY my former Letter to the Queen, you will find the Buſineſs of the Marriage indiſſoluble, though ſhe granted a Protract of three Months, and a Suſpenſion of the Creation of *Darnly* Duke of *Albany*. Notwithſtanding this Precipitation, I perceive the Queen's Majeſtie hath it in her Power to diſſolve the ſame violently, for it will admit no other Cure; or by Allowance thereof, and by reaſonable Compoſition proceeding therein, according to my former Memorial.

‘Sir, I ſhould be ſorry if *Demoniſer* (who comes into *Scotland*) ſhould be able to give this Queen Intelligence, that her Proceedings with L. *Darnly* is not ſo ill taken there by her Majeſtie and her Council, as I pretended in all my Negociations; for that would much hinder the Purpoſe the Queen would be at. I ſay the ſame of *Graham*, *Lidington*'s Servant, and of one *Menzies*, another *Scotſman*, who entred *England* when I came to *Berwick*, and ſo of all others who may give the ſame Intelligence to the *Scottiſh* Queen (*b*). You may receive a Letter from *Murray*. I hope you will have ſome Conſideration of Mr. *Randolph*, who is at great Charges to ſerve her Majeſtie here. He ſpent largely that he might be more capable to do the Services expected. Now receiving nothing but Words, and that there is no Money to gratifie thoſe as give him Intelligence, he is glad to be recalled, and live privately; which he calls here the putting his Head in a Hole, ſince he finds the Service ſo ill rewarded.’

Here follows the Memorial of the Honours conferred by our Queen on the Lord *Darnly*, tranſmitted by Sir *Nicholas Throckmorton* to his Miſtreſs, and mentioned by him in his Letter to her Majeſty.

The

(*a*) *Cotton* Library, Calig. B. 10. F. 285.

(*b*) By a Letter of Mr. *Randolph* to Secretary *Cecil*, it appears that our Queen had received Intelligence from the Counteſs of *Lenox*, that Queen *Elizabeth*'s Diſpleaſure againſt the Marriage was full of Affectation. But this Letter is the moſt bare fac'd Diſcovery of the Myſtery that one could wiſh.

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The Oath of a Knight made by my Lord *Darnly*, 15th *May (a).*

I Shall defend the Chriſtian Faith at my Power.

I ſhall be leel and true to my Princeſs my Soveraign Lady, Queen of Scotland, *and her Succeſſors.*

I ſhall honour and do Reverence to all wiſe Orders of Nobility, and to the Office of Arms.

I ſhall fortifie and maintain Juſtice without Feed or Favour.

I ſhall uſe and exerciſe my ſelf in the Office of Chivalry, and help all them that are in the ſame Order, if they have Need.

I ſhall defend the Realm of Scotland *from all Aliens and Strangers.*

I ſhall never fly from my Princeſs, Maſter or Fellow, with Diſhonour, in time of Need.

I ſhall defend all Orphans, Widows, and Maidens of good Fame.

I ſhall do Diligence wherever I hear is any Murderers, Robbers, or maſterful Thieves, that oppreſs the People, to bring them to the Laws at my Power.

I ſhall enquire and do Diligence to ſeek all Articles contained in the Books of Chivalry, and keep them all at my Power.

I ſhall fortifie, maintain and defend the noble Order of Knighthood which I am ready to receive, and Horſe, Arms and Knightly Habilement after my Power. So help me God, the holy Evangel, by my own Hand, and by God Himſelf.

The Oath of an Earl that the ſaid Lord *Darnly* made.

I Shall be true and leel to my Soveraign Lady, Queen of Scotland, *maintain and defend her Highneſs Body, Realm, Lieges and Laws, at the uttermoſt of my Power. So help me God, the holy Evangel, by my own Hand, and by God Himſelf.*

Lord *Darnly* is made a Knight, Lord Baron, and Earl, by the Queen in Perſon.

AT Stirling *the 15th Day of* May 1565, *by our Soveraign the Queen's Majeſtie,* MARIE *Heretrix of* Scotland *and Dowager of* France, HENRY STUART *eldeſt Son to* Matthew *Earl of* Lenox, *was created* Lord, *and made* Knight; *and gave his Oath thereupon.* 2dly, *Was made* Baron, Baronet, *and nam'd* Lord of Ardmanach, *and* Lord of our Soveraign Lady's Parliament. 3dly, *The ſaid* Henry *afore the Queen's Majeſtie, made the Oath of an Earl, and was Beltit* Earl of Roſs. *And after were created by the ſaid* Henry, *afore the Queen's Majeſtie, fourteen Knights, whoſe Names follow, and gave their Oath thereupon: Sir* Robert Stuart *of* Straighton, *Sir* Robert Stuart *of* Largis, *Sir* Alexander Stuart *of* Dalſwinton, *Sir* James Stuart *of* Doun, *Sir* William Murray *of* Tillibarden, *Sir* William Stuart *of* Hawick, *Sir* Patrick Houſton *of that Ilk, Sir* John Maxwell *of* Nether-Pollock, *Sir* William Livingſton *of* Kilſyth, *Sir* John Murray *of* Caldwell, *Sir* Robert Drummond *of* Carnoch, *Sir* James Hume *of* Fynlawis, *Sir* James Stirling *of* Kier, *Sir* William Ruthven *of* Baldenie *(b).*

And the new Earl has the Honour to make fourteen Knights in her Majeſty's Preſence.

A Memorial from Sir Nicholas Throckmorton, *ſent to the Earl of* Liceſter *and Secretary* Cecill, *to communicate the Matters contained therein to the Queen of* England, *27th* May 1565 *(c).*

Memorial by Sir *Nicholas Throckmorton* to *Leiceſter* and *Cecil.*

'IMprimis, That her Majeſtie, and all of you of her Council, do make it
appear evidently to all Folks, that the Proceedings of the Queen of *Scot-*
' *land* with the Lord *Darnly* are ſo grievouſly taken and miſliked, that her Ma-
' jeſtie muſt needs chaſten the Arrogancy of her Subjects, and revenge the Indignity

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(a) Calig. B. 10.

(b) Theſe Names and Titles are copied exactly.

(c) Calig. B. 10.

1565. ‘dignity done by the Queen of *Scotland*. And for the better Inſinuation thereof, to uſe all the good Means you can deviſe, as well by publiſhing the ſending down my Lord of *Bedford* to his Charge *(a)*, with ſome Supply of new Force; as alſo, Admoniſhment to be given by you to the Wardens of all the Marches, to ſtand upon their Guards, and to be in Readineſs to ſerve in good Order, when they ſhall be commanded; with further Charge, to ſhew no more Favour to this Nation than the forbearing the Breach of Peace will ſuffer.

‘*Item*, To ſtay the Earl of *Northumberland* at *London*, and to ſend down Sir *Richard Chomley* to *York* to the Council there, to receive ordinary Proceſs for his Diſorders there depending; which as I hear ſay, will procure him ordinary Impriſonment there: And alſo to command the Lord Preſident and Council at *York* to have a good Eye to the Doings of the Earl of *Northumberland (b)*, and the Lady *Lenox*'s Faction; and further by no means through the Realm to ſuffer the Papiſts in the Realm, neither in Court nor out of Court, to have any Cauſe to think themſelves in any Credit or Eſtimation.

‘*Item*, To have ſome greater Reſtraint put upon the Lady *Lenox*, and ſome harder Sequeſtration, than ſhe now hath; ſo as ſhe may have Conference with none but ſuch as are appointed unto her: And ſpecially, that there be no means left unto her to have Intelligence with the *French* Ambaſſador, but chiefly none with the *Spaniſh*; for there the Matter importeth moſt, as I do certainly know. [from the Earl of *Murray*, *&c.* no doubt.]

‘*Item*, That my Lady *Somerſet (c)* do find ſome more gracious Entertainment in the Court than heretofore ſhe hath done.

‘*Item*, That the Queen's Majeſtie ly in good wait, that the Lady *Lenox* neither directly nor indirectly have any Intelligence of the Queen's Majeſtie's Doings or Speech, other than that Severity is intended.

‘*Item*, It ſhall be to very good Purpoſe, that as well from her Majeſtie, as from my Lord of *Liecester* and you, it be commonly brought to the Lady *Lenox*'s Knowledge, that you all marvel how *Lidington*, being a Man of Knowledge and Judgment, can be ſo blinded, to further and proſecute this Marriage, whereof beſides your certain Intelligence from hence, you did too well eſpy it in his laſt Legation there *(d)*.

‘*Item*, To uſe all good Means to keep yourſelves in Opinion with *France* and *Spain*, to the End you may bring your Matters better to paſs here; which I truſt will well ſucceed, in caſe theſe Matters be well put in Ure; and ſome other Things which I will communicate unto you at my coming.

‘Theſe Things are to be done without Delay; and either a Breach of the Matter [*viz.* of the Marriage] will follow, or a good Compoſition.’

An Abſtract of a Letter from Mr. *Randolph* to Sir *William Cecill*, 3d *June (e)*.

Letter by Mr. *Randolph* to Sir *William Cecil*.

Queen of Scots *Counſellors are now theſe ſhe before liked worſt (f)*; Murray *lives where he liſteth*; Lidington *hath not much Credit*; David *now worketh all, and is only Governor to the King (g) and his Family; great is his Pride, and his Words intolerable. People have ſmall Joy in this new Maſter, and find nothing but that God muſt either ſend him a ſhort End, or them a miſerable Life. The Dangers to thoſe he now hateth are great, and either he muſt be*

(a) It has been already told, that this noble Lord was Governor of *Berwick*.

(b) This was *Thomas Piercy*, one of the Heads of the Popiſh Party in *England*. Further Mention will be made of him in a ſhort Time.

(c) This I ſuppoſe was the Lady *Katharine Grey* ſecond Daughter to the Duke of *Suffolk*, and Wife to *Edward Seymour* Earl of *Hertford*, Son to the Duke of *Somerſet*, who was Uncle to King *Edward* VI. Lord Protector under that Prince, and afterwards Beheaded by his Authority. See the *Engliſh* Hiſtory for this Lady's Misfortune.

(d) This has probably been with a View to create ſome Difference between the Family of *Lenox* and the Secretary *Maitland*; And it is a ſure Indication that this Gentleman has been a Favourer of the Marriage.

(e) Calig. B. 10.

(f) From this Period we ſee a ſtrange Alteration in this Gentleman's Letters.

(g) This muſt be ſaid by way of Deriſion; for as yet there was no King.

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be taken away, or they find ſome Support; that what he intendeth to others may fall upon himſelf (a). With England *this Queen meaneth to make a Divorce, though ſhe will make fair Weather; but with* France *ſhe will join. She doateth ſo much upon her Husband (b), that ſome report ſhe is bewitched; the Parties the Tokens are named that contain the Myſteries.*

Athole *and* Argile *gather Power to offend each others; but the Queen ſendeth* Lidington *to pacify them.*

The Convention at St. Johnſton *was to work thoſe preſent to like the Match with* Darnly; *and a Rumour ſpread, that the next Parliament, there ſhall be a Law for Religion.* Darnly *ſaith, that if there were Wars with* England, *they ſhould have more Friends than the Queen. The Friends they have here are,* Athole, Caithneſs, Errol, Montroſe, Fleming, Caſſils, Montgomery, Hume; Ruthven *and* Lindſay *who ſhamefully have left the Earl of* Murray *(c). This Queen wooeth all ſhe can to her Part. The Lord* Robert *ſhall be Earl of* Orkney, Areſkine *of* Mar, Hume *of* March, *and* Fleming *of* Wigton.

Queen of *Scots* ſends into *England*

Our Queen being ſtill deſirous to cultivate a good Underſtanding with the Queen of *England*, and in particular to gain, if poſſible, her Conſent to her Marriage with the Lord *Darnly*, had been adviſed to ſend an Ambaſſador to that Queen's Majeſty for this Purpoſe. But if Sir *Nicholas Throckmorton* had right Information concerning the Perſon who was now ſent (as 'tis preſumable he had) we may take the Freedom even to ſay, her Majeſty has been under a bad Influence and Direction, and that her Counſellors muſt have been either weak, or wicked, which is worſe, as can't fail to appear by the following Letter and Inſtructions.

Letter from the Queen of Scotland *to the Queen of* England *(d).*

Mr. *John Hay*

“Richt excellent, Richt heich and michtie Princeſſe, oure derreſt Siſter and Couſyne, in oure maiſt hartie Maner we commend ws unto zow. For certane Materis of Importance tending to the Mantainance and Conſervatioun of the gude Intelligence and Amytie ſtanding betwix ws, we haif publiclie directit towertis zow the Berare heirof, oure truſtie and weillbelovit Counſalour, Maiſter *Johne Hay* Commendatore of *Balmerinock*, oure principall Maiſter of Requeiſtis, praying zow thairfoir, gude Siſter, to grant him Audience; and in ſic Thingis as he ſall declair unto zow in oure Behalf, to gif him firme Credit as unto oure ſelf. And ſo Richt heich, Richt excellent and michtie Princeſſe, oure derreſt Siſter and Couſyne, we commit zow to the Tuitioun of Almichtie God. Gevin undir oure Signet at oure Toun of *Sanct Johnſtoun* the 14. Day of *Junij*, and of oure Regime the xxiii. Zeir 1565.

Inſtructionis to oure weillbelovit and truſtie Counſalour, Maiſter Johne Hay *Commendatore of* Balmerinock, *oure principall Maiſtir of Requeiſtis, and Ambaſſatour preſentlie directit to oure derreſt Siſter and Couſyne the Quene of* Ingland, *datit at* Sanct Johnſtoun *the* 14. *Day of* Junij 1565.

with Inſtructions.

“In the *Firſt*, eftir oure maiſt hartie Recommendationis maid to oure ſaid gude Siſter, ze ſall declair unto hir, That quhairas be the Meſſage of Sr *Nicholace Throkmortoun* Knicht, hir late Ambaſſatour heir, we hard, althoch beſydis oure Expectatioun, of hir greit Diſcontentatioun, and miſlyking of oure Choyſe of the Erle of *Roſs* to be oure Husband; ane Mater quhilk at the

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(a) It appears the Death of *Darnly* or *Riccio*, or both, is already hatched.

(b) This is a Continuation of the Deriſion. *Buchanan*, and ſome others, relate ſuch a Story of Witchcraft. If ſuch a Thing was ſaid in our Days, it would be juſtly derided.

(c) Probably this reſpects the two laſt named Lords; and perhaps they have been rather Spies upon the Queen than real Friends.

(d) Shatter'd MS.

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“ *Item*, Ze ſall declair unto oure ſaid gude Siſter, how we can nocht but think verie ſtrange and fremmit, the ſcharpe intertreating and handilling of oure deir Couſyne the Lady *Margarit Dowglas* Countes of *Lennox*, oure Fadir Siſter, and can juge na uther, as we wait baith oure awin Subjectis and the Subjectis of *Ingland* eſtemis, bot that this hir evill and hard Intreatinge is for oure Caus, ſeing that the Day immediatlie preceeding the cumming of the L. of *Lethingtoun* oure Secretar, and lait Ambaſſatour towart oure ſaid gude Siſter, it pleſit hir to veſit the ſaid Lady in her awin Chalmer, doand hir thairthrow greit Honoure, and ſchawand hir als greit Humanitie in that

“ Point

(*a*) This Remark is moſt plain and certain.

(*b*) The Queen could not have made a worſe Choice than the firſt four of theſe Counſellors.

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“ Point as of the Prince be the Subject could be askit or luikit for; although that Conceit continewit not lang, for evin on the Morne, and ay ſenſyne, hir Cais hes bene ſic to oure Knawledge that we pitie it *(a)*; and ſcho hirſelf being oure ſaid gude Siſteris Subject, and ſa neir Couſyne, we doubt not bot the ſame will be reparit, and ſcho relevit of hir preſent Trouble; at leiſt, gif it wer for na uther Caus, bot to maik the Sowaris of Rumoris diſapoynted, quhilk thinkis and makis all Men to beleive, that hir hard Intreating is for oure Saik *(b)*; quhilk Opinioun, as we knaw to be vane and untrew, ſa wald we——wyſche——be hir Libertie and Reſtitutioun, it micht be cuttit off and deleit furth of Memorie.

“ *Item*, Ze ſall declair to oure ſaid gude Siſter with quhat gude Hart and Affectioun oure Couſyne the Erle of *Lennox* is myndit to do hir humbill Service; and becaus his Leving lyis bayth in *Scotland* and *Ingland*, and he thairthrow obliſt and devinct to ws bayth, and bayth oure Kingdomes; That thairfoir it may be the Pleſour and gude Will of oure ſaid derreſt Siſter to graunt and giff full Licence and Libertie to the ſaid Erle to pas and repas betwix this oure Realme and the Realme of *Ingland*, als oft as he thinkis gude, without Preſcriptioun, or ony certane Tyme of returnyng or remaynyng. And in cais be that Libertie it may perchance be ſuſpectit, that he is abill to do or procure Thingis in Hurt or Prejudice of oure ſaid gude Siſter and hir Realme, it may be anſwerit on this Behalf, That during his remaynyng in *Scotland*, his Lady and youngaſt Sone *(c)* ſall remayne in *Ingland* as Plegis for the Loyaltie and gude Behaviour of the ſaid Erle to oure ſaid gude Siſter, and towart hir Realme and Liegis; ſwa that on the uther Part his ſaidis Lady and Sone may remayne in *Scotland* quhen he is in *Ingland*.”

The Queen of *England* writes to the Queen of *Scots*, &c. the Purport whereof may be underſtood by this following

Before Mr. *Hay* could have been arrived at the *Engliſh* Court (which was on the 24th *June*) the Queen of *England* had upon Sir *Nicholas Throckmorton*'s home-coming, wrote ſeparate Letters to her Couſin of *Scotland*, to the Earl of *Lenox*, and the Lord *Darnly*, all which were delivered to the proper Perſons by the Hands of the *Engliſh* Reſident: And not only will the principal Things contained in theſe Letters become obvious to the Reader, by the peruſing of that Gentleman's Returns to the Secretary of his own Nation; but ſeveral other private Tranſactions will likewiſe by that means come to our Knowledge.

Letter from Mr. Randolph *to Sir* William Cecill *(d)*, 2*d* July *(e)*.

Letter of the *Engliſh* Reſident in *Scotland* to the Secretary of *England*.

‘ BY thys Tyme your Honour lookethe I am ſure to here more amplye then I had Tyme to wryte in my laſte Letters, of the Anſwer receaved upon the Deliverance of the Queen's Majeſtie's Letters to thys Queen, the Lord of *Lenox* and the Lord *Darlye*: According to the Commandement given me, the nyxt Daye after their Licence was expired, I did putt their Lordſhips in Remembrance therof, which theie ſaid theie knew verre well, but thoughte that the Queens Majeſtie dyd not ſo ſhortlye looke for their Retorne, ſeinge the Queens Grace here had wrytten in their favours, and that theie truſted her Majeſtie wolde be good unto them, ſeinge nothinge was done by them, but that which myght be done withowte Offence to the Queens Majeſtie. I ſaide not much unto theſe Anſwers, but left them for the

‘ Tyme.

(*a*) *Lethington* arrived at the Court of *England* the 18th Day of *April*. But Mr. *Stow* ſays, the Counteſs of *Lenox* had been confined to her Lodging in *Whitehall* from the 22d of *February*. Perhaps that Lady was under Confinement the Time Queen *Elizabeth* came to viſit her: Or *Stow* is in a Miſtake, as he ſometimes is.

(*b*) Whether it has been to teſtify a further Diſpleaſure againſt our Queen, or to ſhew an utter Contempt of her Interceſſion for my Lady *Lenox*, I ſhall not ſay: But in the Abſtracts we ſee that the ſame Day Mr. *Hay* arrived at the *Engliſh* Court, this Lady was committed Priſoner in the Tower of *London*.

(*c*) *Charles*, who ſucceeded to the Eſtate and Dignity of Earl of *Lenox*.

(*d*) *Cotton* Library, Calig. B. 10. an Original.

(*e*) In this and the following Letter of the 4th *July*, the Readers will find ſeveral Points of our *Scottiſh* Hiſtory touched at; which I ſhould have been obliged otherwiſe to mention, but ſhall now ſatisfy my ſelf with their being touched here: And of this my Readers will be pleaſed to take notice.

1565.

‘ Tyme. The Vti (*a*) of thys inſtante fyndinge no Lykelyhood of their Retorne, I delivered to the Lord of *Lenox* and his Sonne the Queen's Majeſties Letters in their ſeverall Lodgings, fyrſte to the Father, next to hys Sonne. I founde the Father greatlye aſtonyſhed, for that he thoughte no ſuch Charge ſholde have byne geven unto hym before the Embaſſadorr's [Mr. *John Hay*] Retorne at leaſte, that the Queen's Majeſtie wolde be no more favorable, but ſo to deal wyth hym. After the readinge of the Letter, and I deſyeringe his Lordſhip's Anſwer; He ſayethe, that he could not gyve me the Anſwer ſo ſhortlye, for that yt was to hym a Matter of greate Importance, and therfor he wolde tayke ſome Adviſemente. I confeſſed that the Matter was waightie, and that hys Refuſall myghte breede greate Inconvenience, but yet I thoughte he had before hande taken ſufficient Adviſemente, ſeinge he knewe when the Tyme of Licemente expired, and what Daynger he myghte fawll into, yf he dyd not retorne before the ſame was ended, and therfor I belived that he had hys Anſwer reddie, and that he neaded not tarrie farther Adviſe. Other Anſwer I coulde not gette, but that within an Hower I ſholde not fayle but to have ane Anſwer. From hym I departe incontynente to the Lord *Darlye*; and he immediatlye goethe to the Queen. The Lord *Darlye* havinge reade the Letter, ſayethe to me theſe Wordes, Mr. *Randolphe*, thys is verre ſore and extreme, and what wolde you do, yf you were in my Caſe? To thys I gave hym a longe Tyme no Anſwer, but deſyred that I myghte knowe what hys Lordſhip wolde do. I wyll do, ſayethe he, as you wolde do, yf you were in my Caſe, and yet do I not mynde to retorne. I asked hym, yf I ſholde reyte that for an Anſwer? No, ſayethe he, you ſhall gyve me ſome tyme to thinke upon the Matter. I tolde hym, that I thoughte that he was at a Poynte with hymſelf what he wolde do, and therfor as good to gyve that then, as after. You ſhall not longe tarrie for that, [ſaid he] and yet I cane not gyve that at thys tyme. In thys ſorte I departe from hys Lordſhip, beinge in mynde not to delyver this Queen her Letter from the Queen's Majeſtie untyll the nexte Daye; but heringe that ſhe wolde ryde owte of the Towne, and retorne no more for five or ſix Dayes, I deſyered to have Licence to ſpeake with her Grace before her Departeur: I was receaved in ſtraynger ſorte then ever I was before, as a Man newe and fyrſte come into her Preſence, whome ſhe had never ſeene. I delivered the Queen's Majeſties Letter, which the L. of *Lidingtone* dyd reade to her Grace. She requyred me to ſpeake that which I hade to ſaye: I told her, that the moſte parte therof was contayned in that Letter, which yf her Grace dyd performe at the Queen my Miſtres Requiſte, I hade no more to ſaye. At theſe Wordes ſhe ſmyled and ſaide, I trowe my good Siſtar wyll otherwyſe then ſo; and yf I wolde gyve them Leave, I dowte what theie wolde do themſelves. I ſaide, theie muſte do that, or worce; howe ſayethe I, Theie runne into the Queen my Miſtres Diſpleaſure, which what it is, your Grace ſelf maye knowe. Peradventeur, ſayethe ſhe, your Miſtres is of another Mynde by thys tyme. I ſaide, that I dowted not, but as her Majeſtie ſawe Obedience in them beinge her Subjects, ſo ſhe wolde be good unto them. I ſee no Wyll in them, ſayethe ſhe, to retorne. I ſaide, that I was ſorrie that I ſawe in them ſo greate Tokens of Diſobedience; but deſyered, that her Majeſtie wolde well advyſe them, and conſider what Daunger myghte inſue to herſelf and Countrie, to reteyne anye ſuch: And thus farre I wolde be bolde to ſaye unto her Grace in the Queen's Majeſtie my Miſtres Behalfe, that yf theie refuſed to retorne, and that her Grace comforted them in ſo doinge, that the Queen my Miſtres hathe bothe Power, Minde and Will to to be revenged upon them beinge her Subjects, and alſo to lette her Grace underſtande how greatlie ſhe hathe fayled in Freindſchip, as by her late Deads yt is manifeſte, and that the World ſhall be Wytnes howe juſte Cawſe

‘ her

(*a*) So it is preciſely in the Original; and poſſibly it reſpects the 5th of *June*.

1565.

her Majeſtie hathe ſo to do. I truſte, ſayethe ſhe, that the Queen your Miſtres be of another Mynde by thys tyme: You knowe that I have ſente thyther my Embaſſadorr [Mr. *Hay*;] I have wrytten to the Queen my good Syſtar to tayke theſe Matters in good Parte, and yf theſe Letters had not byne dyſpatched before hys Arrivall, I thynke theie had not byne ſente, and therfor I can gyve you no other Anſwer of theſe Letters for thys Tyme, but I deſyre to live in good Amytie with the Queen my good Syſtar; and I truſte that ſhe wyll be of another Mynde bothe towardes me and the Lord *Lenox* and his Sonne, then when thoſe Letters were wrytten. Other Anſwer of her Grace I coulde gette none; and to that ſelf ſame Effecte were the Wordes bothe of the Father and the Sonne, with maynie Excuſes and greate Proteſtations, that my Ladies Grace (*a*) was ignorant of all their Doings here, and moſt humblye deſyered her Majeſtie that ſo ſhe myghte be thoughte.

‘ Theſe Letters at the fyrſte I am ſure dyd mervileuſly abaſhe them all; yt appered in her Grace's ſelf by her wepinge, in the Father by hys ſadde Countenance, in the Sonne leaſte; for as I am informed, and ſomewhat therof hath appered in privat Tawlke, that he dothe aſſure hymſelf, that the Daunger is not ſo greate as yt is made (*b*); hys Behavior is ſuche, that he is runne in open Contempte of all Men, even of thoſe that were hys cheif Freinds: Whate ſhall become of hym, I knowe not, but yt is greatlie to be feared, that he cane have no longe Lyfe amongſte thys People (*c*). The Queen herſelf beinge of better Underſtandinge, ſeekethe to frame and faſhion hym to the Nateur of her Subjects. No Perſwation can alter that which Cuſtome hath made old in hym: He is counted prowde, diſdaynefull and ſuſpicious, which kynde of Men thys Sayle [*Soil*] of anye other cane worſe bear. Towards her Grace's ſelf, I never ſaue Mens Myndes ſo greatlye altered (*d*), yea I may ſaye almoſte to utter Contempte of her Behaviour, withowte the Fear of God, Regayrde to Princelye Majeſtie, or Care that ſhe ought to have over her Subjects and Countrie. I wrote that there was a Convention appoynted at St. *Johnſtone* the xxii. of thys inſtante, to which there were ſpeciallye named theſe: The Duke, Earles *Argile*, *Murraye*, *Morton* and *Glancarne*; onlye *Morton* came, the other ſome tarried at their Howſes, as the Duke and Earle of *Murraye*; other, as *Argile* and *Glancarne*, came to *Edenbourge* the xxiv. to the Convention * of the Proteſtants there. With thys her Grace is greatlye offended, and layethe the whole Fawlte hereof to the Earle of *Murraye* and *Argile*, which bothe had come to St. *Johnſtone*, but that my Lord of *Murraye* was aſſuredlye advertyſed, that yt was intended that he ſholde have byne ſlayne there. The manner ſholde have byne thys (*e*); There is a Quarrell betwene the Captaine of the Garde *James Stewarde*, and one *Grant* Servant to the Earle of *Murraye*, who gave the Captaine the *Baſtinado*. *Stewarde* was ſent for, and advyſed to tayke hys Revenge at St. *Johnſtone*, whear he ſholde have the Aſſyſtance of the Lord *Athall*'s Freinds and Lord of *Lenox*; and that my Lord of *Murraye* ether takinge parte agaynſte the Captaine, or being preſent to rydde them, ſholde hymſelf be ſlayne. Of thys he beinge advertyſed, he came not to the Courte, nor at any Tyme intendethe (*f*); but when he ſhall be habil [*i. e.* able] to make hys Parte good agaynſte the greateſte, hys Soveraigne excepted. The Queen knowethe that thys is come to hys Eare. She excuſethe yt in as good Wordes as ſhe cane, and layde openlye one Daye in the Hearinge of divers, that ſhe was lyttle

* *Kirk-Aſſembly.*

(*a*) *viz.* the Counteſs of *Lenox*, whom the Queen of *England* had now ſhut up in Priſon from Diſpleaſure againſt her Husband and Son.

(*b*) We have had already pretty much Certainty that there was Affectation in all this Diſpleaſure of the *Engliſh* Queen.

(*c*) *i. e.* his Life ſhall be taken away by means of thoſe who cabal'd with Mr. *Randolph*.

(*d*) There was no ſuch thing found ſome ſhort Space after this, when her Majeſty's Subjects had an Occaſion given them to manifeſt their Diſaffection to her, had the Thing really been as this Reſident would repreſent it.

(*e*) Compare this Account of the Story, and that which is contained in the following Letter, with Mr. *Buchanan*'s Relation of it. Truth is always uniform, but Falſhood ever puts on different Faces.

(*f*) May we not juſtly enough infer from this, that the Diſeaſe which the Earl of *Murray* gave at this Time for the Reaſon of his not coming to Court, has been but pretended?

1565. ‘ beholdinge to ſome that wente abowte to put evill Wyll betwene her and her Brother (*a*). She is nowe in Suſpicion of all Men, her Courte keapte verre ſecrete, ſhe dynethe ſeldome abroade as ſhe was accuſtomed, but ether in her owne Chamber, or with the Lord *Darlye*, whoſe Lodginge joynethe unto hers, and a previe Paſſage betwene them. The Father lodgethe farther off, and keapethe Howſe with hys Sonne, whoſe Charge the Queen defrayethe; for Monye of our owne we have not, and have extended our Credit allreddie ſo farre as yt wyll ſtreatche (*b*). She is nowe offended with the moſte parte that ſerve her. Her *Maries* cleane owte of Credit, and tarrie nowe ever at home whearſoever ſhe rydethe. *Lidingtone* is nowe rather to [*at*] Counſell more for Neade of hys Service then anye Truſte that ſhe hath in hym (*c*); thys he knowethe and confeſſethe. The Lord *Ruthen* is enterde into the lyke Suſpicion. The Earle of *Athall* yet keapethe hys owne with the Queen, the Father and the Sonne. The Lord *Robert*, nowe Earle of *Orknaye*, miſlyked of the Queen, but keapte in by the Lord *Darlye*, whom he ſerves with hys Cappe in hys Hande, as alſo [doth] the Lord *Fleminge*, which bothe were preſent when I ſpake to the Lord *Darlye*, and hearde all that was ſpoken (*d*). To *Ruthven* her Grace went upon *Mundaye* at Nyghte to her Supper, one Myle from St. *Johnſtone*; there remayned that Nyghte and the whole Daye untyll after Supper, when ſhe tooke her Horſe accompagnied with onlye theſe, the Father and Sonne, the Earle of *Athall* and Lord *Erſken*, *David Richio* the *Italian*, and my Countrie-man borne in *Kent*, *Fowler*; with theſe Women, the Ladie *Erſken*, the Ladie *Seton*, and *Rawlie* the *Frenchwoman*, and went that Nyghte to *Donkell* to a Howſe of the Lord *Athall*, whear ſhe remayneth four Dayes; from thens ſhe wyll to St. *Johnſtone* agayne, and there tarrie one Nyghte or two; ſo to the *Calander*, a Howſe of the Lord of *Liveſten*'s, to baptyze hys Barne: Farther of her Grace's Deſigns I knowe not. Thus muche I thoughte fitte alſo to lette your Honour underſtande, that at her beinge at St. *Johnſtone*, ſhe ſente for ſixteen of the cheifeſte Merchants of *Edenbourge*, to have borrowed of them in reddie Monie, and theie ſholde become Suretie for ſo muche in Wares as mounteth unto fyftie thouſande Ponds *Scots*, which is abowte twelve thouſande Ponds *Engliſh* (*e*). Thys theie have refuſed as a Thinge paſte their Powers. Nowe ſhe is travailinge with the whole Towne to be Suertie unto certayne that ſhe will have to do with in *Flanders* for the ſame Somme. Theie are nowe in Conſultation what theie maye do, and have yet ſix Dayes to gyve their Anſwer (*f*). With *France* I knowe ſhe hath a continual Trafique, and ſeemethe to be loathe to looſe their Freindſhipe. Sence the Arrival of *Malvaſier* (*g*), who pleaſed her but lyttle, there is come no Man hyther from thens ether by See or Lande. I perceave lyttle Intelligens that ſhe hath from anye Parte, ſavinge that I am borne in hande that my Lord of *Lenox* receaved latlye a Letter from my Ladies Grace, that all that the Queen's Majeſtie intended was but to mayke them afrayde, and willed them to ende that whearabowte theie went. I am not haſtie to beleve thys untyll I knowe farther, or ſee greater Apparance of Trothe, excepte *Archibalde Grehame* (*h*), broughte anye ſuche Letter, to whome I wyſhe

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(*a*) See the Acts of Privy Council 17th and 19th *July*.

(*b*) He means the Earl of *Lenox* and his Son were in want of Money.

(*c*) Her Majeſty had good Reaſon to be diſpleaſed with him for returning into *Scotland* contrary to her Order, which found him on the *Engliſh* Road in Company with Sir *Nicholas Throckmorton*.

(*d*) The Readers will eaſily obſerve the Inaccuracy of Mr. *Buchanan*, who refers the Advertiſement from the Queen of *England* to *Lenox* and *Darnly*, for their Return into that Kingdom, to have been made by Sir *Nicholas Throckmorton*. That Author likewiſe talks of another Embaſſy into *Scotland* in this Month of *July* preceeding That by Sir *Nicholas Throckmorton*: All which however is nothing elſe but a complete Contexture of Incongruities and Miſrepreſentations.

(*e*) By this we are aſſured that the Money of *Scotland* was at this Time about one Fourth of the Money of *England*.

(*f*) See this Story in *Knox*: But neither now, nor any Time hereafter, does this Reſident adject the unlikely Circumſtances mentioned by that Author.

(*g*) This ſeems not at all to agree with this Gentleman's Memoirs.

(*h*) The Reader will remember that Sir *Nicholas Throckmorton* wiſh'd that one *Graham* might not come to get Knowledge of Queen *Elizabeth*'s Mind; tho' it be likely this *Graham* is another Perſon.

1565.

wyſhe ther ſholde be a good Tye taken ſo longe as he remaynethe with you. My whole Credit in thys Courte is utterlye decayed. Thys whole Tyme that I have byne at St. *Johnſtone*, never Man that keapte me Compagnie, but he was noted, and open Defence geven to ſome not to have to do with me, which made ſome to wake at Midnyghte that were wont to keape Compagnie at Nonedayes. I ſpake to her Grace but twiſe in twenty four Dayes that I was at St. *Johnſtone*: My Lord of *Lenox* and Lord *Darlye* never ſpake to me, nor I to them, or gave Token or Countenance of anye approvinge of their Doyngs, farther then that your Honour hathe hearde of the Deliverance of the Letter. Your Honour hathe hearde the moſte parte of that, which I am habil to wryte of the State of Matters here, and here willinglye wolde maykc an Ende both for your Honour's Cawſe and myne owne, ſavinge I knowe that your Honour lookethe to here ſomethynge of thys Convention at *Edenbourge*. Thys fyrſte your Honour ſhall knowe, that the Aſſemblye was never greater of Proteſtants, never more conſtante or more erneſte; I ſend your Honour the Coppie of their whole Doyngs, with the Supplication to the Queen (a). The Commiſſioners are theſe, the Earle of *Glancarne*, the Larde of *Cunninghamhed*, the Larde of *Spotte*, the Larde of *Graynge* of *Anguiſs*, the Larde of *Dune* and Larde of *Londie* (b). Theſe yeſterday paſſed towards her Grace, and not looked for theſe three or four Days agayne. In the Begynninge of this Aſſemblye, or one Daye or two before, I receaved the Queen's Majeſties Letters of the xiii. of *June*, and fyndinge in the ſame verre comfortable Matter to the greate Advancement of God's Glorie and Contynuance of Amytie betwene the two Realmes (c), I thoughte no Tyme better then to communicat ſo muche as I thoughte good to the cheifeſte of thoſe that were ther preſent; and bycawſe I coulde not withowte greate Suſpicion be there myſelf, I wrote theffecte of thys onlye to certayne of the Beſte, and beſte to be truſted, that were ther aſſemblede, that in thoſe two Poyntes the Queen's Majeſtie wolde aſſyſte them, and concur with them. To the Anſwear whearof, theie gave God Prayſe, and moſt humblye thanke her Majeſtie to have that Care over them, and promes that never Thynge ſhall be attempted by their Conſents, that ether ſhall tende to the Breache of Amytie, or Alteration of Religion from that State that ſtandethe, but to better yf yt maye be; which two Poyntes beinge by her Majeſtie obſerved, theie dowte not but God wyll proſper her, and ſende her manie happie and good Dayes, which moſt humblye theie crave of hym to lende her Majeſtie that is Everlaſtinge. With my Lord of *Murraye* I have latelye ſpoken; he is greved to ſee theſe extreme Follyes in hys Soveraign, he lamentethe the State of thys Countrie that tendethe to utter Ruine, he fearethe that the Nobilitie ſhall be forced to aſſemble themſelves together, to do her Honour and Reverence as theie are in Deutie bounde, but ſo provyde for the State, that yt do not utterlye peryſhe (d); the whole Countrie beinge nowe broken, and everye Man lyvinge in ſuche Dyſcontentement as theie do. The Duke, the Earle of *Argile* and he concur in thys Divyſe; maynie other are lyke to joyne with them in the ſame: What wyll inſue, lette wyſe Men judge. I cane thynke but lyttle Good to thoſe that are the cheife Occaſion of theſe greate Alterations that latlye are come amongſte us, which ſo greatlye apperethe in thys Queen from that which ſhe was; as ſhe is not knowen to be the ſame, and before God ſemythe to be nether in Face, Countenance or Majeſtie, that Men thynke ſhe hath a miſlykinge of her owne Doyngs, and before God ſo muche to be pyttied and lamented, that I never beholde her but I am greved in my Harte, and ſorrie to ſee in her, that which I do, farre from her accuſtomed manner of Governmente of herſelf in all Caſes.

(a) It is to be ſeen in *Knox*; and I ſhall have occaſion to touch this in the Eccleſiaſtick Part.

(b) This agrees not preciſely with the Names ſet down by Mr. *Knox*.

(c) Excluſive no doubt of one of the Queens.

(d) This Lord is ſtill on the reforming Hand, except when he himſelf is at the Helm. But he and this Reſident did not find Matters go at this Time as they, no doubt, expected.

1565. ‘Thynkinge here to have ended, and ſorrie that I had thus longe troubled you, I receaved your Honour's Letter of the xxii. of thys inſtante, in the which yt pleaſed your Honour to advertyſe me of the Arrivall of Mr. *John Haye* there, and alſo what is become of my Ladies Grace, and ſome other Matters in the ſame. I dowte not of Mr. *John Haye* good Uſage *(a)*, as in my laſte I wrote; but the leſſe Comforte that thys Queen be put in, that the Queen's Majeſtie will allowe of her Doyngs, the ſouner ſhall her Majeſtie brynge that to paſſe here that ſhe moſte deſyrethe, and mo at her Majeſties Devotion then at thys Tyme ſhe hathe ther were never in *Scotlande*. Some that allreddie have hearde of my Ladies Grace Impriſonment *(b)*, lyke verre well therof, and wyſhe bothe Father and Sonne to keape her Compagnie. The Queſtion hathe byne asked me, Whether yf theie were delyvered us into *Barwick*, we wolde receave them *(c)*? I anſwerde, That we coulde nor wolde not refuſe our owne, in what ſorte ſoever theie came unto us. Whatſoever the Embaſſador reported from this Queen's Grace here, yf thoſe Reports which I have hearde from ſuche as I maye truſte be trowe, and by ſome Thyngs that myſelf I have hearde, you wyll fynde that the Ende of all will be but to gyve you Wordes for good Meaninge: I aſſure you I cane fynde none. Yt is no ſmall Comforte to all thoſe that favour God's Wordo, to hear that the Queen's Majeſtie is determined to advance the trewe Religion, and to abaſſe the contrarie: I dowte not but in ſo doinge, God wyll ſende her Majeſtie maynie good Dayes, and a proſperous Reigne. Of her Majeſties [of *England*] Marriage, we tawlke more then we knowe for certayne. We hear bothe of *Charles* and the *Frenche* Kinge, but wyſhe yt ſouner to the Earle of *Leiceſter*, yf hys Happe be ſo good, for whoſe Cawſe yt wyll be here undertaken, that *France* and *Scotlande* ſhall never be ſo grette, that *Englande* ſhall neade to dowte their Allyance. I thynke that I maye well excuſe the L. of *Lidingtone* to be previe to the Book that latlye was founde, for that I do believe he never ſawe the other; but more I cane knowe of thys in tyme.

‘Thys nowe beinge all thinge that preſentlye I have to wryte, ſavinge thys onlye that for Wante I maye not in maynie neadfull Matters do as I ſholde. I muſt moone [*bemoan*] my Caſe agayne to your Honour, and purpoſelye ſende thys Bearer, my Servant, to brynge that with hym, that her Majeſtie thinkethe maye releve my Neade, and mayke me hable to contynue her Service to her Majeſties Grace. I am forced in all Places, ſavinge thys Town, to keape Howſe; how largelye I muſte ſpende, laye owte and gyve, whear nothynge cane be come bye but with Monie, or bye Rewarde, your Honour cane judge; and in the more dowtfull and harder Termes the Queens do ſtande, the more is my Care, the greater is the Charge *(d)*; howe good Cawſe I have alſo to looke unto myſelf, if her Majeſtie were otherwyſe, I wolde I had other Cawſe to thynke then I do. Theſe Thyngs maye move her Majeſtie by your good Adviſe to be favorable in thys my Sute, which hathe dryven me to farther Shyftes then I will troble your Honour with the Reherſall.

‘I have at other Tymes wrytten in the favour of *Grehame*, to ſome I have wyſhed ſome good ende of hys Sute *(e)*, as yet I do, but fynde ſo lyttle Favour amongſte the Counſell of thys Towne, of the which he ys one, in a Sute

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(*a*) This ſerves to confirm the bad Choice our Queen had been adviſed to make of this Perſon.

(*b*) This is meant of my Lady *Lenox*, ſhe was put in the Tower of *London* the 24th Day of *June*; and from the 20th Day of *April* before, or thereabout, had been confined in her own Dwelling houſe at *Whitehall*. Her Ladyſhip remained Priſoner in the Tower of *London*, until the News of her Son's Murder, King *Henry*, reached the Queen of *England*, and then ſhe was immediately releaſed. See *Stow*, and *Abſtracts* in the Appendix.

(*c*) *i. e.* The Cabal had projected to ſeize the Earl of *Lenox* and his Son, and convey them privately to *Berwick*. See *Melvil's* Memoirs, *p.* 56. *Knox* takes ſome ſmall Notice of this; and *Buchanan* would fain turn it into an idle and ridiculous Story.

(*d*) *i. e.* He was obliged to lay out more Money to get Intelligence, and debauch the Subjects of *Scotland*.

(*e*) In the *Shatter'd MS.* I ſee *Archibald Graham* recommended to the Queen of *England* by our Queen, to obtain Redreſs of a Ship and the Loading that had been wreck'd in the North-parts of *England*.

‘ that *Clerke (a)* hathe before them, that I cane but deſyer that he maye hear therof, and knowe howe lyttle he deſervethe. Moſte humblye I take my Leave. At *Edenbourge* the ſeconde of *Julye* at Nyghte.

Your Honour's bounden
at Commande,

Tho. Randolphe.

Another Letter from Mr. Randolph *to Secretary* Cecil, 4*th* July *(b)*.

Another Letter by the *Engliſh* Reſident, with ſeveral Particulars in it of our Hiſtory.

‘ MAY yt pleaſe your Honour: Of thys Queen's Jornaye to *Athall*, and howe ſhe was accompagnied thyther, your Honour hathe hearde by my laſte Letters of the ſeconde inſtante.

‘ Upon *Saturdaye* her Grace came from thence *(c)* to St. *Johnſtone*, whear Worde was broughte her that the Earle of *Argile* and Earle of *Murraye* had aſſembled maynie of their Frends and Servantes, and intended to tayke her and the Lord *Darlye* rydinge betwene that Towne and the Lord of *Liveſton*'s Howſe *(d)*, and to have caried the Queen's Grace to St. *Andrews*, and the Lord *Darlye* to *Caſtell-Camell*, a Howſe of the Earle of *Argile (e)*. Theſe Tydings dyd put her and her whole Compagnie in greate Feare, who thoughte St. *Johnſtone* no Place of Suretie for her to remayne in; but determinynge to keap her Promes to the Lord of *Liveſton* to be wyth hym upon *Sondaye* at Nyghte, cauſed the Earle of *Athall* and Lord *Ruthen*, wyth other Gentlemen theraboute, to ſende for their Forces wyth Speede, whoe beinge aſſembled to the Number of three hundred Perſons, ſhe tooke her Horſe by fyve of the Clocke in the Morninge, and roode wyth greate Speede, having onlye three Women in her Trayne *(f)*, untyll ſhe came to the *Queen's-ferrie*, paſſinge thorow a little Towne called *Kinroſſe*, harde by *Loughelevin*, whear my Lord of *Murraye* was in a Howſe in the *Loughe (g)* with hys Mother and the Larde of *Loughelevin* his Brother, with a ſmale Number of hys Servantes, havinge byne ſycke of a Flux not four Dayes before, intendinge for all that to have mette the Queen, and to have convoide her as farre as her Grace wolde gyve hym Leave; but heringe that her Grace was paſte that Towne three or four Houres before that he looked for her, he remayned ſtill, and wente not forthe. My Lord of *Argile* alſo beinge at *Camell*, not above ten Myles from *Loughelevin*, heringe that the Queen wolde come that Waye, and that my Lord of *Murraye* was ther, thynkinge that the Queen wolde dyne ther as ſhe was accuſtomed, determined to meete her at that Place the Tyme of her Dynner; and becawſe divers Brutes were ſprede of hym, that he was the cheif ſetter forwarde of all Matters moved at the Convention *(h)* at *Edenbourge*, he purpoſed to have ſpoken unto her ſomewhat of that Matter, and to have moved her Grace to accepte their Doinges in good parte, as Thyngs tendinge to the Honour of God, beneficiall to herſelf, and that which ſholde breede a Quietnes to her Reaulme to have the ſame of one Accorde. Two Howers before thys Lord came to that Towne, the Queen was paſte, and yet he thoughte that he wolde dyne wyth the Earle of *Mur-*

(*a*) And in the ſame *Shatter'd MS.* there is likewiſe a Recommendation from the Queen of *England* in favour of one *William Clerk*, who had his Ship ſeized on the Coaſt of *Scotland*.

(*b*) *Cotton* Library, Calig. B. 10. an Original.

(*c*) The Queen has been to viſit the Earl of *Athole* perhaps; for her Majeſty had been at St. *Johnſtone* (*i. e.* the Town of *Perth*) ſometime before Mr. *Randolph* wrote his laſt Letter. And *Knox* obſerves, that the Queen about this Time went to *Dunkeld*; which Place is in the Bounds of *Athole*, and ſtands nine Miles North of *Perth*.

(*d*) This is the Palace of *Calendar*, about eighteen Miles Weſt of *Edinburgh*.

(*e*) This Caſtle is about eight Miles Eaſt from *Stirling*, at the Foot of the *Ochel-hills*; and about ſix Miles Weſt of the Road the Queen was to paſs.

(*f*) This Gentleman in the former Letter was pleaſed to ſay, that the Queen's *Maries* went now no where with her; and yet here, notwithſtanding the Suddenneſs and Celerity of her Journey, her Majeſty has three Women about her: Which Mr. *Randolph* ſeems to think ſomewhat rare, by his adjecting the Word *only*. 'Tis a good thing to write conſiſtently.

(*g*) This Lord's Mother was married to *Robert Douglas* Laird of *Lochlevin*.

(*h*) By this is meant the Aſſembly of the Kirk, already referred to from *Knox* and *Spottiſwood*.

1565. ‘*raye*, and ſo returned home. To augment thys Suſpicion (*a*), the Duke was at *Keneell* in her verre Waye; and thoughe of hym ther was nothynge reported, yet bycawſe ſhe had hearde that theſe three above named had made a Bande to defende eache other, and to aſſiſte eache other in lawfull (*b*) Cawſes, ſhe tooke the more Feare. Alwayes ſhe came ſaulflye to her Jornayes ende to the *Calander* [the Lord *Liveſten*'s Howſe] and ſawe in her whole Waye not ſix Perſons mo then thoſe which ſhe broughte wyth her for her Defence (*c*).

‘The Lord *Erſken* (*d*) beinge in thys Compagnie paſſinge with the Queen, harde by *Loughlevin*, ſent in Worde to knowe what my Lord was doynge, and howe yt came to paſſe that the Queen had taken ſo greate Feare of hym, that ſhe paſſed in ſo greate Haſte, and rayſed the whol Countrie to accompagnie her: The Meſſenger founde hym ſcarce owte of hys Bedde; but hearinge of thys Meſſage, he wrytethe to my Lord to this Effecte, That he marvilled muche of her Grace's Haſte and Feare, whear no Daynger was, or anie Matter intended; the Cawſe of hys beinge ther was the Fluxes that took hym att *Edenbourge*, which ſtayed hym from comynge to St. *Johnſtone*, and that he left *Edenbourge* for the Suſpicion the Queen his Soveraigne had of the Earle of *Argile* and hym: But ſeinge other in Courte had farther Credite then he, he was contente that her Grace ſholde take Triall of bothe; but was ſorrie to ſee her ſo ſuſpicious over thoſe whome ſhe oughte beſte to truſte, and ſo far ledde by her newe Counſellers, to her owne Dyſhonour and Ruen of her Countrie (*e*).

‘Thys Letter was delivered to the Lord *Erſken*, whoe dyd ſhewe yt unto the Queen. Nothynge can wyepe awaye the Dowte ſhe hathe of theſe two Lords. Yt is not a lyttle augmented bothe by the Lord of *Lenox* and hys Sonne, whome yf I did not nowe meetlye well knowe by their Government and Uſage in thys Courte, I coulde ſcarcelye believe that ther were ſo lyttle Wyſdome as ther is, and ſo fewe Wayes to wyne Mens Hearts as I ſee, foundinge on ſuch Termes as theie do, beloved of fewe, counted by maynie the Plague and Deſtruction of thys Countrie, and hated allmoſt mortallye by the greateſte Parte.

‘The Brute of thys greate Haſte and Feare the Queen was in, is runne throughe the whole Countrie; divers Brutes and Tales ther are of yt, but your Honour ſhall fynd thys the moſte certayne and trewe.

‘As vehementlye as the Queen dothe ſuſpect theſe two Earles in ſpeciall and generallye all other of the Religion, ſo do theie conſider in what Daynger theie ſtande themſelves, nether hable, but wyth greate Dyfficultie, to avoide her Diſpleaſure, nor willinge to ſee the Reaulme thus guyded, Religion overthrown, and the Amytie broken betwene the two Countries, for the Mayntenance of which theie have geven their Faythes, and promeſed upon their Honours rather to yeelde their Lyves then to give their Conſentes. Divers Conſultations have byne had hereupon, howe theſe two Poyntes may be preſerved, their Soveraigne beinge knowne unto them to be Enemie unto them bothe, and theie not offend in Deutie towards her. Divers humble Letters have byne wrytten unto her, divers godlye Advyſes gi-

‘yen

(*a*) The Caſe was certainly ſuſpicious enough, when all Circumſtances related here are conſidered; as likewiſe, what a convenient Piece of Ground for ſuch an Affair that was, through which the Queen was to ride. *Knox* and *Buchanan* do both take notice of ſuch a thing having been rumour'd abroad; and *Melvil* ſpeaks of it as an Attempt that had failed. *Note*, the *Path of Dron*, mentioned by Mr. *Knox*, where the Queen was to have been ſurprized, is a very ſteep and wild Paſs about three Miles South of *Perth*. And *Baith*, mentioned by Sir *James Melvil*, is a Tract of cumberſome Ground ſome few Miles North of the *Queen's Ferry*. The Hill of *Baith*, about three Miles Eaſt of the Town of *Dunfermline*, was the Place where our *Congregationers* firſt aſſembled to form themſelves into a Society: And from that remarkable Event has by ſome been term'd *Congregation hill*.

(*b*) They were certainly rebellious Cauſes.

(*c*) Tho' this were true, yet is it nothing at all to the purpoſe, ſince now the Queen had a Force about her, which theſe Lords were not able to cope with, and ſo would not think it adviſable for themſelves to peep out.

(*d*) This Lord was Uncle to the Earl of *Murray*.

(*e*) The Readers will judge for themſelves if all this be genuine, when they examine it by other Parts of this Gentleman's Letters, and this Lord's Behaviour. They will likewiſe obſerve, if in this Diſcourſe there be any Foundation to credit a Plot againſt this Earl.

1565. ‘ven her, the Dayngers laid before her Eyes (*a*), not ſo muche as her Povertie left undeclared, yf anye thynge be attempted agaynſte her ether from abroode or at home. Theſe Thynges move her Grace nothynge, nor yet are her Intents ſo quietlye keapte within herſelf, but theie burſte owte, and come ſo farre abroode that theie increaſe much Miſchief and Malin daylie more and more. The Lords are determined to ſtande upon their Garde, not to come to the Courte but in ſuche ſorte as theie may be habil to debate and defende themſelves; yt is reſolved that whenſoever anye thynge be attempred ether agaynſte the Religion or Amytie, that theie wyll withſtande yt wyth all their Forces. Yf yt chance that anye one of them do fawle into their Ennemies Hands, that he ſhall be relieved by the reſte.

‘That her Intente is to proſequute thoſe that are of the Religion, beſyds that which ſhe ſpeakethe openlye, beſyds that which theie do knowe of her Devyſes and Counſells, of her Meſſages, of her Offers and Promeſſes, ſhe hathe yeſterdaye made full Declaration of her Mynde, and ſente unto thys Towne from *Calander*, the Lord of *Liveſten*'s Houſe, a Commandement to the Provoſte and Baylies, to apprehend and commytte unto ſtrayte Ward four of the chief Proteſtants, Men of greate Honeſtie and of good Welthe, *viz. Alexander Guthrie* (*b*), *Alexander Clerk*, *Gilbert Lauder*, and *Andrew Sclatter* (*c*). Thys hathe moved ſuche an Alarom in thys Towne, and the Queen havinge ſente for ſuche of her Friends that ſhe truſtethe beſte, that theie thynke yt ſhall be putte unto the Sack. Theie begyne allreddie to mayke away wyth their chief Wares, and nowe do wyſhe that their chief Subſtance were in the Towne of *Barwicke*, whear theie thynke to have yt ſurer then in the Caſtell of *Edenbourge*, where yt was laſte in the Tyme of Comber.

‘Theſe Thyngs beinge knowne unto the two Earles, theie thynke yt tyme to putte to that Remedie theie cane; theie depende greatlie upon the Comforte received from the Queen's Majeſtie our Soveraigne; theie knowe that yt as well tendethe to her Majeſtie's Suerty for that which may inſue, as the preſent Hurt and Daynger to themſelves. Wherefore havinge conſidered her Majeſtie's godlye and friendlye Offer to concurre wyth them, and to aſſyſte them, and ſeinge that ther is nothynge purpoſed herein, but the Grounde thereof is good, honorable and deutifull, as from Subjects that ſee how farre their Soveraigne is ledd by unadviſed Perſons, from her Deutie to God, and Care that ſhe ought to have of the Weal of her Countrie: Theie moſt humblye deſyer Performance of her Majeſtie's Promes; and for Signification of their Myndes in their owne Names and Names of their Bretherne, have ſente unto me thys Letter incloſed, by a Gentleman of good Truſte,

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(*a*) One is at a loſs to find out the Ground of all this Noiſe. Was it only becauſe the Queen had a mind to marry the Lord *Darnly*, a young Man without Experience, without Friends, without Money; in a word, without every thing that could render him terrible? What if the Queen had been to marry in the Houſes of *France*, *Spain* or *Auſtria*, as had been projected?

(*b*) He was Town Clerk.

(*c*) The very Names and Number of theſe Perſons are likewiſe in Mr. *Knox*: But 'tis ſtrange to find this Reſident and that Author appear to be in the leaſt ſurprized at what the Queen did herein, ſince *Knox* expreſly tells, that “the Brethren aſſembled themſelves at St. *Leonard*'s Craig [a Hill adjacent to *Edinburgh*] where they concluded they would defend themſelves; and for the ſame purpoſe elected eight Perſons of the moſt able, two of every Quarter, to ſee that the Brethren ſhould be ready armed.” Yet when this comes to the Queen's Ears, Mr. *Knox* is in a ſort of Aſtoniſhment how her Majeſty, “without any Trial, or perfect Notice taken in the Caſe, could ſend to the Provoſt and Baillies of *Edinburgh*, commanding them to take and apprehend the four above named Perſons, and put them in Priſon in the Caſtle.” A ſober Perſon ſhould methinks rather wonder how her Majeſty could do otherwiſe. The *Engliſh* Reſident is now one of the Faction; which makes him talk at the rate we now find him doing in this and other his Letters, and by which he diſcovereth ſome Things that private Hiſtorians could not eaſily come to the Knowledge of. Abp. *Spottiſwood* ſpeaking of this Story, ſaith, “In the Town of *Edinburgh* the People [at the Inſtigation of *Knox*, &c.] began to mutiny, and aſſembling themſelves in Companies on St *Leonard*'s Craigs, took Counſel to put their Burgeſſes in Arms, to aſſign them Captains, and to diſarm ſuch of the Townſmen as they knew to be affected to the Marriage. The Queen highly incenſed at this Mutiny, did haſten to the Town, at whoſe coming the Heads of the Faction, *Andrew Sclater*, &c. fled forth of the Town, and were denounced Rebels.” In all this Account there is not a Word of an Order having been ſent by the Queen to the Magiſtrates of *Edinburgh*, before her Majeſty's own Arrival. And I can aſſure my Readers, that neither is there the leaſt Appearance of it in the Regiſter of the Town-Council; which could not, I ſuppoſe, have been omitted, had any ſuch thing been. All other Meſſages from the Queen are faithfully recorded in that Regiſter. And here I cannot but take occaſion to offer my Opinion concerning Abp. *Spottiſwood*, *viz.* That wherein he narrates Matters different from *Knox* or *Buchanan*, he is generally in the right. 'Tis that good Prelate's Fault, to have taken Things upon too much Truſt of theſe two Writers.

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' whoſe Credite is thys in Effect; That the ſaid Earles do ſee their Soveraigne determined to overthrowe Religion receaved (a), ſore bente agaynſte thoſe that deſyer the Amytie to be continued. Which two Poynts theie are bound in Conſcience to mayntayne and defende, and therefore are determined to withſtande all Attemptes that ſhall be made agaynſte the ſame, and are reſolved to provyde for their Soveraigne's Eſtate, better then at thys Tyme ſhe cane conſyder thereof herſelf (b). Wherefore their Lordſhips become moſte humbil Suiters unto the Queen's Majeſtie, that yt wyll pleaſe her Highnes to give unto them ſome ſuche Supporte as may be habil to bear them owte to that Ende; and bycawſe theie do knowe and conſyder howe before Tyme her Majeſtie hath byne greatlye burdayned to their Supporte and Releef agaynſte the *Frenchemen*, and in manye other juſt Actions ſynce that Tyme, to the Comforte of manye a godlye Perſone, they are loothe ſo farre to charge her Majeſtie as to deſyer anye Number of Men to tayke their Parte; but that yt wyll onlye pleaſe her Majeſtie to healpe them with ſome ſuche Somes of Monie, as for a Tyme may be habil to keape themſelves together (c), be yt that theie determine to be whearſoever the Queen's ſelf is, or to remayne in *Edenbourge* whear theie maye beſte putte Order unto all thoſe grievous Enormities that latlye are ſpronge up amongeſte them, to the utter Confuſion of the whole State, and full Reſolution taken by their Adverſaries, that yf in thys theie cane prevaile, theie wyll leave nothynge unattempted that maye moleſte or troble their Neighbour (d). Leſt alſo that theie ſholde ſeem to deſyer anie ſuche Some, as the Greatnes therefore ſholde ſeem a Burdayne to her Majeſtie, and altogyther that waye diſcourage her from doynge any thynge at all; theie thynke that yf her Majeſtie wo'de beſtowe onlye three thouſand *Lib. Sterlinge* for thys Year, excepte ſome forraine Force be broughte in agaynſte them, that theie ſhall be habil verre well to bringe thys Reaulme in Reſte and Quietnes, and the ſame to be beſtowed as theie wyll anſwer to God to be moſte apparante to the Weale of bothe the Countries, and Furtherance of thoſe two principall Cawſes, in the Defence of which theie promes and have ſworne to adventour their Boddies, and ſpende their Goods to the uttermoſt of their Powers.

' Thys beinge their Requeſte and Credite commytted unto that Gentleman, and their Deſyer to me to advertyſe the ſame to her Majeſtie wyth Diligence, I thoughte yt my Deutie ſo to do, and wythall knowinge howe neadfull yt is that ſome ſuche Healp were geven unto them nowe in due tyme, I thoughte yt my parte thus farre to teſtifie, that I do certaynlye beleve that yt wyll torne to no ſmall Advantage in the Ende, and muche to her Majeſtie's Honour, whoe hathe nowe the full Divotion of the chiefeſte and beſte of thys Nation (e); the ſooner alſo, for that theſe Trobles are growne by ſuche over whome her Majeſtie had Power to have retayned, whoe are nowe the Cawſes of theſe Trobles and Ennemies unto her Majeſtie's ſelf.

Here follow ſome Reaſons he gives to Cecil *for writing ſo particularly.*

' Yt is wyſhed that the Lord *Hume*, who is the onlye Man of the *Marche* or *Lodian* that ſhe truſtethe in to ſerve her Torne, ſholde wyth ſome Showe of the Queen's Majeſtie's Diſpleaſure towards thys Queen, be ſome-

' tymes

(a) Her Majeſty had never yet done one ouvert Deed to make them ſee this. But 'tis now as of old, *Quoties vis fallere plebem, finge Deum.*

(b) Some of our own Hiſtorians, and Mr. *Cambden* of *England* likewiſe, inform us, that theſe Queſtions were now toſſed among the Faction, *viz.* "Whether a Papiſt might be lawfully made their King? Whether the Queen was at Liberty to make "Choice of a Husband to herſelf? and, Whether the States ought not to appoint a Husband to her?"

(c) The Earl of *Murray* is ſuccoured by the Earl of *Bedford*, as it were without the Queen's Privity, to avoid Suſpicion and Blame of the *Scots* Queen; and the factious Lords of *Scotland* deſire no Succour of Men, but Money this Year from the Queen of *England*. *Strype's Annals of the Reformation.*

(d) How came they to know this Reſolution? We have not ſeen to this Day any proper Voucher of it produced.

(e) It did not appear ſo by the Event. But one thing appears evident, that all Queen *Mary's* Enemies have been animated and ſupported by Queen *Elizabeth*.

‘tymes keapte wakeinge, that ſome ſuche good Fellows were lette looſe that would take of his Gear, to gyve hym occaſion to keape home *(a)*.

‘Yt is ſaide that the Earle *Bothewell* and Lord *Seton* are ſente for, which hathe appearance of Trothe, and are knowne to be feet Men to ſerve in thys Worlde. Yt is wyſhed, if theie do arryve in *Englande*, that theie myghte be putte in good Suerty for a Tyme, paſſe their Tyme ther. I am requyred agayne to move your Honour to do in the Favour of the Maſter of *Marſhall (b)*, ether that he retorne upon Bande, or be putte unto ſome Ranſome that he is habil to paye, not to his utter Undoynge. In thys Tyme ſuche a Man of whome my Lord of *Murraye* dothe aſſure hymſelf *(c)*, were evle ſpared. Yt were no matter thoughe the Lord *Graye (d)* were called upon for hys Entrie, thoughe he be lyttle good worthe.

‘Shortlye ther ſhall be wyth your Honour a Prelate of thys Countrie, the yonge Byſhope of *Domblane*; I wolde wyſhe that his Budgets myghte be ryflede by ſome good Slyghte or other: Yt is made me beleve that he poſtethe to *Rome (e)*, thoughe he wolde ſeem it were onlye to *Paris* to the Scholes, whear he hathe byne longe tyme before, as alſo in *Joalye* [*ſic*] latelye arryved from *Lovayne*, from that good Compagnie ther. I have recommended hym to *Barwicke*, by the L. of *Lidingtone*'s Requeſte in the Queen's Name; he lykethe ſo well his owne Crafte, that he wyll not be called a Byſhope, but ys named a Man of Credite Thus muche I thoughte to wryte, that your Honour ſhoide not be unwarned of hym.

‘Yt is tolde me, that ther are greate Somes of Monie promiſed from the hellye Father to thys Queen, and that thys Meſſenger is ſente thyther; I knowe not what to beleve hereof. Ther arryved a Shippe owte of *Flanders* upon *Mundaye* laſte, in the ſame ther was a Servante of the Earle of *Lenox*, who broughte wyth hym a Cheſte, in the which, by the Weighte, yt was ſuſpected that ther was ſome good Store of Monie *(f)*. Yf that waye theie have ether Meanes or Credite, yt is ſo muche the worſe.

‘Thys Nyghte the Queen comethe to thys Towne, ſome ſaye to lodge in the Caſtell, which I do not beleve, but rather whear ſhe was wonte at *Holly-rood-howſe*.——— *(g)*. At *Edenbourge* fourth of *Julye* 1565.

Your Honour's bounden
at Commande,

THO. RANDOLPHE.

Another Letter was wrote by this *Engliſh* Miniſter to the Secretary of that Crown on the 6th Day of this ſame Month of *July*; which however has not come to our Hand: But we can eaſily gueſs at the Contents of it, not only by the two preceeding ones, but much better by the Queen of *England*'s Anſwer to this her Servant, dated the 10th of this Month, and which upon ſundry Accounts will merit to have a Place here.

4 E 2 *The*

(*a*) Here is added on the Margin by Mr. *Randolph* himſelf, *That thirty or forty of the ſtrapen* Elliots *myght be hired to oblige him to take care of his Corn and Cattle.*

(*b*) This Gentleman (called Lord *Keith* by Mr. *Holinſhed*) had been taken Priſoner at an Inroad in the Year 1558. See *Holinſhed.*

(*c*) My Lady *Murray* was Siſter to the Maſter of *Marſhal.*

(*d*) Lord *Gray* had been likewiſe ſome ſhort time after made a Priſoner, and was allowed, as would ſeem, to come home on his Parole. *Holinſhed.*

(*e*) Our Hiſtorians talk of our Queen's having ſent *William Chiſholm* Biſhop of *Dunblane* to *Rome*, in order to obtain a Diſpenſation from the Pope for her marrying the Lord *Darnly*, her Majeſty and that Nobleman being related together within the Degrees of Conſanguinity prohibited by the Church of *Rome* for contracting of Marriage.

(*f*) Sir *James Melvil*, Mem. *p.* 57. ſpeaks of 8000 Crowns in Gold, having been ſent from the Pope to the Queen; but the Ship was broken on the Coaſt of *England*, and the Earl of *Northumberland*, tho' a Friend to our Queen, yet would not deliver the Money. Such is the Power of Money with ſome People.

(*g*) Here followeth a Paragraph, which concludes the Letter, begging Money for himſelf, as uſual, and a great many Compliments to *Cecil*, but contains nothing material; only he adviſeth to ſend the Earl of *Bedford* to *Berwick*, to countenance and ſupport the Lords of the Religion.

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Letter by the Queen of *England* to her Agent in *Scotland*; with Meſſages both to the Queen and factious Lords here.

The Queen of England*'s Letter to Mr.* Randolph, *10th* July *1565* (a).

'WE have ſeen your Letters of the 4th and 6th to our Secretary, by which we perceive, to our no ſmall Grief, appearance of Troubles to ariſe in that Realm, if God do not prevent the ſame, as we hope he will; for we cannot judge that the Lords there with whom the Queen is mov'd to be offended, have any Intention but to the Weal, Surety and Honour of their Soveraign, for otherwiſe we would not endure to allow them. If you ſhall find occaſion to ſpeak to the Queen, you may ſay, That we hearing by common Report, and eſpecially by means of ſuch as come in her Name to the *French* Ambaſſador, how troubleſome the Eſtate of that Realm begins to be, did pity the ſame, and wills her to underſtand our Compaſſion and Advice in two Things: 1. *(b)* That her late dealing with us in her Marriage without our Knowledge and Conſent. 2. Leſt at this Time ſhe ſhould think us willing to intermeddle in her Affairs without her own Contentation. And if theſe two Cauſes had not been, you may aſſure her we would have [ſhewn] preſently ſome Demonſtration of our ſiſterly good Will toward her. Nevertheleſs we wiſh her to be well adviſed how to ſuffer her Council and Nobility to nouriſh any Suſpicion one of the other, for thereof can come no Good to her Realm, nor Comfort to herſelf; and if ſhe ſhall attempt any Innovation, whereby her Nobility that have truly and faithfully ſerved her, ſhould perceive Trouble growing to the State, and Peril to themſelves, ſhe is evil counſelled, and the Cauſes of the Offence given us cannot but give her Warning. And let the Nobility know what Advice we willed you to give their Soveraign. And for their part, as long as they intend nothing but the maintaining of Religion to the Honour of God, and conſequently uphold their Soveraign's Eſtate, and *thirdly* nouriſh the Amity between the two Realms; We ſhall allow them, and ſo eſteem of them, as in all juſt and honourable Cauſes they ſhall find us to regard their State and Continuance. And becauſe ſuch great Matters are fitteſt to be remedied in the beginning before they take root, we wiſh they make the Queen underſtand plainly the Sincerity of their Intentions, and to offer unto her all manner of Service by Counſel and Advice, ſo as they may be ſafe from the Intrappings of their private Adverſaries laid. In this ſort, if they with one Accord proceed dutifully and plainly, 'tis to be hoped that you will open her Eyes to behold their Sincerity and Honour. In the mean time, whilſt ſhe is adviſed by their Adverſaries, we wiſh the Nobility forbear to reſort in Companies together, that they be not enſnared in any one Place by their Adverſaries.

'Finally, you ſhall aſſure them, that they doing their Duty, if they ſhall by Malice or Practice be forced to any Inconveniency, they ſhall not find lack in us to regard them in their Truth. And as we ſhall hear further from you, ſo ſhall we impart more of our Mind to be delivered unto them in this Cauſe.

'And where it ſeemeth by your writing, that the Nobility are determined to keep great Forces for their Defence, we are of Opinion that thereby the Queen takes moſt Suſpicion of their Intentions, and by this they ſhall be driven to greater Charges than is expedient; Upon which you ſhall do well, as you ſee Cauſe, to give them Advice, neither to make greater Expence than their Security makes neceſſary; nor leſs, which may bring Danger—— *(c)*.

Our Queen being now returned from her Progreſs to her Palace of *Holyrood-houſe*, began immediately (and not without good Reaſon) to examine into

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(a) Calig. B. 10. F. 309. a Copy.

(b) The Tranſcriber here has not done his Duty well.

(c) This Letter is an evident Demonſtration of the *Engliſh* Queen's fomenting and ſupporting a Rebellion in *Scotland*: And the rebellious Lords knew too well what they had to truſt to.

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to the late tumultuous aſſembling of the Citizens of *Edinburgh*. We learn from *Knox* and the Agent of *England*, that the Diſturbance had ſolely ariſen from the Lords and Kirk-Miniſters, Oppoſers of the Queen's Marriage, who knowing well that nothing could ſo effectually thwart the ſame as to raiſe falſe Surmiſes concerning Religion, as if her Marriage with the Lord *Darnly* would enable the Queen to overturn the *new* and introduce the *ancient* Form, (tho' it be no eaſy Matter to ſee what mighty Acceſſion of Power for effectuating this, could accreſce to her Majeſty by that Marriage.) In this View however they had exhibited certain Articles to the Queen; but ſhe chuſing to defer her Anſwer for the Space of eight Days, until ſhe ſhould return to *Edinburgh*, and have a great many of the Nobility preſent: "At the ſame time (ſays Mr. *Knox*) "as the General Aſſembly was holden in *Edinburgh*, the Brethren perceiving "the Papiſts to brag, and Trouble like to be, they aſſembled themſelves at St. "*Leonard*'s Craig" (*a*), [&c. as before mentioned.] This unwarrantable and illegal Proceeding of the Brethren having been told to the Queen while ſhe was at *Calendar* (*b*), ſhe was very much diſpleaſed, and at her Return to *Edinburgh* ſhe cauſed a Day (26th of the Month) be ſet for their Trial, and finding that they had thought fit to abſcond, ſhe then ordered them to be denounced Rebels, their Goods ſeized, &c. Yet ſuch was her Majeſty's Clemency, that all theſe Perſons were afterwards pardoned at the Interceſſion of the Magiſtrates of the Town. The Queen likewiſe, to quiet the Minds of ſuch of her Subjects as might be deceived by falſe and cunning Suggeſtions, was pleaſed to emit on the 12th of *July* a publick Proclamation, which in the Records of Privy-Council is term'd, *An Aſſurance towart the State of Religion*: The Reader may ſee it in our Account of Church-Affairs.

The Queen cauſes to be proſecuted, but afterwards pardons ſome tumultuary Citizens of *Edinburgh*.

The Time of the Parliament now drawing on, it would appear the Queen and Council have not judged the preſent unſettled Situation a proper Seaſon for entring upon Buſineſs; and therefore we ſee the following Act of Privy-Council.

Apud Edinburgh 13. Julij, Anno Dom. 1565.

SEDERUNT

Matthæus *Comes de* Levenox, Jacobus *Comes de* Mortoun, *Cancell* Joannes *Dominus* Erskine, Richardus Maitland *de* Lethingtoun *Miles*, *Cuſtos Secreti Sigilli*; *Secretarius*, *Computorum Rotulator*, *Theſaurarius*, *Clericus Juſticiariæ*, *Advocatus*.

The quhilk Day the Quenis Majeſtie, with Aviſs of the Lordis of Secreit-Counſel, for certane reſſonabill Cauſſis and Occaſiounis preſentlie occurring and moving hir Hienes, hes thought guid that the Parlement quhilk of befoir at Striviling was appointit to the 20th Day of July inſtant, be continewit quhill the 1ſt Day of September nixttocum; Thairfoir ordanis Letteris to be direct to Officiaris

The Parliament prorogued from the 20th *July* to the 1ſt *September*.

(*a*) Some People well acquainted in the Places about *Edinburgh*, have told me, that the Hill above the *Caltoun* (now called the *Caltoun Craigs*) was formerly called *St. Leonard's Craig*. But there was likewiſe a Chapel, called by the Name of *St. Leonard's*, on the Side of the riſing Ground, on the Top whereof the Wall of the King's Park on the Weſt ſide now runs, and where is a Stair over the Wall giving Entry into the Park. A little North from this Stair, and on this riſing Ground, there may be ſeen at this Day a large Stone or two, with ſome hollow cutting, ſunk into the Ground, which ſeem to have pertained to St. *Leonard*'s Chapel.

(*b*) Both *Randolph* and *Knox* inform us, that the Queen's Viſit in this Place was to witneſs the Baptiſm of a Child of the Lord *Livingſton*; and Mr. *Knox* further acquaints us, that here her Majeſty gave her Preſence to the Proteſtant Sermon. But this Condeſcenſion he ſeems to vilify in theſe Words, *which was reckoned*, ſays he, *a great Matter*; and no doubt it was ſo. And had that Perſon behaved himſelf with more Diſcretion, her Majeſty might have been gained over to reliſh other Things: But his impoliſh'd and inſolent *Manner* kept her ſtill at a diſtance. He had told a little before, that the Queen declared ſhe deſired nothing more than the ſatisfying of Mens Conſciences: And that albeit ſhe was not perſwaded in any Religion but in that wherein ſhe was brought up, yet ſhe promiſed that ſhe would hear Conference and Diſputation in the Scriptures, and publick Preaching from the Mouth of Mr. *Erskine* of *Dun* the Superintendant of *Angus* and *Mearns*; for he was a mild and ſweet natur'd Man, with true Honeſty and Uprightneſs: Therefore *Knox* makes the Remark, that "ſhe would only hear Preaching out of the Mouth of ſuch "as pleaſed her Majeſty." It was truly no Wonder that her Majeſty diſliked to hear Sermon from a paſſionate, furious and turbulent Spirit: And 'tis not improbable that upon this very Account Mr. *Knox* bore her ſo much Malice, as he vomits out on all Occaſions.

1565. **ficiaris of Armis, Shereffis in that pairt, to paſs to the Mercat-Croces of all Burrowis of this Realme, and thair be opin Proclamatioun in hir Hienes Name and Authorite, mak publicatioun of the ſaid Continewation of the ſaid Parlement to the Day above writtin; and to comand all hir Hienes, the Eſtaitis quhilkis of befoir wer warnit to compeir the ſaid** 20th **Day of** July, **to compeir and keip the ſaid** 1ſt **Day of** September, **ſicklyke as gif thai reſſavit ſpecial Preceptis and Comandmentis to that Effect.** R. M.

And a Proclamation charging all the Lieges to attend her Majeſty: Beſides which

And that her Majeſty might provide againſt any ſudden Diſturbance from the diſcontented Lords, ſhe ſet forth on the 15th of the Month a Proclamation by Advice of her Council, certifying all her good Subjects, that as they had not hitherto, ſo ſhould they not for the Time to come be moleſted in the Matter of Religion; and then **Charging all and ſindrie hir Subjectis, als weill to Burgh as to Land, Regalitie as Roaltie, that thai, and ilk ane of thame, weill bodin in feir of Weir, addreſs thame to cume to hir Majeſtie, furneiſt to remane for the Space of fifteen Dayis efter thair cuming, for attending and awayting upon hir Hienes; and that with all poſſible Dilligence efter thai be chargit thairto, under the Pane to be reput and haldin Aſſiſtaris and Partakaris with the Diſobedientis, and to be puniſt thairfoir accordinglie.**

Beſides this Proclamation, we have by Mr. *Knox* the Copy of a Letter, which, he ſays, "She wrote to a great number of Lords, Barons, Gentlemen, "and others, that were neareſt, in *Fife*, *Angus*, *Lothian*, *Merſe*, *Teviotdale*, *Perth*, *Linlithgow*, *Clidſdale*, and others, to reſort to her," in this Form of Words hereafter following:

The Queen writes alſo Letters to ſome conſpicuous Perſons, inviting them to come to her Aſſiſtance.

Truſty Freind, we greet you weill. We ar greived indeid be the evill Bruite ſpread amongſt our Liegis, as that we ſould have moleſted ony Man in the uſing of his Religioun and Conſcience freely, a Thing which never entred into our Minds; yit ſince we perceave the too eaſy beleving ſuch Reports hath maid thame careles, and ſo we think it becomes us to be carefull for the Safety and Preſervatioun of our State: Quhairfoir we pray you moſt affectionately, that with all poſſible Haiſt (efter the Receipt of this our Letter) you with your Kindred, Freinds and whole Force, weill furniſched with Armes for Warre, be provided for fifteen Days efter your coming, addres you to come to us, to wait and attend upoun us, according to our Expectatioun and Truſt in you, as you will thairby declare the good Affectioun you bear to the Manteinance of our Authority and will do us thairin acceptable Service. Subſcribed with our Hand at Edinburgh *the 17th Day* July 1565.

I ſhould be loath to ſay that this is not a genuine Letter by the Queen, yet becauſe there is *another* Original ſubſcribed by her Majeſty's *own* Hand the very Day before, preſerved in a very valuable Repoſitory, I may expect the Readers will eaſily pardon the inſerting it likewiſe here.

(a) **Traiſt Friend, we grete you wele. The evill Brute and untrew Reporte ſpred be ſeditious Perſonis amangis oure Liegis, hes grevit ws indeid, as that we ſuld have intentit to impede or moleſte ony oure Subjectis in the uſing of thair Religioun and Conſcience frelie; a Thing quhilk nevir enterit in oure Mynde, althought owir mony hes creditit the Report: And to the effect that this vane Brute may evanyſhe, as a Thing without Ground or Occaſioun, We have directit oure Letteris, to ſignifie oure ſyncere Meaning to all oure guid Subjectis; and with that we thought it verie mete and convenient to wryte unto you in particular, as ane of quhome we nevir had bot guid**

(a) *Cotton* Library, Calig. B. 10. F. 316. an Original. But it is paſted on another Leaf of Paper; ſo that the Direction on the Back is not to be ſeen.

guid Opinioun, and ſaw your reddy guid Will to ſhue, quhen the Occaſioun of the commoun Wele requirit. The Effect is to certifie and aſſuir you, that as hiddertillis ye haif neuir perſauit ws meyn Stop, Stay, or Moleſtation to you, or ony utheris, in uſing your Religioun and Conſcience *(a)*, ſa may ye luik for the ſame oure guid Will and Clementie in tyme coming; for nixt God behauing you as a guid Subject to ws, think na uthir bot to fynd ws a fauorable and beneficiall Maiſtres and Prince, willing to contene you in guid Peas and Quietnes, but Innovatioun or Alteratioun in ony ſorte: And in caiſs ye ſal be deſirit to ryſs and concur with ony Man, as under pretenſs of this vane Bruitis, We pray you to eſtay, and tak na hede to thame that ſa ſal deſire you. As alſwa, gif it ſal happin ws to haue to do, owthir with oure auld Inymeis, or utherwys, We luk to be certifit be you preſentlie in Write with the Berair, quhat we may lippin for at youre Handis. Farther of oure Mynd we haue declarit to the Berair heirof ——— ——— ——— ——— quhom to ye ſal gif firme Credite. Subſcriuit with oure Hand at Edinburgh the 16th Day of Julij 1565.

MARIE R.

To this Letter, all written by her Majeſty's own Hand, is annexed the following Poſtſcript in a different Hand, but ſtill *above* the Queen's Subſcription.

Eſtir thir oure Lettre writtin, and quhen we hopit that ſa ſuddanlie we neidit not to ——— *zou, we ar conſernit to gif zow Warnins, and pray zow effectuuſly, that ze with zowr comin Freindis, and Force ze may mak, addres zow to com to ws, bodin in feir of Weir, and providit for* 15 *Dayis eſtir zowr cumine, to attend and await upon ws. For ſeing Armour takin on alreddy without Occaſion, it war little anewch that we luikit to oure awn Suretie and Eſtait. This we doubt not bot ze will do according to oure Lippinnins with all poſſible Haiſt.*

We have not a commodious Berare reddy, and zit wald not delay it——*for it will ſufficientlie anewch declair oure Meanyngs.*

The factious Lords convene at *Stirling*, and from thence diſpatch a Gentleman

Preciſely about this Time, the Heads of the diſaffected Faction were ſo emboldened as to convene within the Town of *Stirling*, "pretending to conſult "(ſays Mr. *Knox*) what ſhould be done as well in Religion as for the Com"monwealth." This Author likewiſe tells of a Meſſage ſent by the Queen to thoſe at *Stirling*; and the Anſwer which they returned to her Majeſty. However that Gentleman labours under ſome Miſtake here: For that there was a Meſſage ſent by the Queen at this Time, and by the very Perſons he mentions, is indeed Fact; but then the Meſſage was neither to *all* the Perſons, nor was the Import of the Meſſage the *ſame* as he mentions. This Author informs the World likewiſe of ſeveral Particulars relating to the Earl of *Murray*, eſpecially that that Lord was under a Neceſſity not to repair to the Queen's Preſence, for fear of his Life from thoſe that were about her Majeſty. But of all theſe Things the Reader will obtain a more authentick and ſatisfactory Account from the original Records, which I have put into the *Appendix*.

What private Concert the Rebel-Lords at *Stirling* had agreed upon among themſelves to carry on their factious Courſes, cannot be known: However there is one principal Point of their Conſultations, that comes to Light by the following Letter, which was drawn up by them, and tranſmitted to the Queen of *England*.

(*a*) Nor indeed do we perceive that the Queen had given any Moleſtation to the Form of Religion ſhe found in the Kingdom at her Return; or had preſſed People, contrary to their Inclinations, to follow her Form.

1565. *Letter from the factious Lords at* Stirling, *To the Queen of* England, 18*th* July *(a)*.

with a Leteer to the Queen of *England*.

“MAY it pleis your Majeſte. Underſtanding be your Hynes Ambaſſador Sir *Nycholas Throgmorton*, and als be the Information of your Majeſties Servand Maiſter *Randolphe*, heir Reſident upon your Hynes Affayres, the guid and gratius Mynd your Majeſtie with Continuance beareth to the Meyntenance of the Goſpell, and ws that profeſs the ſame in this Realme, hes thought expedient to latt your Majeſtie underſtand, that laitly we haif preſentit the Quenis Majeſtie our Souverayne certayne Articlis *(b)* for eſtabliſhing of the Evangell in this our natyve Cuntrey. Quhairof as the Anſwer is long delayt, ſo hoip we but verray ſlenderly thairof: And heirfor fearing that our erniſt Sute, joyned with the Profeſſion of the ſaid Religion, ſall at length procuir unto ws no guid Will of our Souverayne without our meriting; and ſeing it hayth pleaſed God to bliſs your Majeſtie with that moſt honorable Tytile to be under God Protectrix moſt ſpecial of the Profeſſors of the Religion, and haiſing in our ſelfs experimentit maiſt amply your Majeſties gracius Liberalite in that Behalf, can do non uther in tyme of Neceſſity nor with thankfull Hartis for the paſt, and good Hope for that ſall cum, haif Recours to your Majeſties accuſtumyt Bonte, with the quhilk your Hynes embraſed ws, and mony utheris in ours and thairis moſt Extremyte: Quhilk we remember with Thankfulnes, and ſall quhill thro our Lyiffs (quhilks God by your Majeſtie hayth redemyt) ſall induir: And for that Cauſe wald be moſt ſorouſul to ſe ony Occaſion fall out that myght trouble the mutual Amyte of thir two Nations, ſo happelye and upon ſo guid Ground foundit and begonn be your Hynes Liberalite, to your immortal Prayſe. And for this Cauſe hes comandit this Berar to declarat our guid Willis and bent Affectionne to the Preſervationne thairof to your Majeſtie, to quhom thairfor it may pleis your Majeſtie gif Credit on our Behalf as to our ſelfs *(c)*. And thus after our maiſt humyll Commendation of our Service unto your Majeſtie, we comit your Hynes to the Protection of God. From *Strivueling* the xviii. of *July* 1565.

Your Majeſties moſt hummyll Servuiteuris,
JAMES HAMYLTON *(d)*.
AR. ARGILL.
JAMES STEWART *(e)*.

To the preceeding Letter, 'tis very proper to add theſe that follow from the *Engliſh* Reſident, as contributing ſtill more Light into our Affairs.

Letter from Mr. Randolph *to Secretary* Cecil, 19*th* July *(f)*.

Letter from the *Engliſh* Agent to the *Engliſh* Secretary.

‘MAye yt pleaſe your Honour: Thys Daye the 18th I receaved the Queen's Majeſties Letter, and one from your Honour of the 11th, contayninge Matter to be declared to thys Queen from the Queen's Majeſtie, and certayne of the Lords whoe are not nowe preſent, and therfore requirethe ſome conveniente Tyme. In the meane Seaſon your Honour ſhall underſtande

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(a) *Cotton* Library, Calig. B. 10. Fol. 317. an Original.

(b) Theſe Articles may be ſeen in our Eccleſiaſtical Part.

(c) This probably has been Mr. *Nicholas Elphinſton*, who, *Knox* ſays, was ſent into *England* by theſe Lords, and returned with a very liberal Allowance of Money.

(d) This was the uſual Subſcription of the Duke of *Chaſtelherault*'s eldeſt Son the Earl of *Arran*; yet moſt probably this has been the Duke himſelf ſeeing his Grace was at *Stirling* now among the diſcontented Lords, but not his Son, for he was at this Time Priſoner in the Caſtle of *Edinburgh*.

(e) *i. e.* the Earl of *Murray*.

(f) *Cotton* Library, Calig. B. 10. F. 318. an Original.

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derſtande that I lacke no Matter to wryte of, for all Thyngs do growe here daylie worce and worce, and are lyke to come unto a mervillous Extremitie.

‘ Thys Queen at thys Tyme hathe aſſembled all her Forces, ſo maynie as ſhe is hable to mayke to be here in thys Towne thys Daye, to Morrowe and the nexte, to what Ende yt is not yet knowne, farther then by Conjectour; ether to aſſayle the Duke, the Earles of *Argile* and *Murraye*, with their Complices, or to keape them preſent in thys Towne untyll her Mariage be paſte, whych ſhall be openlye ſolemnized wythowte Fayle upon *Sondaye* come eight Dayes. One other Occaſion there is, of the whych ſomewhat your Honour hathe hearde in my other Letters, that four honeſte (*a*) Men of thys Towne were accuſed of unlawfull Aſſemblye in thys Towne; theie are warned to a Daye of Lawe the 26th of thys inſtant: She fearethe that theie ſhall be ſo mayntayned in their juſte Action by the Proteſtants, that ſhe ſhall not have her Wyll of them, excepte ſhe be ſtronger then the Towne, and thoſe that wyll aſſyſte them; and therfore ſhe intendethe to keape the greater Force abowte her, untyll ſhe ſee what wyll become of that Matter. Here are preſentlie the Lord *Home* wyth hys whole Force, the Larde of *Ceſforde* wyth as maynie as he cane brynge, dyvers other of the *Marche* and *Lodian* are comynge, ſo are there from all Parts as maynie as wyll at thys Tyme obey her Commandemente. Another Occaſion of thys Aſſemblye was, that the Lords of the Congregation aſſembled themſelves yeſterdaye at *Sterlinge*, *onlye* to conclude what their Parts ſholde be, yf the Queen wolde overthrowe Religion, or do anye maner of Acte that myghte gyve Occaſion to the Queens Majeſtie our Sovereigne to mayke Warre agaynſte thys Countrie (*b*). She takinge an Opinion that theie wolde have come to thys Towne, and aſſayled her here, ſente for them wyth the greater Expedition, as by thys Letter incloſed (*c*) your Honour maye perceave, in the whych your Honour maye note in what Credit the Queens Majeſtie our Miſtres is yet in, that ſhe cane be contente to uſe thys Terme (our olde Ennemies) beſyds maynie other unhonorable Words, that I knowe that ſhe hathe openlye ſpoken wythin thoſe few Dayes, latlyer then my laſte Letters were wrytten to your Honour; and playnlie I muſte ſaye, that ſhe is ſo muche altered from that Majeſtie that I have ſeen in her, from that Modeſtie that I have wondered at to be in her, that ſhe is not nowe countede by her owne Subjects to be the Woman ſhe was (*d*). I here yet nether from herſelf, nor anye other from her, anye Motion or Lykelyhoode that ſhe deſyerethe anye Accorde, but truſtethe that for thoſe that are here ſhe ſhall gyde as ſhe wyll; for the reſte, ſhe wyll attende her good Fortune. She is ſo poore at thys preſent, that reddie Monie ſhe hathe verie lyttle, Credit none at all, Frendeſhippe wyth fewe, bothe ſhe and her Howsbonde (ſo I maye nowe well call hym) ſo hyghe-harted, that yet theie thynke themſelves equall to the greateſte, and hable in tyme to attayne unto whatſoever theie deſyer (*e*). To let the Worlde underſtande that the Lords have ſome other Pretence in their Head then Religion, ſhe ſeemethe now willinge to mayke no Alteration of Religion (*f*), and thynkethe that waye to mayke the Proteſtants the more odious to the reſte, but ſhe herſelf alterethe nothyng of her accuſtomed ſorte; and bycawſe my Lord *Darlye* wolde ſeeme to be indifferente, ſometyme he goethe wyth

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(*a*) They might perhaps be *honeſt* in one Senſe, but ſurely they were *diſhoneſt* in another.

(*b*) The Readers do ſee the Reſult of that Day's Meeting, by their Letter to the Queen of *England*. This Reſident perhaps thinks that the Adjection of the Word *only* may ſerve to juſtify the aſſembling of thoſe *Congregation-Lords*, (a Term we have not heard of for ſome time bypaſt) tho' every Body may eaſily perceive that there could not be a more treaſonable aſſembling together; for it was ſurely to conclude no leſs than that they would riſe in Arms *for* the Queen of *England* againſt their own Sovereign.

(*c*) This has been a Copy of our Queen's Letter juſt now already ſet down, as we may perceive by the Expreſſion, *our old Enemies*.

(*d*) And yet it appeared very ſhortly that the Queen was well obeyed by the moſt part of her Subjects; and that ſhe had no Difficulty to drive the factious Lords out of the Kingdom.

(*e*) And therein they were not miſtaken.

(*f*) Nor do I remember that ever ſhe made any. This Gentleman would fain attribute the Name *Proteſtants* to the Rebel-Lords only, in diſtinction from the other Profeſſors of the new Eſtabliſhment.

1565. the Queen to the Maſſe, and theſe two laſte Dayes hathe byne at the Sermonds. Yt is alſo ſayde that ſhe wyll be mariede wyth a Miniſter, whearof I do dowte. Some thynke that thoughe the Brute be, that ſhe ſhall be mariede upon *Sondaye* come eight Dayes, that yt ſhall yet be prevented, and be upon *Sondaye* nexte, before thys Compagnie that are here do breake: Howeever that yt be, your Honour ſhall have as ſpedie Knowledge as I cane gyve you. Allwayes your Honour maye ſee how her Promes is keapte to the Queens Majeſtie, that her Mariage ſholde be dyfferred for three Monethes, and nothynge done therin before the Parlemente, whych nowe is proroged to the fyrſte of *September*. Theſe Matters are thus guydid by my Lord of *Lenox*, Lord *Roberte* and *David*. Other Counſell ſhe takethe lyttle of anye Subjecte ſhe hathe. Mr. *John Haye* is ſente to declare unto my Lord *Murraye*, the Lord of *Lenox* and Lord *Darlye*'s good Wyll towards hym, and to purge them that ever anye of them were conſentinge to have ſlayne hym, as yt was reported, and in that Quarrell the Lord *Lenox* dothe offer to fyghte wyth whomeſoever dare avoue yt. Whether yt be trewe or not, that the Lord *Graye* ſholde have done yt, I knowe not; but by hym I here ſaye yt is come forthe *(a)*. Shortlye we ſhall knowe to what Ende theſe Forces are aſſembled, and the Caſtall furnyſhed wyth all the Munition that theie are hable to provyde, whither yt is thoughte that the Queen wyll retire herſelf, yf ſhe fynde herſelf not hable to mayke parte agaynſte ſuche as are of the contrarie Partie. My Lord of *Lenox* upon *Sondaye* laſte ſholde have gone to *Glaſcowe*, and was in a Reddynes; but that Purpoſe was altered, bycawſe thother were to maynie in his waye, and indeade wolde have foughte yf he had holde on his Jornay. In thys State and Caſe hathe he brought hymſelf, the Queen and the whole Countrie, that before hys comynge was in good Reſte and Quietnes, ſhe as well beloved and obeyed of her Subjectes as in Deutie theie were bounde, whear now yt wyll grieve any Man to hear the ſorowefull Lamentation that ys made of all thoſe that are wyſe, godlye and honeſte, as well the Papyſts as other *(b)*. My Lord of *Lenox* hathe put from hym all the *Engleſhemen* that ſerved hym. My Lord *Darlye* retaynethe onlye ſix, of which four are willinge to leave hym; and I thynke yt maye ſtande with the Queen's Majeſties Pleaſure that I ſholde warne them ſo to do. I wrote of a Cheſte that came owte of *Flanders*, yt was onlye Apparell belonginge to one *Nycolſon* a Taylor that dwelte in *Paules* Churche-yarde, that ſlewe a Man, as I hear, four Yeares paſte, and ſeekethe nowe to ſerve the Lord *Darlye*. By a Shippe that arrived yeſterdaye from *Flanders*, I underſtande that ther are two *Engleſhemen*, in apparance Gentlemen, comynge in another Shippe hyther; what I maye ſaye to anye ſuche, or requere to be done unto them, yf theie come, I wolde be gladde to be advertyſed from your Honour. The Letter to revoke the Earle *Bothewell* was ſubſcribed within theſe three Dayes; whether yt ſhall paſſe by Sea or Lande, I knowe not. Thys *Frencheman* that came laſte, broughte Letters in the favour of the Prince of *Condie* from the Cardinall, but theie doe beare an olde Date. Some thynke for all that, that the Cardinall is well enoughe pleaſed wyth thys Man, [Lord *Darnly*] in hope that thys Queen maye in tyme the eaſlyar come by that which ſhe deſyerethe in *Englande*. Your Honour cane not be ignorante but what Frendeſchipe ſoever the *Frenche* and *Spanyſhe* Embaſſadors [in *England*] maye ſhewe, by waye of Intelligence, or practyſe wyth thys Queen, ſhe ſhall lacke nothynge that lyethe in their Powers. Of all theſe thyngs your Honour cane have farther Conſyderation then I neade to put your Honour in Remembrance; as alſo of the late Motion made unto the Queen's

Ma-

(a) This Plot againſt the Earl of *Murray*'s Life, which Mr. *Buchanan* is at ſome pains to expatiate upon, in order to evade the other againſt the Queen, the Lords *Lenox* and *Darnly*, we ſee by this Reſident's Account of it, is ſuſpended on very uncertain Reports. Yet *Buchanan*, who was not in *Scotland* at the Time, can narrate all the Particulars very preciſely. But it ſeems this Author, in all his Narrative of theſe Times, took up with *Machiavel*'s Maxim, *Calumniate audacter, aliquid adhærebit*; i. e. *A bold Calumny will ſtill leave ſome Blemiſh.*

(b) A Repetition ſtill of the former falſe Cant.

Majeſtie by the Lords here for their Supporte, whearof theie look from tyme to tyme to receave ſome good Anſwer. That which I wrote laſte ſomewhat dowtinglie to the Queen's Majeſtie, I cane nowe moſte certaynlye aſſure her Majeſtie that yt was ſo. Thus leavinge farther to trouble your Honour for thys Tyme, I tayke my Leave. At *Edenbourge* the 19th of *Julye* 1565.

‘I have receaved a Cypher from your Honour, and will uſe yt hereafter as I fynde Occaſion.

Your Honour's bounden at Commande,

THO. RANDOLPHE.

On the Back is written with another Hand,

Randolph *to Sir* W. Cecill, *19th* July 1565.

The Queen of Scotts *commaundeth all her Freinds to be at* Edinborough *the 20th, to aſſault* Argill *and* Murray, *or ſecure herſelf.* Bothwell *is ſent for.* Murray*'s Pretence was, he ſhould have bene murthered: The Queen denieth it by Proclamation.*

Another Letter from Mr. Randolph *to Sir* William Cecill, *21ſt* July (a).

Another Letter from the ſame to the ſame Perſon.

‘YEſterday I had Audience of the Queen, to whom I delivered my Meſſage Word by Word, as I had it in Writing: To which ſhe ſaid, *That ſhe took in very good part the Queen my Miſtreſs's Advice*; *but for theſe* (ſaith ſhe) *whom your Miſtreſs calls my beſt Subjects, I can't eſteem them ſo; nor ſo do they deſerve to be accounted of, that will not do my Commands: And therefore my good Siſter ought not to be offended, though I do that againſt them they deſerve* (b). I pray'd her Majeſtie to conſider from what Head that Advice came, that ſhe ſhould be ſo altered in Mind and Will towards ſuch as of all others had moſt truly, obediently and faithfully ſerved her; and ſo long as ſhe eſteemed of them as they are worthy, and gave unto them ſuch Credit as appertains to Men of their Place and Calling, her Eſtate was quiet, her Country in Repoſe, her Subjects well ruled; where now, if ſpeedy Remedy be not taken, and good Advice followed in time, her whole Country was like to be ruined, her Noblemens Blood ſhed, and perchance her own Perſon fall into ſome Danger (c). *For all theſe Things* (ſaith ſhe) *I have Remedy enough, and will never eſteem them good Subjects that will do ſo far contrary to my Will as they do.* I reaſoned no farther with her Grace, but took my Leave.

‘Where your Honour requires me to write plainly the Anſwer of the Lord *Lenox* and Lord *Darnly* to the Letters given them by me, for their Return into *England*; It may pleaſe your Honour to underſtand, that yeſterday I went to them both again, firſt to the Father, and then to the Son. I did put them in mind of the Charge given unto them from the Queen's Majeſtie, upon their Allegiance to return; and becauſe their former Anſwer was uncertain, I deſired that I might have a reſolute and plain Anſwer, which the Father gave in this ſort: *You know* (ſaith he) *in what Caſe my Wife is* (d), *and how hardly ſhe is dealt with upon no Deſert; you have alſo I am ſure heard that would not pleaſe her Majeſtie to accept my Letters of humble Submiſſion; wherefore I think it too dangerous for me to venture to return: And therefore I pray you to take this for an Anſwer, That I mind not to come again into* England, *except I can ſtand more aſſured of the Queen's Majeſtie's Favour than yet I do; notwithſtanding I ſhall be ready to ſerve her,* ‘*as*

(a) Lawyers Library, from *Cotton* Library, Calig B 10. an Original.

(b) We may perceive by this, that the Queen of *England* has interceded for the Earl of *Murray*, &c. to preſerve them ſtill in Favour. Probably this Audience had proceeded upon the Queen of *England's* Letter of the 10th inſtant.

(c) Theſe are the Threatnings of what the Party intended.

(d) "The 22d *April*, the Lady *Margaret* Counteſs of *Lenox* was commanded (ſays *How*) to keep her Chamber at the *Whitehall*, where ſhe remained till the 22d of *June*; and then conveyed be Sir *Francis Knolls* and the Guard to the Tower of *London* by Water."

1565. *as now lawfully I may.* To theſe Words I ſaid not much, ſaving one Word of the Queen's Majeſtie's Clemency, and Advice unto him to give ſuch Counſel that the apparent Troubles and preſent Danger might ſoon be taken away; for greater Hazard did hang thereupon than he did preſently ſee. From him I went to my Lord *Darnly*, and ſpake in like manner; who in other ſort anſwered me than in Duty became him, or with Patience I could hear: *I do now* (ſaith he) *acknowledge no other Duty or Obedience but to the Queen here, whom I ſerve and honour; and ſeeing that the other, your Miſtreſs, is ſo envious of my good Fortune, I doubt not but ſhe may have need of me, as you ſhall know within a few Days: Wherefore to return I intend not, I find my ſelf very well where I am, and ſo purpoſe to keep me; and this ſhall be for your Anſwer.* To this I ſaid, That he had much forgotten his Duty, to eſteem ſo lightly ſuch a Princeſs as my Soveraign is; and in ſuch deſpiteful Words to reject and give over the Bond of Duty, was neither diſcreetly ſpoken of him, nor otherwiſe to be anſwered of me, than that I hoped to ſee the Wreck and Overthrow of as many as were of the ſame Mind with him. And ſo turning my Back to him, without Reverence or Farewell, I went away.

'For the other Part of the Queen's Majeſtie's Letter, which is for Advice to be given to the Lords that now are in Diſpleaſure (*a*); I have not found many to whom I would communicate, but to ſome I have that like it very well, and intend (as I may) to ſignify the ſame to the reſt (*b*). For our preſent State it ſtandeth thus: Her Grace in all appearance determined the Overthrow of theſe Noblemen, and in ſpecial the Earl of *Murray*, to whom ſhe ſent yeſterday with one of her Advocates a Charge, that upon Pain of Treaſon he repair towards her with Diligence (*c*), and manifeſt unto her and her Council the Authors of the Bruit that he alledgeth, and now all *Scotland* ſpeaketh, that the Lord of *Lenox* and Lord *Darnly* ſhould conſent unto his Death, if he had come to St: *Johnſton*. The Anſwer is not yet returned; but I am aſſured ſhe muſt do as ſhe ſaith, that is, fetch him before he come.

'Of the Certainty of her Marriage, your Honour ſhall know by this Ticket incloſed, the very Copy of that which was delivered to the Miniſter to be proclaimed on *Sunday*, which is to Morrow. Though in the Banns he be titled *Duke of Albany*, I hear nothing of his Creation (*d*). Her whole Forces are in Town, and many other come daily (*e*); what Part they will take, I know not. They Lords have retired to their own Houſes (*f*), and ſtand upon their Guard, and aſſuredly not without marvellous great Ground and Danger to themſelves, and utter Overthrow of Religion, if that they be overthrown. There are of this Party many wiſe and honeſt Men, Perſons whom your Honour ſhall ſhortly hear of, and have ſome one Man to confer with at more length than I can write: He ſhall come ſecretly, and light at Sir *Nicholas Throckmorton*'s (*g*). Moſt humbly I take my Leave. At *Edinburgh* 21ſt of *July* 1565, at Seven of the Clock in the Morning.

'I am

(*a*) This is ſtill a farther Ground to believe that Queen *Elizabeth*'s Letter of the 10th has been the Occaſion of this Audience.

(*b*) It ſeems the Reſident has not found Things ſo forward as he expected.

(*c*) This Gentleman does not preciſely narrate the Truth here: The Readers will ſee the whole Matter in the Appendix.

(*d*) We ſhall however quickly ſee that the Queen gave him this ſame Title in two publick Proclamations. And *Knox* likewiſe narrates, that on the 23d of *July* the Queen created Lord *Darnly*, Duke of *Rotheſay*, with great Pomp. But there muſt no doubt be a Miſtake here, of *Rotheſay* for *Albany*; and perhaps of the Day of the Month too. *Rotheſay* is a Caſtle in the Iſle of *Bute*, the ancient Patrimony of the Steward of *Scotland*, before that Family came to the Crown. King *Robert* III. created his eldeſt Son *David*, Duke of *Rotheſay*; the firſt that enjoyed the Title of Duke in this Kingdom. And the ſame Year, *viz.* 1399, he created his own Brother *Robert*, then Earl of *Fife* and *Menteth*, Duke of *Albany*.

(*e*) This is much contrary to what this Perſon would fain have made our Queen to believe.

(*f*) They ſaw they had not Force ſufficient to make head againſt the Queen, notwithſtanding all the Noiſe they made about the Danger of Religion.

(*g*) Who this Perſon has been I cannot preciſely ſay. I ſee Mr. *Knox* mentions one *Nicholas Elphinſton* to have been ſent into *England* by the Rebel Lords, and I perceive one *Livingſton* in the Abſtracts of Letters by *Cecil*. But I am inclined to think there may be herein a Miſtake of one Name for another, the Reſemblance being pretty near. And that *Elphinſton* has been the Perſon, appears very probable, becauſe on the 13th Day of *Auguſt* I ſee in the Records of Privy Council copied by Mr. *Miln*, a Warrant given to ſearch for Mr. *Michael Elphinſton*; and if he be not perſonally found, to charge him by open Proclamation at the Market-croſs of *Edinburgh*, *Coupar*, *Perth*, and all other Places needful, to preſent himſelf before the King and Queen, to anſwer to ſuch Things as ſhall be laid to his Charge, within ſix Days, under the Pain of Rebellion. This Gentleman has no Deſignation at all in the Record. One of his Name, a Son of the Lord *Elphinſton*, was Maſter of the Houſhold to King *James* VI.

1565.

‘ I am glad of my Lord of *Bedford*'s Arrival *(a)*. I moſt earneſtly deſire ſtill ‘ to be a Mean for the Maſter of *Marſhal*, an aſſured Friend taken to be in the ‘ Cauſe. The Lord *Gray* were better there than here. Of the other two that ‘ I wrote of, little Good is to be thought of them.

Your Honour's bounden at Command,

Tho. Randolphe.

The factious Lords having taken themſelves to Arms,

The Reſult of the Conſultations at *Stirling* having now it ſeems diſcovered itſelf, by an open taking up of Arms: The Queen being advertiſed hereof, ſent forth Proclamation under the ſevereſt Penalties to all the Lieges, to repair forthwith to the Aſſiſtance of her Majeſty, in the following Terms:

Apud Edinburgh 22. Julij, Anno Dom. 1565.

SEDERUNT *Præſente Regina,*

Matthæus *Comes de* Levenox, Jacobus *Comes de* Mortoun *Cancellarius*, Joannes *Dominus* Erskine, *Cuſtos Secreti Sigilli*, *Secretarius*, *Theſaurarius*, *Clericus Regiſtri*, *Clericus Juſticiariæ*, *Advocatus*, *Decanus de* Reſtalrig *Præſidens Seſſionis*. *Extraordinarii ratione Conventus*, Alexander *Dominus* Hume, Joannes *Dominus* Fleming, Willielmus *Dominus* Levingſton, Patricius *Dominus* Lindſay, Hugo *Dominus* Lovet, Jacobus *Dominus* Somervel, Joannes *Dominus* Borthick, Andreas *Magiſter de* Errol, Robertus *Commendatarius de* Dumfermling, Robertus *Commendatarius* Sanctæ Crucis, Willielmus *Commendatarius de* Kelſo, Andreas *Commendatarius de* Jedburgh, Marcus *Commendatarius de* Newbottill *(b)*, Robertus *Commendatarius de* Deir *(c)*, Alexander Stewart *de* Garleis, Walterus Ker *de* Ceſfurd, *Milites*, Thomas Ker *de* Phayrnihirſt, Joannes Stewart *de* Traquair, Willielmus Edmiſtoun *de* Duntreth.

The Queen ſends out a Proclamation for the Attendance of the Lieges.

Forſamekill as after divers wickit, ungodlie and ſeditious Perſonis, irkit of the guid Tranquillitie whilk ſen the Arryvall of the Quenis Majeſtie, and during hir gratious Government hes continewit, had ſpred untrew Reportis amangis the Subjectis, as that hir Majeſtie had intentit to imped, ſtay or moleſt ony of thame in the uſeing of thair Religioun and Conſcience frelie: The Succeſs of the quhilk untrew Report hes takin Effect, to the greit Grief of hir Hienes, ſeing a greit Numer of hir Legeis cauſleſs to have takin on Armis, and thairby to miniſtrat ſufficient Occaſioun of Jeloſy and Miſlyking; quhairas indeid hir Majeſtie never preſumit Alteratioun of the guid and quiet Eſtait of the comoun Weill. And ſen this Defectioun is enterit altogidder contrarious to hir Graces Expectatioun, hir Majeſtie man proveyd for the dew Saiftie and Preſervatioun of the Eſtait quhairin God hes placeit hir Hienes: Ordainis thairfoir Letteris to be direct to Officiaris of Armis, Shireffis in that Pairt, charging thame to paſs to the Mercat-Croce of the Burrowis of Edinburgh, Haddingtoun, Duns, Lawder, Peebles, Lanerk, Linlytgow, Striviling, Clackmanan, Kulroſs, Cuper, Dumbartane, Renfrew, and thair be open Proclamatioun to command and charge all and ſindrie hir Hienes Leigis, als weill to Burgh as to Land, Regalitie as Roaltie, that thai, and ilk ane of thame, weill bodin in feir of Weir, with fifteen Dayis Proviſion efter thair cuming, addreſs thame to cume to hir Majeſtie with all poſſible Haiſt and Dilligence, efter thai be chargit thairto, for attending and awayting upon hir Hienes, under the Pane of Tinſall of Lyff, Landis and Guids.

(a) *i. e.* to his Government of *Berwick*, in order I reckon to implement the Project adviſed by Sir *Nicholas Throckmorton*.

(b) Son to Sir *Walter Ker* of *Ceſsford*, and Predeceſſor to the now Marquis of *Lothian*.

(c) He was Son to the Earl *Mariſchal*.

1565.

Of the ſame Date with this Act, we meet with the following Letter by the Earl of *Murray* to his good and truſty Friend the Earl of *Bedford*, Lieutenant for the Queen of *England* in the North-Parts, and Governor of the Town of *Berwick*.

Letter, the Earl of Murray *to the Earl of* Bedford, *St.* Andrew'*s* July 22*d* 1565 *(a)*.

Letter from the Earl of *Murray* to the Earl of *Bedford* of *England*, craving Aſſiſtance.

“ Right Honourable, my very good Lord: After my moſt hearty Commendations, I truſt the Bruit of ſome Noblemens proceeding againſt
“ me is ſo far ſpread abroad, that it hath alſo reached your Ears. I know no
“ Merit in my ſelf, ſaving the earneſt Affection God hath granted me to his
“ true Worſhip, the good Will I bear to the Commonwealth of my Country,
“ and the Entertainment of an mutual Amity betwixt both Realms. And ſeeing that my ſingle Intention, grounded upon ſo good Heads, have ingendred
“ to me the Peril wherein preſently I and all my like in this Realm ſtandeth:
“ And knowing your good Lordſhip's earneſt Affection, joined with Sincerity,
“ to the ſame End; I thought it my Duty to give your Lordſhip to underſtand
“ the ſame, knowing well, that as your good Will is much to our Comfort,
“ ſo is your Room and Place of Power to perform the ſame in a great part;
“ eſpecially ſeeing the Perſons moſt dangerous and troubleſome to our Party,
“ doth ly very near your Bounds, we would wiſh, and for my own part muſt
“ earneſtly crave of your Honour to ſtay off us by all means their Power, which
“ your Lordſhip hath Moyen to do. And ſo as Matters ſhall further proceed to our Strait, we crave further your Lordſhips Comfort, as of one to
“ whom God hath granted to know the ſubtile Devices of Satan againſt the
“ innocent Profeſſors of the Goſpel, to ſtir up the Powers of the World againſt
“ the ſame, and how many ways he can colour his Enterprize. And thus not
“ doubting of your Lordſhip's good Will, I commit your honourable Lordſhip
“ to the Protection of God *(b)*.

The Records of our Privy-Council, which I have put into the *Appendix*, contain the Knowledge of what paſſed through the enſuing Week, until *Saturday* the 28th *July*; on which Day we find ſubjoined to another Act, which the Readers ſee in the *Appendix*, this following Proclamation by the Queen, not publiſhed at the Market-Croſs of *Edinburgh* till near an Hour after Sunſetting, if we may credit Mr. *Knox*.

Proclamation by the Queen the Evening before her Marriage, ſhewing her Intention to give her Huſband the Title of *King*.

MARIE, be the Grace of GOD Quene of Scotland, To our Lovitis, Lyon King at Arms, and his Brither Herauldis, and to our Lovitis, Meſſengeris, our Shireffis in that Pairt, conjunctlie and ſeverallie, ſpeciallie conſtitute, Greeting: Foraſmekill as we intend, at the pleiſure and Will of God, to ſolemnizat and compleit the Band of Matrimonie in Face of hallie Kirk with the Rycht nobill and illuſter Prince HENRY Duke of Albany; In reſpect of the quhilk Mariage, and during the Time thairof, we will, ordane and conſentis that he be namit and ſtylit KING of this our Kingdom, and that all our Letteris to be direct eftir our ſaid Mariage ſua to be compleitit, be in the Names of the ſaid illuſter Prince our future Huſband and us, as King and Quene of Scotland conjunctlie. Our Will is heirfoir, and we charge you ſtraitlie and commandis, That incontinent thir our Letteris ſeine, ʒe paſs to the Mercat-Croce of our Burgh of Edinburgh, and all utheris Places neidfull, and thair be oppin Proclamatioun mak Publicatioun and Intimatioun heirof to all and ſundrie our Leigis and Subditis as

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(*a*) Lawyers Library from *Cotton* Library, Calig. B. 10. F. 324. an Original.

(*b*) *Note*, In one of the Abſtracts in the Appendix, of the Date the 25th *July*, 'tis remarked that “ the Earl of *Bedford* moved
“ to have Licence to ſuccour the Earl of *Murray*, and himſelf to bear the Blame.”

1565.

as appertenis: And thairaftir we ordane thir our Letteris to be regiſtrat and inſert in the Bukis of our Counſal, *ad perpetuam rei memoriam*, quhairunto thir Preſentis ſall ſerve our Clerk of Regiſter for a ſufficient Warrant, as ȝe will anſwer to us thairupoun, delivering thir our Letteris be ȝow dulie execut and indorſat agane to the Berare. Subſcrivit with our Hand, and gevin under our Signet at Hallierudhouſe the 28th Day of Jully, and of our Reigne the Twenty third Ȝeir.

CHAP. IX.

Containing State-Affairs from the Queen's marrying the Lord Darnly *in the End of* July 1565, *till the Birth of the Prince in the Month of* June 1566.

The Queen is married on the 29th *July*.

MARY STEWART Hereditary Queen of *Scotland* and Dowager Queen of *France*, one of the handſomeſt and moſt beautiful of her Sex, and now in the blooming Prime of her Youth, being in her Twenty third Year, was pleaſed to take in Marriage her firſt Couſin (a) *Henry Stewart* Lord *Darnly*, eldeſt Son to *Matthew* Earl of *Lenox*, by the Lady *Margaret Douglas* Aunt to her Majeſty (b). The Ceremony was performed (c) after the ancient Form, in the Chapel of *Holy-rood-houſe*, on *Sunday* the 29th Day of *July* 1565, between the Hours of Five and Six in the Morning. After the Ceremony was over, the Queen went to Maſs; but it is obſerved the Bridegroom did not accompany her Majeſty to that Office. During the ſplendid Entertainment of that Day, the Queen was ſerved by the Earl of *Athole* as Sewer, the Earl of *Morton* as Carver, and the Earl of *Crawford* as Cup-bearer: And the Bridegroom by the Earls of *Eglinton*, *Caſſils* and *Glencarne*. The Day after the Marriage, the Lord *Darnly*, now Husband to the Queen, was by her Majeſty's Order proclaimed KING with Sound of Trumpet at the Market-Croſs of *Edinburgh*; and I have taken the Freedom to annex here a Copy of the Proclamation.

Proclamation confirming the former Proclamation.

WE do ȝou to wit, Forſamekill as Proclamation wes maid at this Croce upoun the 28th Day of Jully inſtant, be Virtew and at Command of the Quenis Majeſtie our Soverane Ladies Letteris, makand Mentioun that forſamekill as hir Hienes, at the Will and Pleſoure of God, intendit to ſolemnizat and compleit the Band of Matrimonie in Face of hallie Kirk with the Rycht nobill and illuſter Prince Henry than Duke of Albany: And in reſpect of the ſaid Mariage, and during the Tyme thairof, hir Majeſtie will, ordanit and conſentit, that he ſuld be namit and ſtyllit King of this Kingdom, and that all Letteris to be direct, eftir the ſaid Mariage, ſould be in the Name of the ſaid illuſter Prince, than hir Hienes future Husband, and of hir Majeſtie, as King and Quene of Scotland conjunctlie, as the Letteris direct thairupon, and proclamit, as ſaid is, mair lairglie proportis. And now ſen the ſaid Mariage is fully ſolemnizat

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(a) *William Chiſholm* the new Biſhop of *Dunblane*, had brought from *Rome* the Pope's Diſpenſation for the Marriage, by reaſon of Conſanguinity.

(b) This young Lord was either in the Nineteenth Year of his Age, or little more.

(c) The Perſon that had the Honour to celebrate the Marriage was *John Sinclair* Dean of *Reſtalrig* beſide *Edinburgh*, and Biſhop of *Brechin*. He ſucceeded his own Brother *Henry* Biſhop of *Roſs* in the Preſidentſhip of the Court of Seſſion, and like to him was very well skill'd in the Laws. He died in the Month of *April* next Year.

1565. zat and compleit, at the Pleſoure and Will of God, we command and charge in the Names and Authoritie of thair Majeſties, That all Letteris quhilk heiraftir ſall be direct and ſet furth, be in the Names of baith thair Majeſties, as King and Quene of Scotland conjunctlie; and heirof preſentlie we make Intimatioun and Publication to zow all and ſundrie thair Hieneſſes Liegis and Subditis. Subſcrivit be thair Majeſties, and undir thair Signet at Hallierudhouſe the penult Day of Jully, and of our Reignes the Firſt and Twenty third Zeires.

As the Queen by the above Proclamation was pleaſed to honour her Huſband with the Royal Title, ſo did ſhe deſire every one who reſpected her, to do him all manner of Honour, to wait upon him, and pay him all Deference due to the King: Which was ſo far complied with, that his Retinue became very numerous; and it was obſerved, that ſuch as wanted Favour at Court, and made their Addreſſes through him, had ſtill the beſt Succeſs in their Suits *(a)*.

The diſcontented Lords hereupon labour, but in vain, to ſtir up Sedition among the People.

The diſaffected Lords how ſoon they heard of the Solemnization of the Queen's Marriage, and her Proclamation thereupon, appointing to her Huſband the Dignity and Title of *King*, and that all publick Letters ſhould paſs and be directed in the King's Name as well as in her own; did immediately ſend forth their Complaints into all Parts, as if the Kingdom was openly wronged, and the Liberties thereof oppreſſed, and a King impoſed *(b)* upon the People without Advice and Conſent of the States (a Thing they alledged was contrary to the Laws and received Cuſtom of the Country) deſiring therefore all good Subjects to lay the Matter to heart, and join with them in reſiſting theſe Beginnings of Tyranny. But tho' the Faction was buſy in thus fomenting a Rebellion in the Nation, yet they had the Mortification to ſee but very little Ear given to their wicked Inſinuations; and even Mr. *Knox* acknowledgeth, "There were diverſe Bruits among the People, ſome alledging that the Cauſe "of this Alteration [in the diſcontented Lords] was not for Religion, but ra- "ther for Hatred, Envy of ſudden Promotion or Dignity, or ſuch worldly "Cauſes." The Lords had already taken themſelves to Arms, and the Queen had likewiſe taken proper Meaſures to diſappoint their Enterprizes; and now their Majeſties were reſolved to cruſh them before they had Time to ſpread the Poiſon into the Minds of their loyal Subjects, it having been often times perceived that Impunity encourageth Sedition, nouriſheth and reduceth to Maturity Attempts againſt the State, which by a more vigorous and timeous Execution of the Laws might have been eaſily prevented. To this purpoſe ſeveral Proclamations were iſſued by Authority of their Majeſties and their Privy-Council, ſome of which I ſhall give at full length, and of others that may not be ſo material, the Abſtracts only *(c)*; for it would be too tedious to give them all *verbatim*. And I ſhall be the more exact in the doing of this, that the principal Regiſters are now a miſſing, and perhaps may not be ſoon recovered.

Apud

(*a*) *Melvil's* Memoirs.

(*b*) Perhaps indeed it was a wrong Step in the Queen to give her Huſband the Title and Authority of *King*: She had Cauſe ſoon to repent it; and her Enemies who exclaimed moſt againſt it now, made it afterwards ſubſervient to their own Turns.

(*c*) Abſtracts of ſome of theſe Acts are to be ſeen in the Places I have already mentioned. But the laborious Mr. *Robert Miln* having written out all theſe Acts at full length, I ſhall make my Abſtracts from his Copies, and more fully too than theſe that are done by the other Gentlemen: And I likewiſe do this the more cheerfully, as it will ſerve to rectify the Dates, and ſet in due Order of Time the ſeveral Motions that were made the following two or three Months, which in our former Hiſtorians are too much diſconcerted.

Apud Edinburgh 1. *Auguſti, Anno Dom.* 1565.

1565.

SEDERUNT (*a*).

Jacobus *Comes de* Mortoun *Cancellarius*, Joannes *Comes de* Athole, Georgius *Comes de* Errol, Alexander *Comes de* Glencarne, Joannes *Comes de* Mar (*b*), Patricius *Dominus* Ruthven, Joannes Maxwell *de* Terreglis *Miles, Secretarius, Theſaurarius, Computorum Rotulator, Clericus Regiſtri, Advocatus. Extraordinarii*, David *Comes de* Crawfurd, Gilbertus *Comes de* Caſſils, Alexander *Dominus* Hume, Robertus *Dominus* Sempill, Jacobus *Dominus* Roſs *de* Hackit, Jacobus *Dominus* Somervill, Hugo *Dominus* Lovet, Alanus *Dominus* Cathcart, Patricius *Dominus* Lindſay *de* Byris, Patricius *Dominus* Gray, Willielmus *Magiſter de* Grahame, Willielmus *Magiſter de* Sinclair, Joannes *Dominus* Glamis, Joannes *Dominus* Borthwick, Willielmus *Dominus* Hay *de* Yeſter, Willielmus *Dominus* Levingſton, Laurentius *Magiſter de* Oliphant.

The quhilk Day, Forſamekill as James **Erle of** Murray **was nocht onlie divers Tymes gentillie requirit, bot als in the Quenis Majeſties Name and Authoritie, be virtew of Acts of hir Graces Counſall, commandit and chargit to have preſentit himſelf befoir hir Hienes at ane certane Day bygane, to haif anſerit to ſic Things as ſould be laid to his Charge, and hes nochtheleſs hiddirtillis diſobedientlie abſentit himſelf: Thairfoir the King and Quenis Majeſties, with Advyſe of the Lords of thair Secret-Counſall, and utheris Nobilitie preſent; Ordanis Letteris to be direct to Officiaris of Armis, charging thame to paſs, and in thair Hieneſſes Name and Authoritie, command and charge the ſaid** James **Erle of** Murray **perſonallie, or at his Dwelling-place, to preſent himſelf befoir thair Majeſties at** Edinburgh, **or quhair it ſall happin thame to be for the Tyme, the** 1ſt **Day of** Auguſt **inſtant, to anſer to ſic Thingis as ſallbe laid to his Charge, under the Pain of Rebellion, and putting of him to the Horne; and gif he failzies thairin, the ſaid Day being bypaſt, to denounce him Rebel, and put him to the Horne, and Eſcheat** (*c*). R. M.

A particular and authentic Account of the Meaſures taken by their Majeſties for diſappointing the Rebels.

On the 2d of *Auguſt* there is a Charge commanding *Andrew* Earl of *Rothes* and *William Kirkaldy* of *Grange*, to enter themſelves Priſoners within the Caſtle of *Dunbarton*; and Mr. *James Haliburton* Provoſt of *Dundee*, to enter Priſoner within the Caſtle of *Dunbar*, in the Space of five Days after they be charged, under the Pain of Rebellion.

The Queen was not only careful to provide againſt thoſe Lords and Gentlemen who reſiſted her preſent Proceedings, but judged it expedient likewiſe to relieve ſuch Perſons as ſhe had Reaſon to expect would aſſiſt her in this turbulent Time; and ſo we ſee her Bounty extended now to the Lord *Gordon*, who had been all along detained in Priſon ſince the unfortunate Affair of his Father the Earl of *Huntly*: For on the 3d *Auguſt* theſe following Perſons are entered in the Books of Privy-Council as Cautioners, conjunctly and ſeverally, in the Sum of Ten thouſand Pounds, that the ſaid *George* Lord *Gordon* ſhall enter in Ward within any Place the King or Queen ſhall be pleaſed to command, upon

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(*a*) Poſterity may perhaps be pleaſed to know what Perſons ſate in Council; otherwiſe I ſhould not have troubled either my Readers or my ſelf with ſetting down their Names.

(*b*) This is the firſt time this Nobleman has the Title of Earl of *Mar*, for on the 28th *July* he is only Lord *Erskine*: So that he has been created Earl at or about the Queen's Marriage, perhaps to keep his Lordſhip ſteady to her Majeſty againſt the Earl of *Murray*, whoſe Uncle the Lord *Erskine* was, now Earl of *Mar*.

(*c*) In the Front of this Act, there is another conſtituting *John* Lord *Fleming* Chamberlain of *Scotland*, and Maſter-Uſher of the King and Queen's Chamber-Doors. Upon account of both which Offices, that Nobleman gives *bodelie Aith that he ſall lellie and trewlie uſe and exerce the ſaid Offices, as he will anſwer to God and her Hienes thairupon.*

1565. twenty Days Warning. The Cautioners are, *Alexander* Lord *Hume*, Sir *John Maxwell* of *Terreglis*, *John Gordon* of *Lochinvar* Knight (*a*), Sir *Alexander Stewart* of *Garlies* (*b*), Sir *Matthew Campbell* of *Lowdon* (*c*), and Sir *James Cockburn* of *Scraling* Knight (*d*). The Earls of *Bothwell* and *Sutherland* were about this Time likewiſe allowed to return into *Scotland*.

On the 4th *Auguſt* there is a Proclamation iſſued out, declaring that their Majeſties having Knowledge of ſundry diſaffected and diſobedient Perſons to their Authority within the Country of *Fife*; and their Majeſties being reſolved to go thither in Perſon, for reducing them to their Duty: Therefore they command and charge all the Earls, Lords, Barons, Freeholders, landed Men, and *ſubſtantious* Gentlemen within the Sheriffdoms of *Edinburgh*, *Haddington* and *Linlithgow*, with their Houſholds, honeſt Friends and Servants, *well bodin in feir of Weir*, and provided for fifteen Days after their coming, to meet the King and Queen at *Edinburgh* the 9th of *Auguſt*; the Inhabitants of *Stirling* and *Clackmanan* to meet their Majeſties betwixt *Linlithgow* and *Falkirk*, the 11th of the ſame Month; the Inhabitants of *Strathern* at *Stirling-Bridge*, the 12th; and the Inhabitants of *Perth*, *Fife* and *Kinroſs* at *Falkland*, the 14th of the Month: Then and there to attend and wait their Majeſties Commands and Directions, *under the Pain of Tinſal of Lyff, Landis and Guidis.* And alſo charging all the Inhabitants of the Burgh of *Edinburgh* betwixt Sixty and Sixteen Years, and others fencible Perſons, with Proviſions for fifteen Days after their departing forth of *Edinburgh*, to convoy their Majeſties, under the Pain above written (*e*).

Auguſt 7th, that whereas *James* Earl of *Murray* was denounced Rebel on the 6th of the ſaid Month of *Auguſt*; Intimation thereof is appointed to be made to *James* Duke of *Chaſtelherault*, *Archibald* Earl of *Argile* (*f*), perſonally, or at their Dwelling-places, and to all other the Lieges by open Proclamation at all Market-Croſſes and other Places needful, with Certification, that whoever ſhall reſet, ſupply, or intercommune with the ſaid Earl of *Murray*, ſhall be puniſhed as Rebels.

Auguſt 9th, *Sederunt Jacobus Comes de Mortoun Cancell. Joannes Comes de Athole, Joannes Comes de Mar, Patricius Dominus Ruthven, Secretarius, Theſaurarius, Computorum Rotulator, Clericus Regiſtri, Clericus Juſticiariæ, Advocatus*; The Lieges are diſcharged from attending their Majeſties on the Days appointed by the Proclamation of the 4th *Auguſt*, but are required to hold them in Readineſs as they ſhall be advertiſed, on twenty four Hours Warning, according to the former Proclamation in all Points, and under the Pains contained in the ſame.

John Tamworth comes from the Queen of *England* with a Meſſage.

Before I proceed farther in their Majeſties Operations, in order to the Reduction of the Rebel-Lords to their Duty; I muſt take notice of a Meſſage at this Time from the Queen of *England*, by the Hands of one *John Tamworth*, a Gentleman of her Privy-Chamber, who was diſpatched with Inſtructions from his Miſtreſs in the latter Days of *July*, and delivered his Meſſage in Writing

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(*a*) He was Predeceſſor to the Viſcount of *Kenmure*.

(*b*) Predeceſſor to the Earl of *Galloway*.

(*c*) Predeceſſor to the Earl of *Lowdon*.

(*d*) Now extinct.

(*e*) The Council of *Edinburgh* being deſirous to redeem the Inhabitants from this Journey and Attendance, did very wiſely conſent to this following Act, *viz.* 4th Auguſt 1565, *The quhilk Day the Baillies, Dean of Gild and Counſale underſtanding Proclamatioun alreddie maid, chargeing all maner of Man to paſs forewart with the King and Quenis Majeſties, in the Perſute of the Erle of* Morray *and his Colleges, and that thai are ſubjectit by thair ſaid Proclamatioun to paſs with thame; The Dyet bein lang, and the Journey tedious, conſentis and grantis that ane univerſall Extent bayth of Marchant and Craftſmen be upliftit and gaderit, for raiſeing and furniſching of Twa hunder Men of Weir for ane Moneth, to paſs forewart with thair Hieneſſes in thair ſaid Journey. And* Allane Purves *for himſelf, and in name of the hale Dekynnis, diſſaſents; and proteſtit, that he nor the ſaid Dekynnis are na furder ſubjectit nor to the Fyf-part of the ſaid Extent, conforme to the auld Uſe and Conſuetude ever obſervit in ſic Caiſes.*

(*f*) Hitherto it appears the Earl of *Argile* had not been denounced Rebel; contrary to what Mr. *Knox* relates. It would ſeem by the Intimation which is here ordered to be made to the Duke and Earl of *Argile*, the Court has been deſirous to divide theſe two noble Perſons from the Earl of *Murray*.

1565.

An Account of his Reception, Behaviour, Return, *&c.*

ting in the firſt Week of *Auguſt (a)*. *Cambden (b)* is the only Perſon that has hitherto given any tolerable Account of this Meſſage; and withall he obſerves, that *Tamworth* was a forward inſolent Man, [and who knows but the Queen of *England* might have pick'd him out for that very Thing, to ſend him into *Scotland* at this Juncture] and that our Queen having ſmell'd the Nature of his Meſſage, would not admit him into her Preſence, but ordered an Anſwer for him in Writing. What Truth may be in this, I ſhall not take upon me to decide; only we may gueſs by the length both of his Meſſage, and the Anſwers, that neither of them have been delivered by word of Mouth. And 'tis very viſible likewiſe by the Tenor of the Meſſage, that as Mr. *Tamworth* had not, nor indeed could have any Commiſſion to our Queen's Husband, *then* become King; ſo neither did he vouchſafe him any other Title but *Lord Darnly*. As for the Meſſage and Anſwers here in queſtion, which are very luckily preſerved in the *Shatter'd Manuſcript*, they are ſo prolix, that I chuſe rather to inſert them in the *Appendix (c)*; and ſhall here ſatisfy my ſelf to impart to my Readers the Knowledge of what elſe has come to my Hand concerning this Meſſenger, from the *Cotton* Library.

July 30th, Queen *Elizabeth* advertiſes *Randolph* that ſhe had ſent *Tamworth* to the Queen of *Scots*, who will impart to *Randolph* his Meſſage; and that he [*Randolph*] ſhall aſſiſt *Tamworth* in his Buſineſs.

July 31ſt, Mr. *Tamworth* is ſent into *Scotland*. He was ſtaid at *Dunbar*. *Auguſt* 19th, *Tamworth* returned from *Edinburgh*. *Ditto* 21ſt, he is at *Hume-Caſtle*. *Auguſt* 7th, *Tamworth* and *Randolph* write to *Cecil* from *Edinburgh*, that if the [Rebel] Noblemen get no Support from the Queen of *England*, they are like to be overthrown. *Auguſt* 10th, *Tamworth* writes to *Cecil* from *Edinburgh*, that Mr. *Randolph* was by our Queen urged to promiſe upon his Honour not to meddle with her Rebels, or elſe he ſhould have a Guard ſet upon his Houſe. *Randolph* was deſired by *Lethington* to withdraw to *Berwick*; but he denied it. *Auguſt* 27th, *Randolph* writes to *Cecil*, that he had made Complaint that *Tamworth* was ſtaid by the Lord *Hume*. The Queen of *Scots* anſwered, that it was his own Fault, who had refuſed a Safe-conduct. To which *Randolph* replied, becauſe it was given under the Hand of *Darnly*, whom he could not acknowledge King, being a Subject of his Sovereign, and from whom he looked to have him come and do his Duty, as being her Ambaſſador. By this Abſtract, and the Inſtructions by Queen *Elizabeth* in the Month of *November* following to Sir *Walter Mildmay*, we come to know that as Mr. *Tamworth* was ready to depart home, he refuſed to take a Safe-conduct under King *Henry*'s Subſcription; whereupon he was ſtopt at *Dunbar* by the Lord *Home*, and by him carried Priſoner to his Caſtle of *Hume*, and there detained ſome two or three Days. This has been the Treatment which nettled *Tamworth* to the Quick, and made him depart out of *Scotland* little ſatisfied with the Reception he had got; and which, ſays Mr. *Cambden*, was in his Judgment much beneath his Character. And if it be true what this ſame Author remarks, *viz.* that he utter'd unbecoming Speeches concerning our Queen while he was here, we need not ſearch farther for a Cauſe of this keen Reſentment. To return now to the Proſecution of the Rebels.

More of their Majeſties Meaſures againſt the Rebels.

On the 13th of *Auguſt*, beſides the Order to ſearch for Mr. *Michael Elphinſton*, already mentioned, there is another charging *Walter Heriot* of *Ramorny*, *George Lermonth* of *Balcomy*, *David Monypenny* younger of *Pitmillie*,

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(a) See *Knox* and ſome Abſtracts in the Appendix. There is likewiſe an Abſtract of this Gentleman's Inſtructions in the Lawyers Library, with this Title, *Articles propoſez a la Reyne d'Eſcoſſe par l'Ambaſſadeur de la Reyne d'Angleterre, le* 8. *Aouſt* 1565.

(b) Yet this Author erroneouſly poſtpones the Date thereof a Month or two; and perhaps *Spottiſwood*, relying on his Authority, has ſtill delayed it longer.

(c) Numb. 7.

1565.

millie, Mr. *John Wood* (a), and ——— *Seytoun* of *Perbroath*, to enter in Ward within the Caſtle of *Dunbarton*, under the Pain of Rebellion.

Auguſt 14th, *Sederunt Comites de Mortoun Cancell. Athole, Mar, Dominus Ruthven, Secretarius, Theſaurarius, Computorum Rotulator, Clericus Regiſtri & Juſticiariæ, Advocatus.* Charge to deliver up the Abbey of St. *Andrew*'s; Caſtle, Tower and Fortalice of *Bambrich*; Place and Fortalice of *Halyards*, and others pertaining to the Earls of *Murray* and *Rothes*, *Kirkcaldy* of *Grange*, and *Haliburton* Provoſt of *Dundee*, now denounced Rebels, under the Pain of Treaſon.

The Rebel-Lords retire into *Argile-ſhire*.

The Rebel-Lords, &c. not meeting, it ſeems, with that Encouragement among the People they expected, and perceiving that the King and Queen were too far before-hand with them, found it expedient to retire into *Argile-ſhire*, and other Faſtneſſes of the Highland Country, in order to have more Security and Leiſure to concert their Meaſures. In this Time Mr. *Knox* informs, that "they ſent into *England* Mr. *Nicholas Elphinſton* for Support, who brought ſome Money in this Country, to the Sum of 10000 Pounds *Sterling* (b.)" The ſame Author likewiſe narrates how that "the Duke, Earls of *Argile*, *Murray*, *Glencarne* and *Rothes*, the Lords *Boyd*, *Uchiltree*, with diverſe Barons and Gentlemen of *Fiſe* and *Kyle*, met at *Aire* about the 15th Day of *Auguſt*, where they concluded to be in Readineſs, with their whole Forces, the 24th of the ſaid Month." But of this Meeting I can perceive no proper Veſtige in any Records that is come to my hand as yet; tho' I will not ſay but the Preamble to the Proclamation 22d *Auguſt* may have reſpect to ſome ſuch Meeting.

Proper Meaſures taken thereupon.

Auguſt 14th, Proclamation ſetting forth, that whereas *James* Earl of *Murray* Rebel, accompanied with divers other Rebels, have withdrawn into *Argile* and Highlands adjacent, to the end *thair Rebellioun ſuddainlie ſall be unable to be repreſſit:* Therefore charging the Captain, Conſtable and Keepers of the Caſtle of *Dunbarton*, the Provoſt and Baillies of *Glaſgow*, *Dunbarton*, *Aire*, *Irvine*, and other Places needful, and all other Lieges, not to ſupply the ſaid Rebels, under the Pain of being holden as Rebels themſelves.

Auguſt 15th, Proclamation, that whereas the Earls of *Murray* and *Rothes*, *Grange* and Provoſt *Haliburton*, denounced Rebels, do notwithſtanding *ryde and gang in the Realm where thai pleis, and are intertenit as gif thai were guid and trew Subjectis:* Therefore prohibiting all the Lieges to ſupply or intercommune with the ſaids Rebels, their Favourers or Aſſiſters, nor give or ſend to them, or ſuffer to be given or ſent to them, Meat, Drink, Munition or Armour, under the Pain foreſaid.

Edinburgh 22. Auguſt, Sederunt Comites Mortoun Cancell. Athole, Mar, Dominus Ruthven, Secretarius, Theſaurarius, Clericus Regiſtri & Juſticiariæ, Advocatus. Proclamation narrating that *the Rebels minding not only to rebell thamſelfis, but to perſwade and allure to thame all ſic trew and obedient Subjectis as thai are abil to entiſe, and to invaid and moleſt thair peaceabil and guid Subjectis*; And their Majeſties intending to go in proper Perſon and purſue the Rebels with Fire and Sword: Therefore charging and commanding all and ſundry, Earls, Lords, Barons, &c. within the Shires of *Haddington* and *Edinburgh*, &c. provided for fifteen Days after their coming, to meet their Majeſties in *Edinburgh* on *Saturday* the 25th of *Auguſt* inſtant at Even; the Inhabitants of *Linlithgow* at *Awand-* [Avon] *Water* on *Sunday* by Twelve o'clock; the Inhabitants of *Stirling-ſhire* at *Falkirk* on *Monday* by Six in the Morning; the Inhabitants of *Fife*, *Kinroſs* and *Clackmanan* in the Town of *Stirling* the ſaid Day at Even; the Inhabitants of *Lanerk* at *Kirkintilloch* on *Tueſday* by Nine in the Morning; the Inhabitants of *Dunbarton-ſhire*

(a) All theſe Perſons being Inhabitants of *Fife*, this *Wood* has been of the *Woods* of *Largo*: He was a Retainer to the Earl of *Murray*, is afterwards deſigned that Lord's Servant, who in the Time of his Regency made him a Lord of Seſſion; and by all the Accounts we can gather of him, he has been a moſt violent Enemy to the Queen, and a rapacious Devourer of all her Friends.

(b) Tho' Mr. *Knox* may be wrong here in the preciſe Sum, yet concerning Money remitted at this Time by the Queen of *England* to the Rebels of *Scotland*, the Readers ſhall before long receive undoubted Satisfaction.

1565.

ſhire and *Renfrew* in *Glaſgow* the ſaid Day at Even; and the Inhabitants of *Aire*, *Wigtoun*, *Dumfreis*, *Kirkcudbright*, *Kyle*, *Carrick* and *Cuningham* at *Irvine* on *Wedneſday*, *under the Pain of Tinſal of Lyff, Landis and Guidis.*

Then follows the ſame Day a Proclamation for the State of Religion to remain as formerly, which I ſhall inſert in the Affairs of Religion. It was meet to publiſh this Proclamation at this Time, becauſe the moſt plauſible Handle the Rebels could invent for their Rebellion, was the Fear of ſubverting the Religion.

Eodem die, Proclamation advertiſing the Lieges, that the Rebels intending *to alluir and perſwade to thame and thair Faction, all ſic trew and obedient Subjectis as thai are abill to entyſſe*: Therefore charging them, that *thai on na wayis ryiſs, concur, nor aſſiſt with the ſaidis Rebellis. And gif ony of thame hiddirtillis* [hitherto] *has riddin or bene in thair Cumpany, or preſentlie are with thame, that thai leif thair Armour, pas hame to thair Dwelling-houſes, and allutirlie leif oure ſaidis Rebellis, under the Pane of Tinſal*, &c.

Auguſt 23d, *Sederunt* the ſame Perſons as in the laſt Council-day: That whereas the Earl of *Argile* continues to aſſiſt the Earl of *Murray* and other Rebels; and their Majeſties having given Commiſſion to *John* Earl of *Athole* to be their Lieutenant in the North-parts of the Realm, with Power to purſue all the ſaids Rebels and their Aſſiſters with Fire and Sword; Therefore ſeveral Immunities are granted to Perſons of every Rank and Quality that ſhall happen to *be ſlane, hurt or deid, or takis Seckneſs in the Army ordanit to paſs furthward under the Charge of the ſaid Lieutenant (a).*

Their Majeſties willing, as would ſeem, to accompany their Regal Act and Proclamation emitted the Day before, with a friendly and gentle Requeſt, ſigned the following Letter with both their Hands.

Auguſt 23. 1565 *(b).*

Letter by the King & Queen deſiring their Subjects Attendance.

Truſtie Friend, we greit zow weill. That quhilk befoir we ſuſpectit hes now declarit itſelf in Deidis, for oure Rebellis he [have] *retiterate thame to the In-cuntre, the ſuffering quhairof is na wayis to us honourabil. We mynd, God willing, in proper Perſonis to pas for thair Perſute, quhairunto it is neidful that we be weill and ſubſtantiouſlie accumpaneit. We pray zow thairfoir effectuuſlie that ze with zour Kin, Freindis and Houſhald, weill bodin in feir of Weir, and providit for fifteen Dayis eftir zour cuming, addres zou to mete us at* Edinburgh *the 25th Day of* Auguſt *inſtant, be Six Hours at Evin, and ſwa to pas furthwart with us, as ze will declair the guid Affectioun ze beir to us and oure Service, and do us maiſt acceptabil Pleſſoure. Subſcribit with oure Handis at* Edinburgh *the 23d Day of* Auguſt 1565.

MARIE R. HENRIE R. *(c)*

By this Letter, and what ſhall follow, it will appear that the Rebels had indeed been in the low Country, as Mr. *Knox* relates, and that they had prepared ſeveral Things for an Inſurrection there, as well as in the Earl of *Argile*'s highland Lands; ſince their Majeſties Progreſs tends Weſtward to the Town of *Irvine*, and the Earl of *Athole* was to invade *Argile-ſhire* with a Body of Highlanders under his Command, ſeparate from the Queen's Army. And their Majeſties having now taken the Reſolution to march away from *Edinburgh*, did however wiſely enough conſider that many diſaffected Perſons might be lodged in that Capital, as well Inhabitants as Strangers (the ordinary Fate of all capital Cities) who might be eaſily inſtigated to take up Arms in their Abſence, either by the Authority or Connivance of the Lord Provoſt *Archibald Dou-*

(a) This Act is agreeable to former Acts of this Nature, which the Reader will find in the printed Acts of Parliament.

(b) *Cotton* Library, Calig. B. 10.

(c) This is an original Letter, but it is paſted on another Leaf of Paper for Preſervation, ſo that the Direction is not to be ſeen. However, we may reckon there have been many Copies of it ſent about to the moſt conſiderable Perſons in the reſpective Shires.

1565. *glas* of *Kilſpindie*, a Man ſtrongly addicted to the Rebels; by which means their Majeſties might come to be hemm'd in with Enemies both behind and before. And that their Majeſties had Reaſon ſufficient to ſuſpect ſuch a Management, they might eaſily gather from the Inſinuations which were induſtriouſly thrown into the Minds of the common People relative to Religion; the great Sway Mr. *Knox (a)* and the other Preachers at that Time had; and the late Inſurrection either tolerated, or too much neglected by thoſe whoſe Province it was to have quell'd it. On theſe Conſiderations, their Majeſties ſent an expreſs Order to the Town-Council for the depoſing of their Provoſt *(b)*, and placing of another in his Room; both which Injunctions were complied with by the Members of that Body. But as I reckon the particular Management of this Matter may prove ſatisfactory to ſome People, I ſhall upon that Account give it a Place in the *Appendix (c)*, from the original Records of the Good Town.

The Provoſt of *Edinburgh* diſplaced by their Order.

Edinburgh 24. *Auguſt, Sederunt Comites Mortoun Cancell. Athole, Mar, Dominus Ruthven, Secretarius, Theſaurarius, Clericus Regiſtri & Juſticiariæ, Advocatus:* Proclamation narrating, that whereas the Earls of *Murray* and *Rothes*, *Kirkcaldy* of *Grange* and Provoſt *Haliburton*, being lawfully denounced Rebels, are nevertheleſs ſupported and ſupplied by the Earl of *Argile* and his Friends, Servants and Tenants, Inhabitants of the Lands of *Broadalbine, Lorn, Ergyle, &c.* in Contempt of their Majeſties Authority; and that their Majeſties have given Commiſſion to the Earl of *Athole* their Lieutenant in the North-parts, to purſue the ſaids Rebels and their Aſſiſters with Fire and Sword; Therefore commanding and charging all the Lieges within the Shires of *Inverneſs, Nairn, Elgin, Forres, Banff, Aberdeen, Kincardine,* [*i. e.* Mearns] *Forfar,* [*i. e.* Angus], *be-weſt* and about *Glammis (d)*, *Perth* and *Strathern* (*Menteth* excepted) all betwixt Sixty and Sixteen Years of Age, and provided to remain for twenty Days after their coming to *Lorn*, there to attend the ſaid Lord Lieutenant upon the 20th *September* next to come, and to paſs forward with him as they ſhall be commanded, *under Pain of Tinſal*, &c. *(e)*

Charge to the Northern Shires to meet the Earl of *Athole* Lord Lieutenant.

Auguſt 26th, a former Commiſſion granted by the Queen the 7th *January* 1563-4 *(f)* to *Colin Campbell* of *Glenurquhy (g)*, againſt the *Clan-Gregor*, their Aſſiſters or Reſetters, is this Day diſcharged; becauſe he had not only abuſed his ſaid Commiſſion, but likewiſe under Colour thereof had committed divers Oppreſſions and Slaughters upon their Majeſties Lieges not being Rebels. It may be rationally ſuppoſed, that *Glenurchy* being a Relation of the Earl of *Argile*, has been in this Time aſſiſting to that Earl, which has occaſioned this Commiſſion to be taken away; beſides that ſuch a Commiſſion might now interfere with the Earl of *Athole*'s Lieutenantry, ſince the Country of *Broadalbin*, where *Glenurchy*'s Intereſt lay, is a Part of, and included in that new Commiſſion to the Earl of *Athole*.

The King and Queen depart from *Edinburgh* in Purſuit of the Rebels.

Theſe Precautions taken, and Affairs being put in the beſt Order, the King and Queen left their capital City on the 25th of *Auguſt*, according to the Proclamation, and, as *Knox* informs, march'd forward to *Linlithgow*, *Stirling* and *Glaſgow*. The Rebels hearing of this March, and knowing that they were in no Condition to diſpute the Matter by Force, they made at firſt a Feint as if they would advance towards *Glaſgow*, the next Day after the Queen's

Arrival

(*a*) See the Church-Affairs of this Period.

(*b*) The ſame Perſon whom the Queen had in the Year 1561 removed from that Office; and whom ſhe had likewiſe recommended to be elected again in the next Year 1562.

(*c*) Numb. 8.

(*d*) I can't ſee upon what Account the other Part of this laſt named Shire lying to the *Eaſt*, has been diſpenſed with; the length of the March could not be the Reaſon: Perhaps there have been many diſaffected Perſons there, Favourers of Provoſt *Haliburton* of *Dundee*.

(*e*) *Note*, This Act bears in the Title, **Commiſſion of Leutenendry to the Earle of** Atholl.

(*f*) In the original Records of Privy-Council there is a Commiſſion dated at *Stirling* the 22d of *September* 1563, to ſeveral Noblemen, Heritors of the Highland Countries, to proſecute the *Clan Gregor*, and amongſt the reſt, to *Colin Campbell* of *Glenurchy*. And again in the ſame Regiſter is a Commiſſion recorded the 8th of *January* 1563-4, to the Laird of *Glenurchy alone*, " giving, granting and committing the Queen's full, free and plain Power to paſs, ſearch and ſeek, *&c.*

(*g*) The Predeceſſor of the Earl of *Broadalbin*, whoſe eldeſt Son bears now the Title of *Lord Glenurchy*.

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Arrival thither; yet they came no farther than *Paiſley (a)*, where they remained all Night, being in Company about 1000 Horſe. On the Morrow they made their whole Intention to appear; for inſtead of attacking their Majeſties, whoſe complete Forces were nevertheleſs not yet come up, and being by this Time deſerted by all the *Hamiltons* (an inconſiderable Number with their Chief excepted) they changed their Route, and took their March towards *Edinburgh* on the laſt Day of the Month, in hopes no doubt to have met with a great Increaſe of Men in that City and adjacent Counties. But herein they were much diſappointed: And then appeared the good Effect of the Queen's Management within the City; for tho' the Rebels found means to enter the City by the *Weſt-port*, notwithſtanding the Endeavours of the new Provoſt, who cauſed the Bells to be rung for convening the Townſmen to oppoſe them; *(b)* yet they came ſoon to perceive that they could make but little Advancement to the Cauſe, after all the Trouble they had been at. "Immediately after their Arrival (ſays *Knox*) they diſpatched Meſſengers Southward and "Northward to aſſiſt them; but all in vain: And immediately after they were "in their Lodgings, they cauſed to ſtrike or beat the Drum, deſiring all ſuch "Men as would receive Wages for the Defence of the *Glory of God*, that "they ſhould reſort the Day following to the Church, where they ſhould receive good Pay *(c)*. But they profited little that way: Neither could they "in *Edinburgh* get any Comfort or Support, for none or few reſorted unto "them; yet they got more Reſt and Sleep when they were in *Edinburgh* "than they had done in five or ſix Nights before.

The Rebels in that mean Time march into *Edinburgh*;

"The Noblemen of this Company were, the Duke, the Earls of *Murray*, "*Glencarne* and *Rotheſſe*, the Lords *Boyd* and *Vchiltree*; the Lairds of *Grange*, "*Cunningham-head*, *Balcomie* and *Lawers*; the Tutor of *Pitcur*; the Lairds "of *Barr*, *Carnel* and *Dreghorne*; and the Laird of *Pittarow* Comptroller "went with them Some ſaid merrily, that they were come to keep the Parliament, for the Parliament was continued till the 1ſt of *September*." Thus far he. When they arrived in *Edinburgh*, he reckons them 1300 Horſe.

The Rebels now perceiving their Error, and the Misfortune they were like to meet with, reſolved to bethink themſelves of cooler Meaſures; for which purpoſe, on the 1ſt of *September*, they diſpatched a Letter of pretended Submiſſion to the King and Queen, *provided the true Religion of God might be eſtabliſhed*. But adding in the Cloſe, *That if their Enemies would ſeek their Blood, they ſhould underſtand that it ſhould be dear bought*. Mr. *Knox* ſays they had written twice already to the ſame Effect, but that they received no Anſwer: And indeed there was no Wonder in that, ſince it could not fail to be evident to every Perſon, that that Submiſſion was only fained, and of purpoſe to gain Time, or to watch a better Opportunity afterward.

The Queen having got an Account of the March of the Rebels towards *Edinburgh*, without any Delay ſet forth with the King in Purſuit of them, with no leſs than 5000 Men in their Army; the Van whereof was led by the Earl of *Lenox*, the Middle by the Earl of *Morton*, and the Rear by the King. Hereupon the Rebels perceiving to their Regret, that they could get no Support in *Edinburgh*, nor Soldiers for Money (with which by the Bounty of their ſincere Friend the Queen of *England* they were well ſupplied) "albeit (ſays *Knox*) they had "travelled all they could;" and being advertiſed of the Queen's ſpeedy Return with an Army ſo far ſuperior to them, after ſeveral Conſultations, went firſt to *Lanerk (d)*, and from thence to *Hamilton*. The King and Queen being advertiſed of this Route, and judging that the Rebels had a Deſign to enter into *Glaſgow (e)*, returned by the Way they came; but having got an Account

but being diſappointed of Succours there, they leave it again;

(a) This is a fine pleaſant Village five Miles Weſt-South-weſt from *Glaſgow*. It had formerly a rich and ſtately Abbey.

(b) Mr. *Alexander Erskine* Captain of the Caſtle under his Brother the Earl of *Mar*, diſcharged only two Cannon-ſhots againſt them; and had he done his Duty, there is little doubt to be made but he might have galled them much in their Road to the City.

(c) They thought a Sermon by Mr. *Knox* would inſpire the whole Congregation with a martial Spirit.

(d) It is a Town about twenty four Miles diſtant from *Edinburgh*, to the South-weſt.

(e) The Village of *Hamilton* is eight Miles Eaſt of *Glaſgow*, near on the Road to *Edinburgh*.

1565. count at *Glaſgow*, that the Rebels had taken another Road, and were gone to *Dumfries (a)*, on purpoſe, as would appear, to have it in their Power to make their Eſcape into *England*, if it ſhould ſo fall out that their Affairs did not take a ſpeedy and proſperous Turn: Their Majeſties, I ſay, hearing of this Route taken by the Rebels, thought it not worth while to follow them, but went firſt to *Stirling*, and from thence into *Fife*, having by the way taken into their Cuſtody, without much Impediment, the *Caſtle-Campbell* belonging to the Earl of *Argile (b)*. The Queen paſſed quickly to St. *Andrew*'s, in which City ſeveral diſaffected Gentlemen *(c)* of the Country ſubſcribed a Bond to defend the Perſons of the King and Queen againſt *Engliſhmen* and Rebels. At the ſame time, the Duke, the Earls of *Glencarne* and *Argile*, and Lords *Boyd* and *Ochiltree*, &c. having been charged to come into St. *Andrew*'s within ſix Days, and make Anſwer to ſuch Things as ſhould be laid againſt them: The Time being expired, and they not compearing, they were all denounced Rebels. From St. *Andrew*'s the King and Queen croſſed the River *Tay* and went to the Town of *Dundee*, where they remained two Days: And Complaint having been made, that the Magiſtrates of that Town had ſecretly favoured the rebellious Lords, and had allowed ſome Men to be raiſed there for their Service; the Town was fined in a ſmall Sum of 2000 Merks *(d)*. From *Dundee* their Majeſties returned to St. *Andrew*'s; and from thence to *Edinburgh*. And here they having taken a Reſolution to purſue the Rebels in Perſon, who were now in the South Country about *Dumfries*, the Lieges had Warning to convene at *Biggar (e)* on the 9th Day of *October* following. 'Tis ſaid their Majeſties went from *Edinburgh* the Day before, and that an Army of no leſs than 18000 Men waited on them *(f)*; at which formidable Appearance the Rebels were ſo terrified, that they retired towards *Carlile* in the Borders of *England*, where they were well aſſured of a ſafe Retreat, and had the Hopes of a powerful Aſſiſtance. See *Appendix*. The King and Queen being advertiſed of this, gave over any farther Expectation of getting the principal Men into their Hands; and ſo having repoſed themſelves a ſhort Space at *Dumfries*, and viſited the Caſtle of *Lochmaben* which had been in the Keeping of Sir *John Maxwell (g)*, formerly one of the Rebels, but at this Time upon

and withdraw to *Dumfries*.

Hereupon the King & Queen march into *Fife* & *Angus*:

Afterwards they return to purſue the Rebels, who then retire into *England*.

(*a*) This Town is about fifty Miles South from *Edinburgh*, and twenty four Miles North-weſt from *Carlile* in *England*.

(*b*) This ſhews that the Queen has enter'd *Fife* by the Foot of the *Ochell-hills*, ſince *Caſtle Campbell* ſtands there.

(*c*) Not twenty in Number, tho' *Knox* and *Buchanan* would repreſent this in another Light. See Appendix.

(*d*) Mr. *Knox* condeſcends on this preciſe Sum; and yet Abp. *Spottiſwood* ſays, the Towns of *Perth*, *Dundee* and St. *Andrew*'s were fined in *great* Sums. But 2000 Merks could be no great Sum for ſuch Towns; ſince the Readers will obſerve that ſeveral Gentlemen of the Sirname of *Gordon* were obliged three Years ago, to give Bail for the Sum of 5000 Merks for each Perſon. And ſeveral Sureties for Gentlemen at this ſame time were higher than 2000 Merks. Mr. *Holinſhed* diſcovers the Ground of this Treatment of theſe three Towns, by informing us that ſeveral Perſons belonging to them received Money from the Earl of *Murray* to take part with him; "for which (he adds) they were after puniſhed." Mr. *Knox* ſeems likewiſe to own this.

(*e*) It is a ſmall Village about twenty Miles South South-weſt from *Edinburgh*.

(*f*) Beſides the gathering together of the Lieges to form an Army, the ancient and ordinary Manner uſed in *Scotland*, the Queen had at this Inſurrection kept ſeveral Companies of Men in regular Pay; for the defraying which Charge, ſhe had asked Aſſiſtance from her Friends abroad: And Sir *James Melvil* acquaints us, as before noticed, that the Pope had ſent her 8000 Crowns, but that the Ship which carried the Money was loſt within the Earl of *Northumberland*'s Bounds on the Coaſt of *England*, who tho' he was a *Roman* Catholick, could not be prevailed with to deliver the Money to our Queen. So powerful is the Love of Money above that of Religion! Tho' what Sir *James* reports of this cannot in the leaſt be ſuſpected, ſince he tells that himſelf was ſent to the Earl of *Northumberland* to demand the Money; yet for the farther Satisfaction of the Reader, I have here ſubjoined a Letter on this Head from our Queen to the Queen of *England*. *Shatter'd MS.* "Rycht excellent, &c. In the lait Rebellioun quhilk ſum of oure Subjectis laitlie raiſit up aganis ws, we war conſtranit to liſt certane Cumpaneis of Men of Weir, and for ſuſtaining of thame to —— ſum of oure Friendis, with leving of Pairt of Money, quhilk —— grantit, deliverit, and cummand to oure Realme: The Schip quhairin the ſame Money wes conteinit, as we ar informit, is brokin within zowr Realme, and cum in the Handis and Poſſeſſioun of certane zowr Subjectis; And ſen the ſame Money juſtlie appertenis to ws, we pray zow, derreſt Siſter, gif ſtrait Commandment and Directioun to zowr Lieutenentis and Officiaris on the Bordouris, that the ſaid Money and Guidis be haldin togiddir undiſſipat and ſcatterit, and be fullie reſtorit and deliverit to ſic Perſonis as we ſall direct for Reſſait of the ſame: Quhairin as ze ſall do that quhilk in it ſelf is equall and according to Reſſoun, ſa will we grant ws to have reſſavit a ſpeciall Pleſſour at zour Handis, and will endevoir oure ſelf to acquite zow with ſemblabill guid Will, quhenſoevir Occaſioun may occur quhair we may in ony wyiſs gratifie zow. And this abydand zowr Anſwer heirin, Rycht excellent, &c." In all this Matter we may take the Freedom to remark, that the Queen has been but ill adviſed to receive Money from the Pope, or yet to demand the Reſtitution of it from the Queen of *England*; at leaſt, ſhe might hardly expect it.

(*g*) He was ſecond Son to the Lord *Maxwell*, and married the eldeſt Co-heireſs of the Lord *Herries*, and by her Right came to be Lord *Herries*. Before he was Lord *Herries*, he is deſigned Sir *John Maxwell* of *Terreigles*.

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on his humble Submiſſion received into Favour (*a*); they returned forthwith to *Edinburgh* to take Care for the farther Security of their Government.

And their Majeſties come back again to *Edinburgh*.

I thought it not amiſs to lay before the Readers this ſhort Account of the Proceedings againſt the Rebels, which I have chiefly formed from Mr. *Knox*, as being more exact and particular herein than the other Hiſtorians: Yet becauſe I would not leave my Readers without better Inſtruction in all this Matter, I have inſerted in the *Appendix* (*b*) the ſeveral Acts of Privy-Council relating to it, together with ſuch other Acts as were made for the better Security of the Government after their Majeſties Return from *Dumfries*, about the 18th of *October*. In the *Appendix* will likewiſe be ſeen ſeveral Abſtracts from the *Cotton* Library, which will afford more Certainty of ſome Things that hitherto have been reported only upon Hear-ſay.

The Queen of *England* ſends into *Scotland* for a Safe-conduct.

The Queen of *England* having all this Time had an attentive Eye upon the Affairs of *Scotland*, and perceiving that the Rebel-Lords, whom ſhe had buoy'd up, were not able to make good their evil Intentions, thought it no longer adviſable for her to keep at a diſtance from our Queen; and therefore diſſembling in ſome ſort what was paſt, ſhe wrote her a Letter, and gave Mr. *Randolph* Inſtructions to confer with her concerning ſome proper Means to compoſe the Difference that had lately fallen out betwixt them This Letter is no where now to be ſeen, nor any Account of the Queen's Conference with Mr. *Randolph*; nor had we come at all to the Knowledge that ever there had been any ſuch Thing, unleſs by the following Record of our Privy-Council.

Apud Edinburgh 5. Novemb. Anno Dom. 1565.

SEDERUNT

Jacobus *Comes de* Mortoun *Cancellarius*, Georgius *Comes de* Huntlie (*c*), Jacobus *Comes de* Bothwell, Joannes Maxwell *de* Terreglis *Miles*, Alexander *Epiſcopus Candidæ Caſæ*, *Secretarius*, *Theſaurarius*, *Computorum Rotulator*, *Clericus Regiſtri*, *Clericus Juſticiariæ*, *Advocatus*, *Magiſter* Jacobus Balfour *Rector de* Flisk, Symon Preſton *de eodem Præpoſitus de* Edinburgh.

The quhilk Day, the Quenis Majeſtie having reſſavit ane Letter from hir guid Siſter the Quene of Ingland, **and with that had ſum Conference with Mr.** Randolph, **upoun ſic Thingis as he had Inſtructioun, tending to the Pacificatioun of all Eleſtis and Controverſies ſtanding betwix thair Majeſties, quhairby the Kingis Hienes hir Grace's Husband may in tyme cuming be recognoſcit, and all Thingis tending to the Weilfair and Tranquillitie of baith the Realmes compoſit and takin up. In fyne, the ſaid Mr.** Randolph **requirit to haif ane Saulf-conduct generall ſubſcrivit onelie be the Quenis Majeſtie, to ſum Perſonagis of guid Truiſt and Qualitie, ſic as it ſould pleis the Quene his Maiſtreſs to nominat to cum into this Realme, to treat upoun the above named Matteris: Quhairunto the Quenis Majeſtie wald mak na Anſer, quhill firſt hir Majeſtie had opponit and exponit the Caiſs to the Counſall. And thai having at greit length, and with guid Deliberatioun, conſiderit the Matter,**

(*a*) In the Record of Privy Council is inſerted by Order of the King and Queen, a Declaration ſigned by them of the Date the 1ſt of *January* 1565-6, vindicating and pardoning this Gentleman for ſundry Points of Treaſon alledged to have been committed by him; amongſt which is particularly mentioned, " for that he accumpanyeit in *Dumfries* of late ane numer of oure Subjectis " quhilk now ar Rebellis, and paſt in *Ingland*; for that we undirſtand that he was nevir of mynd to ayd thame againſt us; and " als be his continowal humane labouring to us for thame; and als that he wald on na wayis tak pairt nor aſſiſt with *Ingland*; " nor paſs with thame in that Realme; nor as we knaw wes nevir of Counſal, nor privy to na Particularis we haif to lay to thair " Charge befoir thair cuming to oure Town of *Dumfries*."

(*b*) Numb. 9.

(*c*) The Readers will take notice by the Acts in the Appendix, at what time theſe new Counſellors are introduced.

1565. and reſſonit baith the Partis, quhat Commoditie or Incommoditie heirupoun may follow: For thair Opinioun declair, That thai think the ſaid Saulf-conduct may weill enouch be grantit in Forme and to the Effect above ſpecifeit, without Prejudice to the Quenis Majeſtie, Diſhonor to the Kingis Hienes hir Grace's Husband, or Hurt or Incommoditie of this Realme, and common Weill thairof, bot rather a greit Commoditie to baith thair Majeſties. R. M.

which is granted by the *Scottiſh* Council:

Agreeable to this Determination of the *Scottiſh* Council, the Queen of *England* did nominate two or more Perſons to come into *Scotland:* But whatever might have interven'd to alter that Queen's Intentions, I cannot take upon me to aſcertain; only we are certain that there is no Veſtige left in any Hiſtorian of either Nation, that ſuch an Embaſſy came at all into this Country: Nay, it rather appears by the Tenor of all the original Letters, *&c.* that are as yet fallen into my Hands, that this intended Embaſſy did not take Effect. 'Tis however true that very large Inſtructions were drawn up at this Time, a Copy whereof I have ſeen from the *Cotton* Library, bearing this Title, *Inſtructions to* ———————— ——— *and Sir Walter Mildmay, November* 1565 *(a):* They contain a Recapitulation of all former Demands and Expoſtulations; and the chief Point I judged noticeable in them, was, that Queen *Elizabeth* therein declares herſelf willing to allow that Clauſe in the Treaty of *Edinburgh* to be altered, by which our Queen complained, that her Right to the Crown of *England* was taken away *altogether*; and that the Treaty be renewed in ſuch Terms as that Precluſion ſhould ſubſiſt no longer than the natural Lives of Queen *Elizabeth*, or the Iſſue of her own Body *(b)*.

Yet the Matter comes to nothing.

Several Bonds of Suretiſhip for Perſons ſuſpected.

During the remaining Part of this Year are to be ſeen in the Regiſter of Privy-Council a good number of Bonds of Cautionry and Suretiſhip, for ſuch Perſons up and down the Countries of *Fife* and *Lothian* eſpecially, as had been ſuſpected of favouring the Rebel-Lords, *&c.* as likewiſe for the delivering up, when required by the King and Queen, the Caſtle of St. *Andrew*'s, now put in the Poſſeſſion of *John* Archbiſhop of St. *Andrew*'s; the Caſtle of *Tantallon*, then in the Hands of the Earl of *Morton* by Right of Ward; and the Caſtle of *Lochlevin*, pertaining to *William Douglas* Proprietor thereof. But becauſe there is ſome more Specialty with reſpect to this laſt Place, it may not be improper to impart the ſame to the Readers: On the 7th of *November* an Order is given to a Herauld to charge *Margaret Erskine* [Earl of *Mar*'s Siſter, and Earl of *Murray*'s Mother] Lady *Lochlevin*, *William Douglas* of *Lochlevin*, and *Robert Douglas* his Son, to render the Caſtle and Fortreſs of *Lochlevin*, and remove themſelves forth of the ſame, within ſix Hours after they be charged thereto. On the 13th of the ſame Month compears in Council *Adam Macculloch* Herauld with the Execution of his Charge, and declared likewiſe that *William Douglas* of *Lochlevin* being ſick and in his Bed, in Peril of his Life to his Appearance, profeſſed himſelf moſt willing to obey the Charge, and deſired the ſaid Herauld to remain with him while he and the Counteſs of *Buchan (c)*, who was juſt then travelling with Child within the Houſe, might remove themſelves forth of the Place. Hereupon the King and Queen are pleaſed to receive Surety for *William Douglas*, for his Mother *Margaret Erskine*, and his Son *Robert Douglas*, that the ſaid Caſtle of *Lochlevin ſall be reddie and patent at thair Majeſties Commandment, with all the Munitioun and Artailzearie being within the ſamyn quhilkis perteint to* James *Erle of* Murray, *at quhatſumevir Tyme thair Hieneſſes ſall requyre the ſamyn, upon twenty four Houris Warning*; *and that nane of*

(a) We ſee this Perſon in the Number of Queen *Elizabeth*'s Privy-Counſellors; and *Cambden* takes notice, in the End of the next Year, that he was made Under-Treaſurer of the Exchequer.

(b) See Sir *Dudly Diggs*'s *complete Ambaſſador*. *Item*, Inſtructions next Year following, by the Hands of the Earl of *Bedford*.

(c) This Lady was Heireſs of *Buchan*, and married to *Robert Douglas* ſecond Brother to *William Douglas* now of *Lochlevin*, in whoſe Right he was Earl of *Buchan*; as his elder Brother came afterwards to be Earl of *Morton*.

1565.

of thair Majeſties Rebellis, Servandis, Meſſengeris, ſall be reſſet, ſuppleit or interteynit in the ſaid Place in the mean Tyme, under the Pain of 5000 *Markis. Note*, the Earl of *Mar* was not in Council on the 7th of *November*, but was preſent on the 13th Day.

Complaints for Diſturbances on the Borders.

In the End of this Year 'tis obſerved that ſeveral Diſturbances had fallen out on the Borders of the two Kingdoms, whereof Complaints had been reciprocally made, but more on the Part of our Queen. It appears for certain that the Queen of *England* was at leaſt willing that the Earl of *Bedford* her Lieutenant in the North-parts, ſhould give ſome Annoyance to the Borders of *Scotland*, thereby to try what Uneaſineſs he might create the *Scottiſh* Government, if he ſhould not be able to ſend home the Rebel-Lords of *Scotland*, contrary to their Sovereign's Inclination: Yet all theſe Efforts prov'd but unſucceſsful; and the beſt Satisfaction I can afford my Readers therein, is to inſert in the *Appendix* ſuch original Papers as have come to my hand concerning them.

The Rebel-Lords ſend the Earl of *Murray* and the Abbot of *Kilwinning* to the Queen of *England*;

* *Foix.*

who treats them in a very ſurpriſing Manner.

The Rebel-Lords having been kindly entertained by the Earl of *Bedford* at *Carlile*, made however but a ſhort Stay in that Town, and removed themſelves to *Newcaſtle*; from which Place, without much loſs of Time, they deputed the Earl of *Murray* and *Gavin Hamilton* Abbot of *Kilwinning* to repair to the Queen of *England*, and negotiate their common Intereſts with that Princeſs. But to their own, and other their Friends great Surprize, theſe Gentlemen could obtain no Audience of that Queen; howbeit, Mr. *Knox* ſays, the Earl of *Murray* obtained Audience by means of *Monſ. de Four* * the *French* Ambaſſador. And when he came into her Preſence, that crafty Princeſs asked him with a fair Countenance, *How he, being a Rebel to her Siſter of* Scotland, *durſt take the Boldneſs upon him to come within her Realm?* And ſhe plainly told him, that *ſhe had never promiſed to ſupport them, nor never meant any ſuch thing in that way*. To which the Earl of *Murray* ſhould have replied, "Madame, whatever Thing your Majeſtie meant in your Hairt, we ar "thareof ignorant; bot thus much we know aſſuredly, that we had lately "faythfull Promiſes of Ayd and Support by your Ambaſſadour and familiar "Servants in your Name; and further, we have your awn Hand-wryting "confirming the ſaid Promiſes" *(a)*. In fine, there was nothing to be had from that Queen but Scorn and Diſdain, until at length the Earl and the Abbot were perſwaded, upon Promiſes of all the Aſſiſtance they demanded to the uttermoſt of her Power, to come and confeſs to her upon their Knees, in Preſence of the *French* and *Spaniſh* Ambaſſadors *(b)*, who complained in their Maſters Names that her Majeſty had fomented the Rebellion in *Scotland*, and that her only Delight was to ſtir up Diſſenſion among her Neighbours; "That "her Majeſty had never moved them to any Oppoſition or Reſiſtance againſt "their Queen's Marriage." Then ſaid ſhe to them, *Now you have told the Truth; for neither did I, nor any in my Name, ſtir you up againſt your Queen (c): For your abominable Treaſon may ſerve for Example to my own Subjects to rebel againſt me. Therefore get you out of my Preſence; ye are but unworthy Traitors.* What the Queen of *England* ſaid on this Occaſion, Mr. *Randolph* ſtoutly, tho' falſly averr'd. But Sir *Nicholas Throckmorton*, who was a Man of Integrity, ſtood neither in Awe of Queen nor Council, but freely owned that he had made Promiſes to the *Scottiſh* Lords in Name of his Miſtreſs: For which Plainneſs it was thought he might have ſuffered largely, had he not wiſely obtained an Act of Secret-Council for his Warrant, when he came into *Scotland* and made theſe Promiſes; and which Act he boldly at that Time offered to produce *(d)*.

This

(a) This is a bold Reply Mr. *Knox* puts in the Mouth of the Earl of *Murray*; bolder, I ſuſpect, than he durſt have uttered in Publick. If he ſaid ſo at all, it has been probably in a Corner.

(b) If the Readers find any Incongruity in the Behaviour of the *French* Ambaſſador, Mr. *Knox* is to anſwer for it.

(c) Sir *James Melvil*, Mem. *p.* 57. ſays, that "the Queen of *England* promiſed by her Ambaſſadors to hazard her Crown "in their Defence, in caſe they were driven to any Strait, becauſe of appearing againſt the Marriage." But there are ſo many glaring Inſtances of that Queen's promiſing to aſſiſt the Rebels, that to repeat them were but loſs of Time and Expence.

(d) *Melvil*'s Memoirs.

1565. This Management by the Queen of *England* is a Piece of as refined Deceit, as is likely to be met with in any Age or Court; for notwithſtanding all that ſeeming Diſpleaſure, yet ſhe both had already, and continued not only to afford the Rebels a ſecure Retreat into her Kingdom, but ſecretly alſo to ſupply them with Money, as Mr. *Knox* acknowledgeth, who 'tis to be ſuppoſed knew better their ſecret Remittances than Sir *James Melvil*, who here narrates the contrary.

After theſe Things were done in the Court of *England*, the Duke of *Chaſtelherault* perceiving that the Queen his Sovereign was not ſo much incenſed againſt him as the other Lords *(a)*; and judging likewiſe by the Behaviour of the *Engliſh* Queen, that Matters would neither quickly nor eaſily be compounded at home, diſpatched the Abbot of *Kilwinning* from *Newcaſtle* to his own Sovereign, to make in his Name humble Submiſſion to her Majeſty, and to ſupplicate her Favour and Pardon for the wrong Steps he had made of late.

The Duke of *Chaſtelherault* obtains his Pardon:

This, according to Abp. *Spottiſwood*, " he eaſily obtained, becauſe he was " known to be nothing ſo guilty as the others, and to have been craftily drawn " upon that Faction; ſo that he returned into *Scotland* in the Month of *December* following." But Mr. *Knox* ſays, " it was with great Difficulty *(b)* " that the Abbot got Pardon for the Duke, and his Friends and Servants, up" on this Condition, that he ſhould paſs into *France*; which he did ſoon " after" *(c)*.

The Government being now utterly delivered from any Apprehenſion of Diſturbance from the Rebels, had reſolved to deal by them with the utmoſt Rigour; and for this Purpoſe a Reſolution was taken to hold a Parliament in the Beginning of *February* next, to which they were to be ſummoned, in order to Forefeiture. In the End of *November* the Summons of Treaſon was executed againſt them; and on the 1ſt of *December* we find this Declaration that followeth inſerted in the Privy-Council Books.

Apud Edinburgh 1. *Decemb. Anno Dom.* 1565.

SEDERUNT

Jacobus *Comes de* Mortoun, Georgius *Comes de* Huntlie, Joannes *Comes de* Athole, David *Comes de* Crawfurd, Alexander *Epiſcopus Candidæ Caſæ, Secretarius, Theſaurarius, Clericus Regiſtri & Juſticiariæ, Advocatus, Magiſter* Jacobus Balfour *Rector de* Fliſk, Robertus Carnegye *de* Kynaird *Miles*.

Declaratioun anent the Executioun of the Summondis of Treſſoun.

But the other Rebels are ſerved with a Summons of Treaſon.

The quhilk Day, in Preſence of the King and Quenis Majeſties, and Lordis of Secret-Counſall, comperit Mr. Johne Spens of Condy Advocate to thair Hieneſſes, and exponit how at thair Majeſties Command he had lybellit Summondis of Treſſoun aganis Archibald Erle of Ergyle, James Erle of Murray, Alexander Erle of Glencarne, Andro Erle of Rothes, Andro Lord Uchilrrie, Robert Lord Boyd, and divers utheris, to compeir in the nixt Parlement to begin the Ferd Day of February nixt to cume, to heir thame decernit to haif incurrit the Cryme of Leſe-Majeſtie, and to haif tynt * and forfault Lyff, Landis

* *loſt*.

(*a*) This will appear by the leaving his Name out of the Summons of Treaſon which the Reader will preſently hear of.

(*b*) The Difficulty aroſe from the King; for it is obſervable that the Queen was well enough diſpoſed towards the Duke, and afterwards even towards the Earl of *Murray*; againſt both whom the King ſhewed much Oppoſition.

(*c*) *Holinſhed* ſays much the ſame; but whether this was a Condition of the Duke's Remiſſion, I can't ſay; however thus much is certain, that the Duke went into foreign Countries at this Time, under the Pretext of getting the Aſſiſtance of Phyſicians: For in the *Shatter'd MS.* there is a Letter of Recommendation in the *Latin* Tongue, directed by the King and Queen to all Princes, States, *&c.* to allow the ſaid Duke to paſs and reſide among them for the Advice of Phyſicians. This Letter is dated at *Holyrood houſe* on the ——— Day of *January* 1565-6; and theſe preciſe Words are contained in the Letter, *ubi peritorum Medicorum eſt copia.*

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Landis and Gudis, for certane Crymes of Treſſoun and Leſe-Majeſtie ſpecifeit in the ſaid Summondis. Bot becaus thair wer divers of the ſaids Perſonis outwith † the Realme, and havand na certane Dwelling-places; utheris to quhais Dwelling-places and Preſence thair is na ſuir Paſſage (*a*), it behuvit thame to be ſummoned be oppin Proclamatioun at the Mercate-Croce of Edinburgh, and utheris Croces nixt adjacent, according to the Common Law: And thairupoun deſyrit a Declaratioun and Determinatioun of thair Majeſties and Lordis forſaids. The quhilk being reaſonit with guid Deliberatioun and Avyſment, thair Majeſties and Lordſchips findis and declaris that the ſaids Perſonis being ſummoned in manner above ſpecifeit, the Executioun is als ſufficient in all reſpectis as gif the ſame Summondis wer execute upon thame perſonallie, or at thair Dwelling-places. R. M.

† *without.*

Note, From this Day forward until the Murder of *David Riccio*, I can ſee but very few Diets of Council, either in the Abſtracts or tranſcribed Acts. The firſt after this, is on the 22d Day of the ſame Month of *December*, *Sederunt Comites Mortoun*, *Huntlie*, *Argile*, *Athole*, *Mar*, *Dominus Rathven*, *Epiſcopus Candidæ Caſæ*, *Joannes Maxwell de Terreglis*, *Miles:* Calculation, "with Advice of the Comptroller, of what Money and Victuals will "yearly furniſh and ſuſtain their Majeſties Houſe and Averie;" together with an Order to the ſaid Comptroller for Payment and Furniſhing of the ſame, *viz.* 35,000 Pounds in Money, 72 Chalders of Wheat, 50 Chalders of Bear, 130 Chalders of Oats. And here it may be proper to deſire the Readers to take Notice, that the Ounce-weight of Silver was in Value at that Time in *Scotland* only Thirty Shillings; whereas at this preſent Time it is valued at Sixty: So that 35000 Pounds *Scots* was equal in Weight to 23000 Ounces of Silver, and would make, according to the common Computation uſed in *Scotland* now, and for many Years bygone, no leſs than 72000 Pounds (*b*). If 35000 Pounds ſhall appear a contemptible Sum for the Expence of the Royal Houſe, we muſt call to mind, that in that Time the Prices of all *Neceſſaries* were vaſtly lower than what they now are, as will appear by ſeveral Acts of Privy-Council regulating the ſame, and conſequently the Price of Silver proportionably the more valuable. King *Henry* VIII. of *England* by his latter Will and Teſtament, bequeaths to the Executors thereof, being the moſt principal Perſons of his Kingdom, ſeveral Sums, none of which exceeds Five Pounds; the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* in the Front of all, receives but five Merks, and ſome receive but one Merk. See *Hereditary Right*, *Appendix*.

The yearly Expences of the Queen's Houſe.

The ſame 22d of *December* is the Act for the Coinage of a Piece of Silver, called the *Mary Ryal*. On the 1ſt of *January* 1665-6 is the Vindication of Sir *John Maxwell* of *Terreglis*; on the 4th Day, Caution for the Caſtle of St. *Andrew*'s; and on the 7th *Ditto*, Caution for the Caſtle of *Tantallon*. On the 12th of *February* there is a private Act, not worth the mentioning; but nothing after this, till the Murder of *Riccio* was over.

Mention having been already made of the Integrity of Sir *Nicholas Throckmorton* in the Caſe of the Rebel-Lords; 'tis proper now to add, that that Gentleman took in ſo bad part his having been made a Tool by the Queen and Council of *England* to deceive theſe Lords, that he thought he could not do them a better Office, and ſo make Amends for the Snare he had indirectly led

Sir Nicholas Throckmorton favours our Queen's Title,

(*a*) This no doubt reſpects the Earl and Shire of *Argile*.

(*b*) We come hereby to learn, that the *Scottiſh* Money of that Time has been but ſix times lower than the *Engliſh* Computation; ſince from the Reign of Queen *Mary* of that Kingdom, the Ounce of Silver has given but Five Shillings, as it is there to this Day. See the Tables of Coin in the *Chronicon Precioſum*. From hence we may alſo perceive, that the *Engliſh* Computation has continued very much fixed, but that our *Scottiſh* Money has been in a continued Fluctuation and gradual lowering from the *Engliſh* Computations; we having already ſeen in this Work, that it was formerly one Fourth of the *Engliſh*, was afterwards one Sixth, and is now in our Days, and has been for a conſiderable Space bygone, but one Twelfth. Mr. *Randolph* likewiſe computed in this ſame Year 1565, the *Scottiſh* Money to be one Fourth of the *Engliſh*.

1565.

them into, than to adviſe them to ſue humbly for Pardon at the Hands of their own Queen *(a)*; and in order to procure the ſame, to engage themſelves never again to offend her, for the Satisfaction of any Prince alive. And becauſe he was a ſecret Favourer of our Queen's Right of Succeſſion to the Crown of *England*, and therefore was loath that her Majeſty ſhould make any Steps that might any way leſſen the Number of her Friends in either Kingdom, or do any thing that might poſſibly obſtruct her Succeſſion in a convenient Time, but on the contrary take all ſuch Meaſures as might facilitate the ſame; he was ſo generous as to frame, and ſo couragious as to tranſmit the following Letter to the Queen, which for the good Senſe therein contained, and the Meetneſs of it for our preſent Purpoſe, I have taken the Freedom to give it a Place here.

and offers his good Advice

Letter by Sir Nicholas Throckmorton *in Behalf of the* Scottiſh *Lords who had fled from Juſtice into* England.

in a Letter to her Majeſty.

'YOur Majeſty hath in *England* many Friends of all Degrees, who favour your Title, but for diverſe Reſpects. Some for very Conſcience ſake, being perſwaded that in Law your Right is beſt; ſome for the good Opinion they have conceived, by the honourable Report they have heard of your Vertues and Liberality, the Conſideration whereof engageth them to eſteem your Majeſty moſt worthy to govern; ſome for Factions, who favour your Religion; ſome for the ill Will they bear to your Competitor, ſeeing their own Danger if the Lady *Katharine* ſhould come in that Place.

'Of theſe, ſome are Papiſts, ſome Proteſtants; and yet however they differ among themſelves in Religion, or other Particulars, they are both of one Mind for the Advancement of your Title. Your Majeſty hath alſo diverſe Enemies, for various Reſpects, not unlike to the other, whoſe Study hath always been, and will be, unleſs they be made Friends, to hinder any thing that may tend to your Advantage. In one Point all concur, both Friends and Enemies, yea the whole People, that they are moſt deſirous to have the Succeſſion of the Crown declared and aſſured, that they may be at a Certainty; only the Queen herſelf is of a contrary Opinion, and would be glad the Matter ſhould always be in Suſpenſe.

'Your Unfriends have done what they could to take the Advantage of the Time to your Prejudice; and for that end preſſed the holding of the Parliament, which was before continued till *October* laſt, knowing aſſuredly that if the Parliament held, the Succeſſion of the Crown would be called in queſtion: And they thought the Time ſerved well for their Purpoſe, when there was Diviſion and Trouble in your own Realm, and no good Underſtanding betwixt you and the Queen of *England*. And her Subjects your Friends, for eſchewing that Inconvenience, and winning of Time, to give your Majeſty Place to work and remove all Impediments, ſo far as Wiſdom may, have found the Means to drive it off till the next Spring *(b)*. Now their Advice is, that in the mean time your Majeſty endeavour by Wiſdom to aſſure your ſelf of the whole Votes, or at leaſt of the beſt and moſt conſiderable of the Parliament, when ever the Matter ſhall be brought in queſtion; which may be done, by retaining the Hearts of thoſe you have gained already, recovering of thoſe who are brangled, winning of the Neutrals, and ſo many of your Adverſaries as may be gained: For it is not to be ſuppoſed that all can be won who are already ſo far addicted to the contrary Faction; but when the Cauſe of their Averſion is removed, the Effect will ceaſe.

'Generally your Majeſty will do well to forbear any Act that will offend the whole People, and uſe ſuch Means as will render you moſt acceptable to them.

'Strangers

(a) We find by an Abſtract, that the Earl of *Murray* had ſent *Robert Melvil* to make Interceſſion for him; which the King chiefly obſtructed.

(b) By *D'Ewes*'s Journals of Parliaments during the Reign of Queen *Elizabeth*, we ſee that the *Engliſh* Parliament was indeed prorogued from the 4th *October* 1565 to the 7th *February* 1565-6.

1565-6.

‘ Strangers are univerſally ſuſpected to the whole People, againſt which your Majeſty hath in your Marriage wiſely provided, by abſtaining to match with a foreign Prince *(a)*: So do they adviſe your Majeſty to abſtain from any League or Confederacy with any foreign Prince that may offend *England*, till you have firſt eſſayed what you can purchaſe by the Benevolence of the born Subjects thereof. Not that they would deſire your Majeſty to forfeit your Friendſhip with *France* and *Spain*, but rather that you ſhould wiſely entertain them both to remain at your Devotion, in caſe afterward you have need of their Favour. Nevertheleſs it is their Wiſh, that the ſame may rather remain in general Terms as heretofore, than that you proceed to any ſpecial Act which may offend *England*, which you cannot with Honour bring back again when you would As many of your Adverſaries as are addicted to the contrary Faction for Hatred of your Religion, may be gained when they ſee your Majeſty continue in the Temperance and Moderation you have hitherto uſed, within your own Realm, in Matters of Religion, without Innovation or Alteration *(b)*. As many as by Miſreports have been carried to the contrary Faction, may by true Report be brought back again, when they ſhall hear of your Clemency uſed towards your own Subjects; which Vertue in Princes, of all others, moſt allures the Hearts of People to favour even their common Enemies *(c)*. As many as can deal warily and diſcreetly with your Friends of both the Religions, and are only addicted for Conſcience ſake to my Lady *Katharine (d)*, being perſwaded of the Preference of your Title in Law, may be gained to your Majeſty by contrary Perſwaſions, and by adducing of ſuch Reaſons and Arguments as may be alledged for Proof of your good Cauſe, whereof there are Abundance to be had. Some your Majeſty will find in *England*, who will hazard as far as they dare, to ſerve your Turn in this Behalf: But becauſe it is ſo dangerous to Men to deal in, and may endanger Lives and Lands, if they be ſeen earneſt Medlers, travelling in that Point ſo as would be neceſſary; it will require ſuch Inſtruments of your own when Time comes, who may boldly ſpeak without Danger, and with whom the Subjects of *England* dare freely communicate their Minds, and enter into Conference. If any be afraid of your Majeſty, thinking that you have an ill Opinion of them, the Aſſurance by a truſty Miniſter of your good Will, whom they may credit, will quickly put them out of Doubt, and make them favourable enough. They who are conſtantly yours, are eaſily retained at your Devotion. Thoſe who heretofore have born any Favour, and by the late Occurrences are any way brangled, will be brought home again, when they ſhall ſee your Majeſty, now when it is fallen into your Hands to uſe Rigour or Mercy as you pleaſe, rather incline to the moſt plauſible Part, in ſhewing your Magnanimity, when you have brought your Subjects to Submiſſion and Gentleneſs, as the good Paſtor to reduce his Sheep that were gone aſtray home again to the Fold. Thoſe who are yet Neutrals, by the ſame Means, and true Information of your Intereſt by Law, may all be won to your Side. This done, when the Matter comes in queſtion, your Friends will earneſtly preſs your Intereſt at this Parliament, and you will without Controverſy bear it away *(e)*.

‘ This Advice, in ſo far as concerns your Reconciliation with your Subjects, is not a Fetch for their Favour, but is thought expedient for your Service by many who have no Favour for them, and are different from them in Religion. For it will bring the Queen of *England* greatly to favour you, when ſhe ſhall ſee ſuch an Union in your own Kingdom, of the Head and whole Mem-

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(a) Sir *Nicholas* now ſpeaks out his own ſenſe of Things; he is not now clothed with a publick Character.

(b) A very good and honeſt Teſtimony to the Queen's Prudence and Diſcretion. Nor can it be alledged that Sir *Nicholas* was a Stranger to this Country, or to her Majeſty's Doings.

(c) He wiſely here lays before the Queen what he would wiſh her to do in the Buſineſs of the Rebel Lords.

(d) The Lady *Katharine Grey*, the preſent Heir of the *Suffolk*-Family.

(e) But that Parliament was again prorogued to the 30th of *September*, at which Seſſions there was much Stir about a Succeſſor to the *Engliſh* Crown; and probably enough the Matter might have been raiſed, at leaſt fomented, by our Queen's Favourers.

1565-6.

bers together. She will not know how to diſturb your Majeſty's Eſtate, eſpecially when the Reconciliation takes Effect in the Hearts of the Subjects in *England*, who will think themſelves in an happy Condition, if they ſhould come under the Government of ſo benign a Princeſs, who can ſo readily forgive great Offences. For albeit it muſt be acknowledged my Lord of *Murray* hath by his inconſiderate Carriage given your Majeſty great ground of Offence, yet it is hard to perſwade the Proteſtants, that your Quarrel againſt him hath any other Foundation, than that he differs from you in Religion: Upon this Ground they find themſelves engaged to eſpouſe his Quarrel (*a*). If then they perceived your Majeſty graciouſly inclined to take him again into Favour, and forgive what is paſt, the Proteſtants in *England* would doubtleſs declare themſelves more affectionate to your Intereſt, when they ſhall ſee more of their own Religion ſo clemently handled. And that your Majeſty may have Experience, that it is your Advancement your Friends would by this means procure, and not the Advantage of thoſe with whom your Majeſty is offended, a middle way may be followed, as is frequently uſed in ſuch like Caſes, where not only the Multitude is ſpared, but the chief Authors are preſerved *. It may pleaſe your Majeſty to cauſe a Letter to be pen'd in good Terms and Form, and publiſh the ſame by Proclamation, declaring the juſt Cauſe of your Anger againſt all of them; and that yet for declaring your own good Nature above their Deſervings, you are content to remit the whole, except ſuch Principals as you pleaſe to reſerve and except by Name from the general Pardon, and that with whom you will not take ſuch ſevere Order as you might in Law, till you have further Trial and Experience of their Penitence. The Perſons ſo to be nominated and excepted, ſhall (*b*) depart out of *England*, to what Country pleaſeth your Majeſty, there to remain during your Pleaſure. In this mean time, if your Majeſty find that this benign Uſage of yours ſhall produce ſuch Fruit as is here ſpoken, your Majeſty may further extend your Favour, as you find convenient and profitable for your ſelf; for your Majeſty hath ſtill the Crimes lying above their Heads. In the mean time, all who favour them in *England*, will plead in their Cauſe with your Majeſty, ſo far as their Power extends, as if they were Agents for your Majeſty. They will in nowiſe, if they can eſchew it, be again in the Queen of *England*'s Debt, neither by obtaining of any Favour at your Hand by her Intervention, nor yet for any Support in the Time of their Baniſhment: But rather it may pleaſe your Majeſty, that their Charges be allowed them of their own Lands. By following this Advice, which in nowiſe can be prejudicial to your Majeſty, but will much conduce for your Intereſt, you may recover the greateſt Part of the Biſhops of *England*; many of the greateſt Nobility and Gentlemen, who are yet neutral.'

* rather *reſerved.*

Sir *James Melvil*, from whoſe *Memoirs* I have taken this Letter, proceeds to inform us, that "their Names were declared to her Majeſty in Cypher, by whoſe means Sir *Nicholas* alledged her Majeſty ſhould obtain ſo great an Intereſt in *England*, that albeit Queen *Elizabeth* would appear againſt her, ſhe needed not care. For in ſending but 1000 Men of her own, out of four Parts of *England*, a ſufficient Number ſhould join with them, by whoſe Forces, without any Strangers, her Majeſty ſhould obtain the Thing which is wrongfully refuſed and retained."

The Queen inclines to follow Sir *Nicholas*'s Advice.

This ſame Author (who was at that Time in great Credit about our Queen) tells us next, "when her Majeſty had ſeriouſly pondered the preceeding Letter, it had great Influence upon her to move her to follow the Deſire thereof, as well for the good Opinion ſhe had of him who ſent it, as being of her own

"Nature

(*a*) The Certainty of this Obſervation is beyond all Doubt; and under this Shelter this Lord thought he might attempt any thing.

(*b*) The Earl of *Murray*, *&c.* have been willing to take upon them this Baniſhment; and have been pleaſed that Sir *Nicholas* ſhould ſuggeſt the ſame.

1565-6.

“ Nature more inclined to Mercy than Rigour; ſhe being alſo wiſe, and being convinced that it tended to the Advancement of her Affairs in *England*. “ She was therefore fully reſolved to have followed the Advice thereof, and “ to prolong the Parliament which had been called to forefault the Lords who “ had fled. *Rizio* appeared alſo to have been gained for counſelling her hereto: My Lord *Murray* had ſued to him very earneſtly, and more humbly “ than could have been believed, with the Preſent of a fair Diamond incloſed “ within a Letter *(a)*, full of Repentance and fair Promiſes; which the ſaid “ *Rizio* granted to do with the better Will, that he perceived the King to “ bear him little Good will, and to frown upon him *(b)*. And Sir *James* “ adds, The Queen's Majeſty following this Advice and Advertiſement given “ by Sir *Nicholas*, ſent my Brother Sir *Robert Melvil* to remain her Ambaſſador in ordinary at the Court of *England*, to be ready at all Occaſions, in “ caſe any thing were treated at the Parliament concerning the Succeſſion, “ and to purſue the Deſign laid down by Sir *Nicholas* and her other Friends in “ *England*.” Sir *James*'s Brother had been ſo far truſted by the Rebel-Lords, that he was ſent by them from *Dumfries* to ſolicit in their Behalf Aid from the Queen of *England (c)*. But notwithſtanding this Step made by Mr. *Melvil*, the Queen was pleaſed nevertheleſs to pardon the ſame, and ſend him at this Time from herſelf into *England*, by reaſon I ſuppoſe of the ancient and continued Friendſhip between his Brother Sir *James* and Sir *Nicholas Throckmorton*; and by what follows in Sir *James*'s Memoirs, it appears he did the Queen very notable Service in *England*. Her Majeſty being aware that her ſending *Robert Melvil*, who had been ſo lately a Meſſenger for her Rebels, might prove an Occaſion of no ſmall Reflexion, thought fit, for obviating the ſame, to ſend along with him Letters of Recommendation to the Queen of *England*, and to one of her principal Miniſters; which Letters I have put into the *Appendix (d)*. Theſe Letters want indeed the Date, but by other Abſtracts in the *Appendix* likewiſe, we come to know, that the Time of ſending Mr. *Robert Melvil* into *England* by the Queen, was in the beginning of *February* this Year.

About the ſame time, namely in the Beginning of *February*, arrived in *Scotland*, *Meſſire Jaques d'Augennes Seigneur de Remboilliet*, with a Deputation from the King of *France* to inveſt our Queen's Huſband with the Order of Knighthood of St. *Michael*, commonly called the *Scallop*, or *Cockle-ſhell* Order *(e)*. This Gentleman had been at the Court of *England* on an Errand of the ſame kind; and it was obſerved, that he came from thence into *Scotland* with a more than ordinary Train. The Ceremony, *Holinſhed* acquaints us, “ was accompliſhed with great Solemnity and Reverence in the Chapel of *Holyroodhouſe* the 10th of *February* being *Sunday*; after which the ſaid *Remboillet* returned into *France*, being highly rewarded.” And ſome time thereafter, another *French* Gentleman, named *Villamonte*, was ſent hither with a Commiſſion to diſſwade our Queen from ſhewing any Favour to the Rebel-Lords, becauſe the *Roman* Catholick Princes had all bandied together to root out the new pretended Reformation. This Advice, Sir *James Melvil*

The King is honoured with the *French* Order of St. *Michael*.

(a) *Buchanan* would be loath to diſcover ſuch Meanneſs in his Patron. He ſays, that “ when the other Nobles courted this “ upſtart Fellow, *Murray* alone, who had no Diſſimulation in his Heart, was ſo far from fawning on him, that he gave him many a ſowr Look.” But now that Lord's Stomach had taken a new Qualm. Mr. *Buchanan* can dreſs up a *Hero* when he pleaſes.

(b) Some of our Hiſtorians report, that by reaſon the King was oftimes abſent at his Diverſions, therefore the Queen cauſed make a Cachet for ſtamping his Name, which ſhe delivered to Mr. *Riccio*; and that this created him Anger from the King. They ſay likewiſe, that the *Italian* Gentleman was too haughty in his Behaviour, and prodigal in his Equipage, and that he appeared more ſplendid than the King himſelf. But I ſuppoſe this laſt may be exaggerated, ſince Sir *James Mevil*, who complains of his too great Intereſt at Court, ſays nothing at all thereof.

(c) See *Knox*, and Letters in the Appendix.

(d) Numb. 10.

(e) Tho' Mr. *Knox* places this Gentleman's Arrival in the End of *January*, yet he had ſcarcely Time to make his Journey hither from *London* after the 24th of *January*, on which Day we ſee by authentick Records, that he inſtall'd into the ſame Order the Duke of *Norfolk* and Earl of *Leiceſter* at *Weſtminſter*. See *Aſhmole*'s Order of the Garter, and Life of the Earl of *Leiceſter*. Mr. *Randolph* alſo in an Abſtract *February* 6th this Year, takes notice of *Rambouillet*'s Arrival at *Edinburgh* the *Sunday* before, which was the 3d of the Month.

1565-6. ſays, proceeded chiefly from the Cardinal of *Lorrain*; and the Queen was loath to offend her Relations of the Houſe of *Guiſe*. *Riccio* likewiſe being of the ſame Religion, came eaſily into the ſame Meaſures. And ſo the Queen took a ſecond Deliberation, contrary to what the Letter from Sir *Nicholas Throckmorton* had infuſed into her *(a)*.

And the Queen takes a contrary Reſolution concerning the Rebel-Lords;

who nevertheleſs have many Friends in the Kingdom.

By the Summons of Treaſon raiſed againſt the Rebels, we find that the Parliament ſhould have been kept on the 4th of *February*: But by the Reaſoning contained in Sir *Nicholas Throckmorton*'s Letters, the Queen it ſeems had judged proper to adjourn the Parliament; and now that ſhe had altered her Mind a ſecond Time, the Parliament was appointed to ſit on the 12th Day of *March*. And as it was uſual to prepare in a Council of *Articles*, ſuch Matters as were to come before the Parliament, the Queen called theſe Lords to convene in the Tolbooth of *Edinburgh* on *Thurſday* the 7th of *March*, and laid before them the Caſe of the Rebels living in voluntary Exile: And after ſome Debate thereupon, the Reſult was, that their Forfeiture ſhould be propoſed in open Parliament. Now the Rebel-Lords had many Friends in the Kingdom, ſome upon the Account of Conſanguinity, others upon that of Religion; and both theſe had ſtill ſhewed an Inclination that the Exiles ſhould be received into Favour, at leaſt that they ſhould obtain Pardon for what was paſt: And becauſe they lookt upon *Riccio* as the chief Let thereof, he having altered his Mind upon the Arrival of *Villamonte*, ſeveral dark Speeches had run in the Country, as if his Life was aimed at by thoſe who envied his Favour and Sway at Court, of which both himſelf and the Queen had received Intimation; but they deſpiſed all Threatnings, and reckoned theſe Speeches to be nothing elſe but Rumours raiſed on purpoſe to terrify the Court into a Compliance with their Deſires *(b)*. Beſides the Perſons who had particular Attachments to the Rebel-Lords, there were others alſo that laboured with all their Might to obſtruct the Meeting of the Parliament, becauſe they dreaded the *Revocation* of ſeveral Grants that had been made during the Queen's Minority; of which ſort was the Earl of *Morton*. And there was another Set yet, who had no mind that the Parliament ſhould hold, leſt, as they had heard it whiſpered, the Queen ſhould therein call them to account for the Eccleſiaſtick Benefices they had ſeized, without proper Law, during the late Changes in Religion. All theſe Malcontents had joined their Conſultations how to make an Alteration at Court: And the beſt Expedients they could light on (which ſome People likewiſe affirm to have been ſuggeſted to them from the Court of *England*) was to foment Diſ-

ſenſions

(*a*) This Account given by Sir *James Melvil*, and a Letter by Mr. *Randolph* of the 6th of *February* to Sir *William Cecil*, do mutually confirm each other; for he tells of one "*Clernau* a *Frenchman* being come from the Cardinal of *Lorrain*, ſince whoſe "Arrival, no Good to the baniſhed Lords. Band to introduce Popery in all Chriſtendom ſigned by the Queen, and the Ori"ginal to be ſent back by Mr. *Stephen Wilſon*." Sir *William Drury* alſo in his Letter from *Berwick*, to be ſeen in the Appendix, mentions, "*Monſ. de Clarenoc* to be come from the Cardinal of *Lorrain*; the Letters which they ſay he brought, much hindred "the baniſhed Lords." It would appear by theſe different Letters, that *Monſ. de Villamonte* and *Clernau* or *Clarenoc*, have been but one and the ſame Perſon.

(*b*) It was certainly an Error in the Queen to admit a Foreigner into much Confidence in Matters of State. This is a Piece of Management has ſeldom been ſeen to ſucceed. The natural born Subjects never fail to envy ſuch Preferments: And even *Riccio* himſelf ſeems to have been ſenſible of ſome ſuch thing; See *Melvil*'s Memoirs. It was no doubt a Fault in the Privy-Counſellors that they did not remonſtrate to the Queen againſt her employing him. Mr. *Buchanan* vamps up very pretty Flouriſhes in his Invective againſt *Riccio*: He repreſents him as a Member of the *Articles* which ſat on the 7th Day of *March*; and yet that poor Man never ſat at all in an ordinary Council. Again, he repreſents his Inſolence, in "prohibiting the Queen to read over a "very large and obliging Letter, full of prudent Advice, from the Queen of *England*, endeavouring to incline her from a "watchful to a reconcileable Temper towards her Rebels." I ſhall not take upon me to ſay peremptorily, that no Letter came from the Queen of *England* to our Queen about the Time *Buchanan* here points at; but I may be free to ſay, that there is no Appearance left to us of any Letter at that Time; and by all that we can now ſee, the Queen of *England* had already given up any further Interceſſion in favours of the Rebels of *Scotland*, ſince our Queen had expreſly deſired ſhe might not medle betwixt her and her Subjects. If it was *Tamworth*'s Meſſage that Mr. *Buchanan* aims at (and as *Rapin Thoyras* underſtands him) truly it was no very great Inſolence for any Perſon in the Queen's Preſence, to ſay her Majeſty had heard enough of that *inſolent* Memorial. There is a certain manner of doing a Thing, which may be decent or indecent according to the Circumſtances. And 'tis well known that Mr. *Buchanan* has a Knack of repreſenting Matters with abundance of lively Satyr. And 'tis not a little obſervable, that his late *French* Copyiſt finds himſelf under a Neceſſity about this Juncture to ſay, *perhaps this Hiſtorian greatly aggravates Matters*. I own *Holinſhed* takes notice of the Queen of *England* her ſending a Gentleman into *Scotland*, to intercede for Favour in her Name to the rebellious Lords; but as this Author, otherwiſe indeed of more than ordinary Exactneſs, repreſents this to have been obtained from the Queen of *England* at the Requeſt of the Earl of *Murray*, his Account *herein* is the leſs to be depended on, ſince we know the Queen of *England* affected, at leaſt, a different outward Deportment towards that Earl at this Time; howſoever aſſiſting ſhe might be to him and his Fellows ſecretly and under-hand.

Dark Speeches againſt *David Riccio* the Secretary for foreign Diſpatches.

ſenſions betwixt the King and Queen, and to remove Mr. *Riccio* out of the way. The Earl of *Morton*, they ſay, was ſet to manage the Contrivance, who not only acted his own Part very dexterouſly (as 'tis certain he had a Head well turned for Matters of Cunning) but made good Uſe likewiſe of a Couſin of his own, *George Douglas* (a), who was continually about the King, and infuſed into him ſuch Suſpicions, as the diſcontented Party thought proper to ſuggeſt for their own Ends. The vile Aſperſion of the Queen's Honour, as entertaining a criminal Familiarity with the ugly ill-favoured (b) *Riccio*, deſerves not to be regarded (c). But that the Faction would indeed make it their Buſineſs to repreſent to the young King, that he was kept too much inferior to his Wife, whoſe Head and Lord he was, and that the *Italian* Secretary had too much of the publick Buſineſs committed to him; that thro' his Intervention alſo the King was withholden from receiving the Matrimonial Crown, and from obtaining an Act for continuing the Regal Succeſſion in his Perſon, if her Majeſty ſhould chance to die before him: I ſay, that theſe Men who wanted to overthrow *Riccio* at any rate, and thereby ſerve their own Purpoſes at Court, would make ſuch, and other like Inſinuations, is not at all to be queſtioned.

A Diſcuſſion of ſeveral Reports againſt the Queen.

Tho' both **Knox** and **Buchanan** were formerly at pains to complain of the Queen's conferring the Title of *King* upon her Husband, yet they are now as careful to complain that her Majeſty had by this time cauſed either the King's Name to be altogether omitted, or placed *after* hers in all publick Writs. But that theſe two Gentlemen have here been miſinformed, appears obvious by all the remaining Records of that Time. We have already ſeen by an original Letter, that in leſs than a Month after the Marriage, and not *of late only*, the Queen did ſign her Name, firſt in Order, before the King. Moreover, as to theſe Writs which I ſuppoſe can come moſt properly under the Denomination of Mr. *Buchanan*'s *Diplomata*, I mean the Royal *Charters* granted by the Crown to the Subject, I have been at pains to look them all over very carefully, and can certify my Readers with the utmoſt Aſſurance, that the Queen's Name is never ſo much as once ſet before the King's, not only during the Time previous to *Riccio*'s Slaughter, but even during the whole Period of their joint Lives. Nor is there any Act or Proclamation recorded in the Books of Privy-Council which remain at preſent, but what bears always the King's Name before the Queen's, one only excepted concerning the *Mary Ryal*, which the Readers will ſee in the *Appendix*. Beſides the publick Charters and Acts of Councils, there are likewiſe ſeveral State-Letters, Commiſſions, &c. recorded in the *Shatter'd MS.* during the Queen's Marriage; all which do ſtill bear the King's Name *before* that of the Queen. And if all theſe together do not exhauſt what *Buchanan* would mean by his *Diplomata*, I acknowledge my ſelf at a loſs what elſe to look after. Beſides, I do much ſuſpect that no Perſon can *now* diſcover any publick *Diploma* that bears the Queen's Name *before* that of the King; and had there been many, ſurely ſome one might have had the Chance to eſcape the general Overthrow of the reſt.

It is likewiſe objected againſt the Queen, that tho' immediately after the Marriage ſhe had been pleaſed to allow the King's Name to be ſet upon the publick Coin of the Kingdom even *before* her own, yet now ſhe had called in that Money, and cauſed new Money to be ſtampt with his Name after hers. Indeed there is in the Regiſter of Privy-Council, as hath been already noticed, an Act on the 22d Day of *December* 1565, appointing **to be cunʒeit ane Penny of Silver callit the** MARY RYALL, **of Weicht ane Unce,**

(a) He was commonly called the *Poſtulate Biſhop of Murray*. He was baſtard Uncle to the King, being natural Son to the Earl of *Angus* by a Daughter of the Family of *Morton*.

(b) He is ſo called by *Buchanan*, beſides other Writers.

(c) *Knox* gives a ſlender Touch of this, and *Buchanan* is fond to dwell upon it. But Sir *James Melvil*, who had better Opportunities of coming at the Secrets about the Court, takes not the leaſt notice of any ſuch thing, tho' otherwiſe he is ſevere enough on the Affair of *Riccio*. Neither do we meet with the ſmalleſt Hint thereof in all Mr. *Randolph*'s, or other State-Letters at this Time; which to an impartial Obſerver muſt ſurely be an evident Conviction of the Calumny. 'Tis indeed not a little ſurpriſing to find *Rapin de Thoyras* aſſume the Confidence to aver, that Sir *James Melvil* doth either hint at this Matter, or ſuppoſe it: But that Foreigner was determined to think ſo himſelf, and by that means he ſees in Sir *James* what he wiſhes to ſee. 'Tis however lucky that theſe *Memoirs* are not in his Hands only. *Crawford*'s *Memoirs* repreſents this to have been a ſubtile Fetch by Secretary *Lethington*, who envied *Riccio*, as being prejudicial to him in his Office.

1565-6. **with this Circumſcriptioun,** *Exurgat Deus & diſſipentur inimici ejus;* **And on the uthir Syde this Circumſcriptioun,** *Maria & Henricus Dei gratia Regina & Rex Scotorum:* But of the calling in any former Money, there is not a Word in the Act. Several of theſe Silver Pieces remain to this Day; but there is never any one Penny of Gold or Silver, of a larger or ſmaller Size, to be met with in any the moſt curious Repoſitory, carrying the King's Name *before* the Queen's: Which to me is a ſtrong Preſumption, that any ſuch has never been ſtampt.

Mr. *Buchanan* likewiſe narrates how the Queen, in order to have more Leiſure to follow her private Intrigues, ſent away the King forcibly to *Peebles*, with a very ſcrimp Attendance, in the Rigour of Winter; in which Place he is repreſented to have been in great Scarcity of Entertainment ſuitable to what he had been always accuſtomed: Nay, that he was even in danger of loſing his Life there, for want of neceſſary Food; ſhe having thruſt him away thither, rather to become a Sacrifice himſelf, than to have the Pleaſure of hawking and hunting. This Story may indeed have a Foundation ſo far, as the King may have gone to *Peebles (a)* for his Sport and Recreation; but as to all the Accounts thereof which relate to the Queen, there is little Doubt but theſe are owing to this Author's humour of calumniating: For except the King had been delivered Priſoner to the ſmall Retinue he had about him (which this Writer has not the Confidence to *(b)* affirm) he had it in his Power to have come to *Edinburgh* at any time in the Space of a few Hours, the Diſtance from thence to the Town of *Peebles* being only ſixteen Miles. And as for the Scarcity of Eatables, I ſuppoſe the Gentlemen of that Country might be ready to cenſure this Author for his raſh and falſe Repreſentation.

But Mr. *Knox* will give the Reader a more feaſible Account of this whole Story, and of the King's manner of living during the Seaſon here condeſcended on. "As for the King (he ſays) he paſt his Time in hunting and hawking *(c)*, "and ſuch other Pleaſures as were agreeable to his Appetite, having in his "Company Gentlemen willing to ſatisfy his Will and Affections" *(d)*. And that the King's Errand has been his own Diverſion, appears plain enough even by *Buchanan*'s own manner of Expreſſion, namely, "that the King was thruſt "away to *Peebles*, rather to be a Prey himſelf than to make a Prey" *(e)*. And in his infamous *Detection* he ſays, "In that Wynter quhen he [the "King] went to *Pebles* with ſmall Trayne, evin too meane for the Degre of "ane private Man, not being ſent thether a hawking, bot as commandit away "into ane Corner, far from Counſell and Knawledge of publict Affairs." To hear this Man alone, he would be ready to make the World believe the Queen had had an abſolute Dominion over her Husband, like a Child; that ſhe ſent him *out* and call'd him *in* like a Lackey; and that the King was entirely paſſive in her Hands. But his Misfortune is, that he is neither the ſingle Writer of that Time, nor has he any other Contemporary to ſupport what he ſays.

That there had already intervened ſome Jars betwixt the King and Queen, ſeems to be a Matter paſt all Heſitation; and our two Hiſtorians have found it ſerviceable to their Purpoſe, to remove the whole Blame thereof from the King (who formerly was not in their good Graces) and throw the ſame upon the Queen, that they might with the better Colour miſrepreſent her Majeſty afterwards. But Truth ſometimes comes to Light, maugre all the Induſtry to conceal

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(a) *Peebles* is the County Town of *Tweedale*, and in the Neighbourhood thereof is good Ground for the Sport.

(b) On the contrary he calls the Company which was with the King *comitatus*; which in the *Latin* Tongue (whereof this Author was a chief Maſter) ſignifies *Companions* and *Friends*; and when applied to Men of the King's Rank, denotes a ſort of Honour and Dignity to be put on thoſe who are allowed to be about his Perſon. And hence the Nobles were firſt called *Comites*, i. e. *Companions of the Prince.*

(c) Mr. *Holinſhed* ſays alſo, "The King paſt the moſt part of that Winter in the Countries of *Fife*, *Strathern*, *Striveling-ſhire*, "and *Lothian*, ſpending his Time in hawking." But not a Word of what *Buchanan* inſinuates; tho' had the Story been true, "that Circumſtance had been as notorious as the Journey. Things of that kind are rather augmented by Report than diminiſhed.

(d) This is good *Engliſh* for *Buchanan*'s *comitatus*. And a little after this, the ſame Author ſpeaks of the King's going to *Leith* accompanied with ſeven or eight Horſe to paſs his Time there.

(e) *In prædam verius quam aucupium.*

1565-6.

The King affords the Queen too much ground for diſpleaſure.

conceal it. Mr. *Knox* has given us ſufficiently to underſtand, that the King was entirely poſſeſſed with juvenile Recreations, and worſe: But the following Letter will ſatisfy any impartial Perſon, that the Queen had too ſtrong Reaſons to be offended with One, whom ſhe had honoured ſo far as to render him her Equal.

(a) Letter by Sir William Drury *(b), To Sir* William Cecil, Berwick *16th* February 1565.

‘———*Monſ. de la Roc Pauſſay* and his Brother arrived here yeſterday [from *Scotland*]: he is ſick; my Lord *Darnley* having made him drink of *Aqua compoſita*. All People ſay, that *Darnley* is too much addicted to Drinking. 'Tis certainly reported, there was ſome Jar betwixt the Queen and him at an Entertainment in a Merchant's Houſe in *Edinburgh*, ſhe only diſſwading him from drinking too much himſelf, and enticing others; in both which he proceeded, and gave her ſuch Words, that ſhe left the Place with Tears; which they that are known to their Proceedings, ſay is not ſtrange to be ſeen. Theſe Jars ariſe, amongſt other Things, from his ſeeking the Matrimonial Crown, which ſhe will not yield unto; the calling in of the Coin wherein they were both *(c)*, and the Duke's [of *Chaſtelherault*] finding ſo favourable Addreſs; which hath much diſpleaſed both him and his Father. *Darnley* is in great miſliking with the Queen: She is very weary of him; and, as ſome judge, will be more ſo ere long: For true it is, that theſe who depend wholly upon him, are not liked of her; nor they that follow her, of him; as *David* [*Riccio*] and others. Some ſay ſhe likes the Duke better now than formerly; ſo ſome think that if there ſhould be the Quarrel betwixt her and *Darnley*, which ſhe could not appeaſe, that ſhe will uſe the Duke's Aid in that Affair. There alſo have ariſen ſome unkind Speeches about the ſigning of Letters: he immediately after his Marriage ſigned *firſt (d)*; which ſhe will not allow of now. His Government is very much blamed; for he is thought to be wilful and haughty, and ſome ſay, vicious; whereof too many were Witneſſes the other Day at *Inchkeith*, with the Lord *Robert*, *Fleming*, and ſuch like grave *(e)* Perſonages. I will not rehearſe to your Honour what of Certainty is ſaid of him at his being there *(f)*.———

Abſtract, 24th January 1565-6, Randolph *to* Cecill.

Darnly *demands the Crown Matrimonial with ſuch Impatience* [and this was at the very Time *Buchanan* tells his Story of *Peebles*] *that the Queen repents that ſhe has done ſo much for him*——— See *Appendix*.

Item, Abſtract 3d July 1565. Darnly *is of an inſolent, imperious Temper, and thinks that he is never ſufficiently honoured. The Queen does every thing to oblige him, tho' he cannot be prevailed upon to yield the ſmalleſt thing to pleaſe her.*——— Now if this was the Caſe before his Marriage (at which ſeaſon Suitors are certainly moſt complaiſant; eſpecially it well became him to be ſo) can we ſuppoſe he had altered his Behaviour afterwards? ſurely no. Mr. *Strype* likewiſe in his *Annals, September* 1565, “The young King “was ſo inſolent, as his own Father grew weary of his Government, and de“parted from the Court.”

(a) *Cotton* Library, Calig. B. 10. F. 370.

(b) Captain of the Fortreſs of *Berwick*.

(c) This is an evident Miſtake capable to invalidate this whole Story of the Coin; for Sir *William Drury* would here make us believe, that the late Alteration in the Coin had been the leaving out the King's Name *altogether*; which however by the Act of Council, and the coin'd Money remaining to this Day, we ſee is utterly falſe.

(d) We have already ſeen what Faith is to be given to this.

(e) This is ſaid ironically.

(f) Theſe muſt have been black and odious Doings, which Sir *William* was aſhamed to rehearſe. One might perhaps ſay for Mr *Buchanan*, that his Purity could not allow him to give any Hint of this: But by Miſchance this Writer offends oftimes the Minds of his Readers, by the naſty Things he talks of the Queen from his own corrupt Fancy only.

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Let the impartial World now judge, whether the Queen had not abundance of Ground to look ſomewhat down upon her Husband, as ſhe was a Woman, a Queen, and the Sovereign of her Husband? and whether by his manner of doing, rambling up and down, hunting and hawking, he did not put her under a Neceſſity of taking that Aſſiſtance from her Servants in the Adminiſtration of the Government, which he ought to have made it his Buſineſs to afford her? But ſo far was he from being reclaimed by all the Methods the Queen could take (a), or the leaving his wild Courſes, and applying himſelf to be more gracious to the Queen, that giving Ear to the wicked Suggeſtions both of his own and her Enemies (b), he at laſt determined to concur in the Murder of the Secretary *Riccio*. The firſt Man the King made privy to this barbarous Deſign, was the Lord *Ruthven*. As to the Time, Place, and other Circumſtances of this deteſtable Murder, there have been already publiſhed four ſeveral Accounts thereof, *viz.* one by the Lord *Ruthven*, the principal Actor in it, and one by each of the three contemporary Hiſtorians, *Knox* (c), *Buchanan* (d) and *Melvil* (e). I ſhall not trouble my Readers with a Repetition of theſe three laſt named Accounts (f); but the *fourth*, as being rare to be met with, I have put into the *Appendix* (g). However there's a *fifth* yet remaining, which the World has not hitherto been informed of, namely *That* which was tranſmitted by the Queen's Majeſty to her Ambaſſador in *France*, *James Bethune* Archbiſhop of *Glaſgow* (h), with Orders to him to communicate the ſame to that Court; and this I ſubjoin here for the Satisfaction of the Curious.

And aſſiſts in the Murder of her Secretary *David Riccio*.

Of which Murder her Majeſty ſends a particular Detail into *France*.

(i) *Letter of Queen* Mary, *To the Archbiſhop of* Glaſgow *her Ambaſſador in* France, *concerning* David Riccio's *Murther on the 9th* March 1566.

* Diſpatch.

“MAiſt Reverend Fadir, we greit you weill. We received your Depeſche* ſent by Captain *Mure*; and ſenſyne ſindrie Novelles having occurrit, knowing not what Bruit is paſſed thereupon, we thought neceſſary to make you ſome Diſcourſe thereof. It is not unknawn to you, how our Parlament

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(a) Sir *James Melvil* ſays expreſly, that the Queen “advised him to wait upon the King who was but young, and give him his beſt Counſel, as he had formerly done, which might help him to ſhun many Inconveniencies.”

(b) Sir *James* likewiſe ſeems to lay the whole Blame of this Wickedneſs upon the Earl of *Morton*, and *George Douglas* baſtard Son to the late Earl of *Angus*.

(c) *Knox* obſerves, that “by the Death of *David Riccio*, the Noblemen were relieved of their Trouble, and reſtored to their Places and Rooms, and likewiſe the Church reformed, and all that profeſſed the Evangel within this Realm, after Faſting and Prayer, was delivered and freed from the apparent Dangers which were like to have fallen upon them.” And a little before he ſays, “upon *Sunday* the 3d Day of *March* began the Faſting at *Edinburgh*.” Alas, can we ſay, that Murder will be the Effect of any good Man's Faſting and Prayer! 'Tis pity that Mr. *Knox* ſhould give the Adverſaries ſo much Ground for Hatred and Contempt! And ſpeaking of *Riccio*'s firſt Riſe and Favour at Court, he ſays, “But of his Beginning and Progreſs, we delay now further to ſpeak, becauſe that his End will require the Deſcription of the whole, and refers it unto ſuch as *God ſhall raiſe up to do the ſame!*” This exactly in Conformity with what the ſame Writer ſpeaks concerning the barbarous Murder of Cardinal *Bethune*. Such Men muſt have ſtrange Notions of God Almighty; they ſhape and dreſs Him up according to their own Luſts and Imaginations, and ſo fancy themſelves alone His Friends and Favourites; and every the greateſt Barbarity and moſt heinous Crime, if it ſerves for their worldly Purpoſes, is all projected in Heaven, and the Perpetrators of it are the immediate Inſtruments and Miniſters of the Moſt High. What elſe is this but to hound out People to do Miſchief!

(d) *Buchanan* adds to his Account of this Murder, that “the Queen cauſed the Body of *Riccio* to be taken out of the Grave where it was firſt laid, and depoſited in the Sepulchre of her Father and Children, and almoſt into the Arms of Queen *Magdalene* her Father's firſt Wife.” But this is unſupported by any body elſe: And if we ſhould grant that *Riccio*'s Body was indeed depoſited in that narrow Vault where the other Bodies mentioned by him do now ly, it muſt have been taken out again ſometime thereafter; for 'tis certain that no ſuch Thing is now to be ſeen there, as every one muſt teſtify that has viewed the Vault; and any body may at pleaſure get into it.

(e) Sir *James Melvil* writes with much Sobriety concerning the Murder; and his Account deſerves well to be peruſed.

(f) Another contemporary Hiſtorian, the Author of the *Memoirs* which go under the Name of *Crawford*, has this ſhort Touch of the Matter: “He [the King] introduced *Patrick* Lord *Ruthven* with his eldeſt Son, and ſome other Conſpirators, through his own Chamber, upon the 9th Day of *March* 1565; and there without either Reverence had to her Majeſty, not only injured her with Words as ſhe then ſat at Supper, but alſo laid violent Hands on her *Italian* Secretary, and hal'd him unmercifully to another Chamber, and there murdered him to death.” Now my Readers will be pleaſed to know, that as often as I ſhall have occaſion to quote theſe *Memoirs*, I take my Quotations from a MS. Copy which was taken from the very MS. made uſe of by Mr. *Crawford* before he cauſed it to be printed. There are conſiderable Variations betwixt the Manuſcript and the Print.

(g) Numb. II.

(h) In the *Shatter'd MS.* is contained this Prelate's Commiſſion to be her Majeſty's Ambaſſador, drawn up in the *Latin* Tongue, and in as ample Form as can be deviſed; it bears Date at *Edinburgh*, 1ſt *June* 1564, and the Great Seal ordered to be appended.

(i) An Original. *Colleg. Scot. Pariſ. Mem. Scotl. Tom.* ii. [illegible]. 161. Tho' the modern ſpelling be generally followed, yet the Copy is otherwiſe exactly conformable to the Original.

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" lament was appointed to the 12th of this inſtant Moneth of *March*, to whilk theſe that were our Rebels and Fugitives in *England* war ſummoned, to have heard themſelves forfeited. The Day thereof approaching, we required the King our Husband to aſſiſt with us in paſſing thereto; who as we are aſſured being perſwaded by our Rebels that were fugitive, with the Advice and Fortification of the Earl of *Morton*, Lords *Ruthven* and *Lindſay*, their Aſſiſtars and Complices, wha was with us in Company, by their Suggeſtion refuſed to paſs with us thereto, as we ſuppone becauſe of his Facility, and ſubtile Means of the Lords foreſaid, he condeſcended to advance the pretended Religion publiſht here, to put the Rebels in their Roumes and Poſſeſſions which they had of before, and but ‡ our Knawledge grant to them a Remit of all their Treſpaſſes. The ſaids Rebels and their Favorars promittit they ſhould forder him to the Crown Matrimoniall, give him the Succeſſion thereof, and ware their Lives in all his Affairs; and if any would uſurp contrary to his Authority, they ſhould defend the ſamyne to their uttermoſt Power, not excepting our own Perſon. Whilks ſubtil Factions being unknown to us, hoping no Inconvenience to have been deviſed or ſucceeded, we, accompanied with our Nobility for the time, paſt to the Tolbuith of *Edinburgh*, for holding of our Parlament upon the 7th Day of this inſtant, elected the Lords Articulars: The Spirituall Eſtate being placed therein in the ancient Maner, tending to have done ſome Good anent reſtoring the auld Religion (*a*), and to have proceeded againſt our Rebels according to their Demerits. Whilk for ſuch Occaſions as are notourly known, we thought neceſſarly ſhould be puniſht, likeas of Truth the Crimes committed by them being notified and made patent in Face of our Eſtates in Parlament aſſembled, were thought and reputed of ſuch Weightineſs, that they deſerved Forfaltour therethrow; and the ſamyne being voted and concluded. Upon the 9th Day of *March* inſtant we being, at Even about Seven Hours, in our Cabinet at our Supper, ſociated with our Siſter the Counteſs of *Argyle*, our Brother the Commendator of *Halyrudhouſe*, Laird of *Creich* (*b*), *Arthur Erſkin*, and certain others our domeſtick Servitors, in quiet maner, eſpecially by reaſon of our evill Diſpoſition, being counſell'd to ſuſtean ourſelves with Fleſh (*c*), having alſo then paſt almoſt to the End of ſeven Moneths in our Birth; the King our Husband came to us in our Cabinet, placed him beſide us at our Supper. The Earl of *Morton* and Lord *Lindſay*, with their Aſſiſtars, bodin in warlick maner, to the Number of Eightſcore Perſons or thereby, kept and occupied the whole Entry of our Palace of *Halyrudhouſe*, ſo that as they believed it was not poſſible to any Perſon to eſcape forth of the ſame. In that mean time the Lord *Ruthven*, bodin in like maner, with his Complices, took Entry perforce in our Cabinet, and there ſeeing our Secretary *David Riccio* among others our Servants, declared he had to ſpeak with him. In this inſtant we required the King our Husband, if he knew any thing of that Interpriſe? who denyed the ſamyne. Alſo we commanded the Lord *Ruthven*, under the Pain of Treaſon, to avoyd him forth of our Preſence; declaring we ſhould exhibite the ſaid *David* before the Lords of Parlament, to be puniſht, if any ſorte he had offended. Notwithſtanding the ſaid Lord *Ruthven* perforce invadit him in our Preſence (he then for Refuge took Safeguard, having retired him behind our Back) and with his Complices caſt down our Table upon ourſelf, put violent Hands in him, ſtruck him over our Shoulders with Whinzeards, one Part of them ſtanding before our Face with bended Daggs *, moſt cruelly took him forth of our Cabinet, and at the Entry of our Chamber give him Fifty ſix Strokes with Whinzeards and

‡ *without.*

* *Piſtols.*

(*a*) This ſeems clearly to verify the Account given by Sir *James Melvil*, concerning the Meſſage ſent to the Queen out of *France*, by *Villamonte*.

(*b*) His Name was *Bethune*, a Branch of the Family of *Balfour*.

(*c*) Becauſe it has been the Seaſon of *Lent*.

1565-6. " Swords. In doing whereof, we were not only ſtruck with great Dreadour, but alſo by ſundrie Conſiderations was moſt juſtly induced to take extream Fear of our Life. After this Deed immediately the ſaid Lord *Ruthven* coming again in our Preſence, declared how they and their Complices foreſaids were highly offended with our Proceedings and Tyranny, which was not to them tolerable; how we was abuſed by the ſaid *David*, whom they had actually put to death, namely in taking his Counſell for Maintenance of the ancient Religion, debarring of the Lords which were fugitive, and entertaining of Amity with foreign Princes and Nations with whom we were confederate; putting alſo upon Council the Lords *Bothwell* and *Huntly*, who were Traitors, and with whom he aſſociated himſelf. That the Lords baniſht in *England* were the Morne to reſort toward us, and would take plain Part with them in our contrary; and that the King was willing to remit them their Offences. We all this Time took no leſs Care of ourſelves, than for our Council and Nobility, Maintenars of our Authority, being with us in our Palace for the Time; to wit, the Earls of *Huntly*, *Bothwell*, *Athole*, Lords *Fleming* and *Levingſton*, Sir *James Balfour* *(a)*, and certain others our familiar Servitors: againſt whom the Interpriſe was conſpired as well as for *David*; and namely to have hanged the ſaid Sir *James* in Cords. Yet, by the Providence of GOD, the Earls of *Huntly* and *Bothwell* eſcaped forth of their Chambers in our Palace at a Back-window by ſome Cords; wherein thir Conſpirators took ſome Fear, and thought themſelves greatly diſappointed in ther Interprize. The Earl of *Athole* and Sir *James Balfour* by ſome other Means, with the Lords *Fleming* and *Levingſton*, obteined Deliverance of their Invaſion. The Provoſt and Town of *Edinburgh* having underſtood this Tumult in our Palace, cauſed ring their common Bell, came to us in great Number, and deſired to have ſeen our Preſence, intercomoned † with us, and to have known our Welfare: To whom we was not permitted to give Anſwer, being extreamly boſted * by thir Lords, who in our Face declared, if we deſired to have ſpoken them, they ſhould cut us in Collops, and caſt us over the Walls. So this Community being commanded by our Huſband, retired them to Quietneſs.

† *ſpoken.*
* *threatned.*

" All that Night we were detained in Captivity within our Chamber, not permitting us to have intercomoned ſcarcely with our Servant-women, nor domeſtick Servitors. Upon the Morn hereafter Proclamation was made in our Huſband's Name, ‡ by our Advice, commanding all Prelates and other Lords conveened to Parlement, to retire themſelves of our Burgh of *Edinburgh*. That haill Day we was keeped in that Firmance *, our familiar Servitors and Guard being debarred from our Service, and we watched by the Committars of thir Crimes; to whom a Part of the Community of *Edinburgh*, to the Number of Fourſcore Perſons, aſſiſted.

‡ *without.*
* *Priſon* or *Captivity.*

" The Earl of *Murray* that ſame Day at Evin, accompanied with the Earl of *Rothes*, *Petarro*, *Grange*, Tutor of *Pitcurr*, and others who were with him in *England*, came to them *(b)*, and ſeeing our State † and Intertainment *, was moved with natural Affection towards us. Upon the Morn he ‡ aſſembled the Interpriſars of this late Crime, and ſuch of our Rebels as came with him *(c)*. In their Council they thought it moſt expedient we ſhould be warded in our Caſtle of *Streviling*, there to remain while † we had approved in Parlament all their wicked Interprizes, *eſtabliſht their Religion*, and given to the King the Crown Matrimoniall, and the haill Government of our Realme: Or elſe, by all Appearance, firmly purpoſed to have put us to death, or detained us in perpetual Captivity. To avoyd * them of our Palace with their Guard and Aſſiſtars, the King promiſed to keep us that Night

" in

† *Condition.*
* *Treatment.*
‡ *Murray.*
† *till.*
* *remove.*

(*a*) He was by this time made Clerk-Regiſter, in the room of Mr. *James Macgill*, one of the Conſpirators of this Murder.

(*b*) The King had written for them according to the Bond betwixt him and the Lord *Ruthven*, when the Murder was conſpired.

(*c*) Mr. *Knox*, and from him Abp. *Spottiſwood*, ſay, that the Earl of *Murray*, *&c.* went on the 12th *March*, the Day of the Meeting of the Parliament, to the Tolbooth, where it was *then* ordinarily kept, and there took Proteſtation that they were ready to anſwer the Summons of Forfeiture directed againſt them; and that none did purſue.

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in ſure Guard, and that but ‡ Compulſion he ſhould cauſe us in Parlament approve all their Conſpiracies. By this Moyen he cauſed them to retire them of our Palace.

‡ *without.*

“ This being granted, and the Guard commanded to ſerve us in the accuſtomate manner (the Fear and Dreadour always remain'd with us) we declared our State to the King our Husband, certifying him how miſerably he would be handled, in caſe he permitted thir Lords to prevail * in our contrare; and how unacceptable it would be to other Princes our Confederates, in caſe he altered the Religion. By this Perſwaſion he was induced to condeſcend to the Purpoſe taken by us, and to retire him in our Company to *Dunbar*; which we did under-night, accompanied with the Captain of our Guard *Arthur Erskine*, and two others only. Of before we being of mind to have gotten ourſelves relieved of this Detention, deſired in quiet manner the Earls of *Bothwell* and *Huntly* to have prepared ſome way whereby they might have performed the ſame; who not doubting therein, at the leaſt taking no Regard to hazard their Lives in that Behalf, deviſed that we ſhould have come over the Walls of our Palace in the Night upon Towes † and Chairs, which they had in Readineſs to that Effect.

* *againſt us.*

† *Ropes.*

“ Soon after our coming to *Dunbar*, ſundry of our Nobility zealous of our Well, ſuch as the Earls of *Huntly*, *Bothwell*, *Marſhall*, *Athole*, *Caithneſs*, Biſhop of St. *Andrew*'s, with his Kin and Friends; Lords *Hume*, *Teſter*, *Sempil*, and infinite others, aſſembled to us: By whoſe Advice, Proclamations being made for convening our Lieges to attend to us and our Service; the Lords Conſpirators perceiving the ſamen, the Earl of *Glencairn*, as innocent of this laſt Crime, reſorted towards us by our Tolerance, and hath taken his Remiſſion, and ſicklike the Earl of *Rothes*. The Earl of *Murray* and *Argyle* ſent diverſe Meſſages to procure our Favour, to whom in likewiſe, for certain Reſpects, by Advice of our Nobility and Council being with us, we have granted Remiſſion *(a)*, under Condition they nowiſe apply themſelves to thir laſt Conſpirators, and retire themſelves in *Argyle* during our Will: Thinking it very difficult to have ſo many bent at once in our contrare, and knowing the Promiſes paſt already betwixt the King and them; and our Force not ſufficient, through Inhability of our Perſon, to reſiſt the ſamen, and put the Matter in ſo great Hazard *(b)*.

“ We remained in *Dunbar* five Days, and after returned to *Edinburgh* well accompanied with our Subjects *(c)*. The laſt Conſpirators, with their Aſſiſters, having removed themſelves forth of the ſamen of before *(d)*, and being preſently Fugitive from our Laws, we have cauſed by our Charges their hail Fortunes, Strengths and Houſes to be rendred to us; have cauſed make Inventar of their Goods and Geir, and intend further to purſue them with all Rigour *(e)*: Whereunto we are aſſured to have the Aſſiſtance of our Husband, who hath declared to us, and in Preſence of the Lords of our Privy-Council, his Innocence of this laſt Conſpiracy; how he never counſelled, com-

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(*a*) Sir *James Melvil* ſays, the Queen ſubſcribed diverſe Remiſſions for my Lord *Murray* and his *Dependers*, in the Town of *Haddington*, on her Way from *Dunbar* to *Edinburgh*; and aſſigns the ſame Reaſons for her ſo doing.

(*b*) Mr. *Knox* ſays, that the Queen “ might be the better revenged upon the Slayers of *David Rizio*, ſhe intended to give Pardon to all ſuch as before had been attainted *for whatſomever Crime*.” But this is more than he, or any Man for him, can make out. To decide concerning the *Intentions* is no eaſy Matter.

(*c*) *Knox* alſo ſays, that the Queen's Army conſiſted already of about 8000, and that ſhe came to *Edinburgh* on the 18th of *March*; and that for fear of Puniſhment, the Lords Conſpirators fled from that City the Day before, being *Sunday*.

(*d*) Our Hiſtorians ſay, that the Earl of *Morton*, the Lords *Ruthven* and *Lindſay*, and Secretary *Maitland*, fled into *England*; that others betook themſelves to the mountainous and inacceſſible Parts within the Kingdom, and Mr. *Knox* hid himſelf in the Weſt Country of *Kyle*, thereby plainly taking upon him to have been one of the Contrivers (at leaſt Abettors) of the ungodly Deed, as Mr. *Buchanan* well remarks in the Cloſe of his Obſervations on this Head. “ And ſuch a Change (ſays Abp. *Spottiſwood*) you ſhould have ſeen as they who the Night preceeding did vaunt of the Fact as a godly and memorable Act, affirming ſome truly, ſome falſly, that they were preſent thereat; did, on the Morrow, foreſwear all that before they had affirmed.”

(*e*) “ How the Barons Wives are oppreſſed (ſays the Lord *Ruthven* in his Account of this Murder) by ſpoiling their Places and robbing their Goods, it would pity a *good* Heart.” He no doubt means the Wives of the Murderers: But the *Places* and *Goods* did not belong to them, but to their Husbands; and their Husbands had merited the ſevereſt Treatment. Some have read a *godly* Heart. *Goodneſs* and *Godlineſs* too are much in the Mouths of ſome People, while they are far enough from their Hearts: We know that *bitter* has been put for *ſweet*, and *ſweet* for *bitter*.

“ manded, conſented, aſſiſted, nor approved the ſame. Thus far only he overſaw himſelf, that at the Enticement and Perſwaſion of the late Conſpirators, he, without our Advice or Knowledge, conſented to the bringing home forth of *England*, of the Earls of *Murray*, *Glencairn*, *Rothes*, and other Perſons with whom we were offended. This ye will conſider by his Declaration made hereupon; which at his Deſire hath been publiſh'd at the Mercat-Croſſes of this our Realm *(a)*: Whereof with thir Preſents we thought neceſſary to ſend you the Original. We have informed this Bearer Mr. *James Thornton* upon ſundry other our particular Affairs; to whom give Credit. We require you, in caſe of your Abſence from Court, that ye paſs thereto with Diligence, to declare all our Proceeding to the King and Queen-Mother, and our Uncle the Cardinal of *Lorrain*, to whom we have alſo written anent the Premiſſes. And ſo we commit you to the Protection of the Eternal GOD. Of *Edinburgh* the Second Day of *April* 1566.”

Poſtſcript in *French* with the Queen's own Hand.

Je vous prie ne faillez, incontinant ces Lettres vuës, aller à la Cour, afinque vous puiſſiez empeſcher les bruits faux d'eſtre creûs; & faites en un diſcours à l'Ambaſſadeur d'Eſpagne & autres Etrangers. (b)

Votre bien bonne Maiſtreſſe & Amie,
MARIE R.

The Murderers are all pardoned, except two.

By the Cloſe of this foregoing Paper, and by the Accounts given by our Hiſtorians, the Readers having ſeen what Steps the Queen did take after ſhe was reſcued from the Hands of the Murderers; I have beſides for their more ſure and particular Information, added in the *Appendix (c)* all the Acts of Privy-Council relating to that Affair. And tho' there was at firſt a very rigorous Proſecution againſt the Aſſaſſines, and all others who had any hand in that more than barbarous Villany; yet notwithſtanding all this intended Severity, ſo gracious was her Majeſty, that before the End of the Year ſhe received all the Delinquents into Favour again. Young *Lethington* taſted firſt of the Royal Bounty, by means of the Earl of *Athole*; tho' much againſt the Inclination of the Earl of *Bothwell*: And *Morton* and *Lindſay* obtained their Remiſſion at the Requeſts of the Earls of *Huntly* and *Bothwell*. But the Lord *Ruthven* died on the 13th of *June* this Year at *Newcaſtle*; for he was in a languiſhing State of Health at the Time of the Murder. Two Perſons only *(d)* were put to Death, *viz.* *Thomas Scot (e)*, hanged and quartered in the Month of *April*, whoſe Head was ſet on the Tower in the Palace; and one *Henry Yair (f)*, formerly a Prieſt, but now a Retainer about the Lord *Ruthven*, in the Month of *Auguſt*: His Head was ſet on the Gate of the City called the *Nether-bow*. *William Harlaw* Sadler, and *John Moubray* a Merchant in *Edinburgh*, were convicted and brought to the Place of Execution; but had their Lives ſpared at the Interceſſion of the Earl of *Bothwell*.

We are told by Sir *James Melvil*, that the Queen upon her returning to *Edinburgh* after *Riccio*'s Murder, took up her Lodgings within the Caſtle: And on the 5th of *April* we find this following *Queen's Diet*, as it is term'd, inſerted in the Books of Privy-Council.

Apud

(a) Our Hiſtorians take notice of this Proclamation.

(b) i. e. *I deſire that how ſoon this ſhall come to your Hand, you communicate the Contents to the Court, thereby to prevent any falſe Reports from being credited. Be ſure likewiſe to impart the ſame to the Ambaſſador of* Spain, *and other foreign Miniſters.*

(c) Numb. 12.

(d) Yet *Buchanan* thinks fit to ſay, *ſome* were put to Death; uſing this ambiguous Expreſſion to make the World believe that *ſundry* Perſons had been executed to Death.

(e) *Knox* calls him Sheriff-depute of St. *Johnſton*; *Holinſhed* Sheriff-depute of *Perth*; and *Randolph*'s *Abſtract* 4th *April* 1566, Under-Sheriff to the Lord *Ruthven*. So it appears the Lord *Ruthven* has been at the Time, High-Sheriff of *Perth*.

(f) Mr. *Knox* uſhers in the Story thus, “ The Queen not *yet* ſatisfied with the Death of her Man *David*, cauſed in *Auguſt* to “ be apprehended a Man ———— hanged and quartered.” By this manner of Speech, one might rationally conclude that much Blood had been ſhed upon this Account *before*. But we are not lightly to credit the *Innuendos*; nay not the plain *Affirmations* of every Body indifferently.

Apud Edinburgh 5. April. Anno Dom. 1566.

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SEDERUNT

Georgius *Comes de* Huntlie, Jacobus *Comes de* Bothwell, Joannes *Comes de* Athole, Willelmus *Comes Mariſcall*, David *Comes de* Crawfurd, Georgius *Comes de* Caithnes, Joannes *Comes de* Mar, Joannes Maxwell *de* Terreglis *Miles*, Alexander *Epiſcopus Candidæ Caſæ*, Joannes *Commendatarius de* Lindoirs, Jacobus Balfour *de* Pittendrich *Miles*, & *Clericus Regiſtri*.

The Lordis of Secreit-Counſall thinkis it maiſt commodious to the commoun Weill of this Cuntrie, gif it may ſtand with the Quenis Majeſties Pleſour, and with the Helth of hir Body, that hir Majeſtie remane in the Caſtell of Edinburgh till hir Grace be deliverit of hir Birth: And in caiſs hir Majeſtie pas to ony uthir part to remane, the Counſall to remane ſtill in Edinburgh, and ſum Forces with thame during the ſaid Space; and ſum Nobillmen to remane with the Quenis Majeſtie where hir Grace remanes. R. M.

The Lords of Council adviſe the Queen to wait the Time of her Child bearing within the Caſtle of *Edinburgh*.

The Caſtle of *Edinburgh* being thus pitched upon by the Lords of the Queen's Council, as the moſt commodious Place for her Majeſty's *In-lying*; it was at the ſame time thought likewiſe improper, that ſo noted a Perſon as the Earl of *Arran* ſhould remain a Priſoner within the Place, where her Majeſty and the whole Kingdom had the apparent Proſpect of receiving the Joy of an Heir to the Imperial Crown of this Realm: And therefore on the 26th Day of the ſame Month of *April*, there is an Act of Council for receiving the Earl of *Huntly* Chancellor, *Argile*, *Murray* and *Glencarne*, Sir *John Maxwell* of *Terreiglis*, *John Hamilton* Archbiſhop of St. *Andrew*'s, *Claud Hamilton* Dean of *Dunbar*, *William Bailly* of *Lamington*, *James Muirhead* of *Lauchop*, and ſeventeen Gentlemen beſides, all of the Name of *Hamilton*, as Cautioners and Sureties (*a*) *ſeverally*, in the Sum of 20000 Merks, That *James* Earl of *Arran* ſhall remain within *Hamilton-Caſtle* and four Miles about, during the King's and Queen's Pleaſure, and ſhall in the mean time behave himſelf as an obedient Subject, and return himſelf Priſoner within the ſaid Caſtle of *Edinburgh*, the Caſtles of *Dunbar* or *Dunbarton*, upon twenty Days Warning, if he ſhall happen to be required. And the Earl of *Arran* is obliged to relieve his Cautioners (*b*).

Out of which Place the Earl of *Arran* is diſcharged on certain Conditions.

On the 29th of *April* the Earl of *Huntly* Lord Chancellor (*c*) produced in Council a Letter ſubſcribed by the King and Queen, diſcharging his own Cautioners (*d*) from their Obligation 3d *Auguſt* laſt Year. Alſo another Letter

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(*a*) Abp. *Spottiſwood* is far miſtaken to mention only the Earls of *Murray* and *Glencarne* to be Sureties.

(*b*) Then follows immediately in the Council-Book the Earl of *Arran*'s Bond (there called *Relevamen*) to his forenamed Cautioners, in which are theſe Words, ——— *And ſicklyke ſall obey, obſerve, uſe and keip my Freindis Counſall in all ſortis, als weill towart the Behaviour of my Body and Uſe thairof, as uthirwayis; and ſall not intromett with my Lord my Fadir's Leving, deſtroy nor cut doun the Wodis, Parkis, Deir thairin, Cunyngaris, nor yit uthir Part thairof. Attour ſall not troubil, inquiet or moleſt my ſaid Lord and Fadir's Chalmerlands, Factouris, Officiaris, nor na utheris Perſonis Intrometteris with his Leving quhatſumevir perteining to him, in ony tyme cuming, but according to his Directioun in all ſortis; lykas ſall be preſcryvit to me be his Directioun and Wryttings. And gif it ſall happin me, as God forbid, to contravein the Directioun, Counſall and Mynd of my ſaidis Friendis in the Premiſſes, or ony thing quhilk is for my Weill, conform to our ſaidis Soveranis Directiouns; in that caiſs, I am content, and be thir Preſentis conſentis, that my ſaidis Friendis tak and re-entir and put me within the Caſtells of* Edinburgh, Dunbar *or* Dunbartane, *conform to our Soveranis Pleſſour, Directioun and Ordinance maid thairupoun. Note*, In this Obligation the Bounds this Lord is at Liberty to travel about *Hamilton*, is ſaid to be *two* Miles only. And *Note*, That this Bond by the Earl to his Cautioners, will ſerve to clear what *Spottiſwood* narrates on this Head.

(*c*) The Earl of *Huntly* was made Chancellor on the 20th of *March* laſt, in the room of the Earl of *Morton*.

(*d*) I forgot to take notice in the Account of the late Earl of *Huntly*'s Misfortune, that *Holinſhed* relates how that Mr. *Robert Richardſon* Treaſurer, Mr. *James Macgill* Clerk-Regiſter [now with the late Chancellor *Morton* concerned in the Murder of *Riccio*] Mr. *John Spence* the Queen's Advocate, and the Laird of *Pitarrow* Comptroller, were left in *Aberdeen*, as Commiſſioners to compound for the Eſcheats of thoſe that were in the Field with the Earl of *Huntly*, and from whom they levied great Sums of Money. And it may not be amiſs here to acquaint my Readers, that I obſerve in the *Atlas Scotiæ*, printed by *Blaeu* 1662, and compiled by Mr. *Robert Gordon* of *Straloch*, that the Earldom of *Murray* had been taken from the late Earl of *Huntly*, during the Regency of the preſent Queen's Mother. And the ſame Author takes no notice at all, that ever the Earl of *Huntly* had enjoyed the Earldom of *Mar*: So that the Difference between the Earl of *Huntly* and the Queen's baſtard Brother, has not ariſen upon account of either of theſe Earldoms.

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commanding the Clerk of Council to delete forth of the Books thereof, the Act of the ſaid 3d *Auguſt*. Which Deſire the Lords finding reaſonable, ordered the foreſaid Act to be deleted.

The Queen reconciles the contending Noblemen.

In this laſt *Sederunt* of Counſellors, *viz.* on the 29th of *April*, the Earls of *Argile*, *Murray* and *Glencarne* are marked: Which ſerves to confirm the Account given us by *Holinſhed* the *Engliſh* Writer, preferably to our own Hiſtorians, namely, “ That in the End of *April*, the Queen willing to have the Earls of *Argile* and *Murray* joined with the Reſidue of the Council, ſent for them to come to the Caſtle of *Edinburgh*, where all Griefs and Controverſies that reſted betwixt them on the one Side, and the Earls of *Huntly*, *Athole* and *Bothwell* on the other Side, were referred to the Queen, who agreed them *(a)*; and they all remained with her the reſt of the Summer.”

Some time after this, as would appear, the Queen being deſirous to breathe in a better Air for a little Space (for the Caſtle of *Edinburgh*, tho' ſtanding on a high Rock, is nevertheleſs generally reckoned to be very unhealthy) took a Tour to *Stirling*, with ſome Intention, according to Sir *James Melvil*, to ly-in there. From thence her Majeſty went down to the pleaſant Seat of *Alloa (b)*, and from that Place returned again to the Caſtle of *Edinburgh*. The King, they ſay, followed her in this Tour; but it was obſerved ſhe did not regard him much, as in Truth he was become univerſally deſpiſed for his late Miſbehaviour. The Murderers of *Riccio* contemned him for his deſerting them, and cauſing proclaim himſelf innocent of the Deed: And 'tis much to be queſtioned, whether any Woman of whatſoever Rank could ever afterwards be fond of a Huſband, who had treated her after the manner he had done the Queen. Such an Action tears up the very Foundation of conjugal Affection: Beſides, it could not fail to leave a ſtill deeper Impreſſion upon the Queen, who had raiſed her Huſband from the Condition of a Subject to Royal Honour and Dignity.

The Queen of *England* promiſes to afford the late Murderers no Refuge within her Kingdom;

The forementioned *Holinſhed* informs, that “ the Queen hearing that the Earl of *Morton*, the Lord *Ruthven*, and others their Aſſiſtants, were received in *England*, and remained at *Newcaſtle*; ſhe ſent Mr. *James Thornton* Chanter of *Murray* with Letters to the Queen of *England*, and likewiſe to the King of *France (c)*, and other her Friends there, declaring by the Tenor of the ſame Letters, the Abuſe and preſumptuous Attempts of certain her Subjects againſt her, deſiring them not to receive them within their Realms nor Dominions. And ſhortly after, the Queen of *England* ſent a Gentleman called *Henry Killigrew* into *Scotland*, with Letters and Meſſage to the Queen, promiſing to cauſe them to depart forth of her Realm of *England*; and withal ſent unto them Warning to depart betwixt that preſent Time and Midſummer then next enſuing.——And from thenceforth the Earl of *Morton* and the Maſter of *Ruthven* remained ſecretly near to *Alnwick*, and other Places on the Borders, till they obtained Pardon, and were reſtored *(d)*.” Sir *James Melvil* tells us likewiſe, that his Brother *Robert*, by her Majeſty's Direction, preſſed the Queen of *England* to put the Earl of *Morton*, &c. forth of her Kingdoms; and he adds, that they durſt not go to *France*, where the Queen had ſo many Friends.

“ In the mean time (continues this Author) Mr. *Henry Killigrew* was ſent hither Ambaſſador from the Queen of *England*, who was in great Suſpicion of her Eſtate, finding ſo many of her Subjects Favourers of our Queen. “ The

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(*a*) See Abſtract *April* 25th 1566; and the Archbiſhop obſerves, that the Queen did feaſt the Nobility in the Caſtle, and made them all Friends.

(*b*) It belongs to the Family of *Mar*, and is four Miles below *Stirling*; but the many Windings of the River *Forth* betwixt it and *Stirling* are computed to be no leſs than twenty four Miles; which renders the Proſpect from the Caſtle and Town of *Stirling*, all down the *Forth*, moſt agreeable to the Eye.

(*c*) We ſee the Queen's Letter to her Ambaſſador in *France* with the Account of the execrable Murder of *Riccio*, was ſent by the Hand of this very Perſon. Which ſerves ſtill to confirm the Credit of this Writer.

(*d*) The Queen of *England* ſent a Meſſenger———and promiſed to cauſe them depart before Midſummer. But the Reporter or Warner ſaid, that *England was long and broad.* *Calderwood*'s MS. and Sir *James Melvil* obſerves, that they were ſecretly overlookt, upon Condition that they would keep themſelves quiet.

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" The ſaid Ambaſſador complained againſt one Mr. *Ruxbie*, who was harbour-" ed in *Scotland*, being a Rebel and a Papiſt; Declaring how that the Queen " his Miſtreſs had commanded *Morton* and his Complices forth of her Coun-" try by open Proclamation.——— Mr. *Killigrew* alledged alſo, That the " Queen's Majeſty [of *Scotland*] had been practiſing with *Oneel* in *Ireland*, " and that ſhe had his Ambaſſador preſently in *Edinburgh*, in Company of the " Earl of *Argile (a)*. And *thirdly*, He [*Killigrew*] complained of ſome " Diſorders upon the Borders made by *Scottiſh* Men. But the principal Pre-" text of his Commiſſion (Sir *James* adds) was to comfort the Queen over her " late Troubles, and congratulate her Freedom and good Succeſs over her wic-" ked and rebellious Subjects" *(b)*.

Congratulates our Queen; and complains of harbouring one *Ruxbie*:

'Tis indeed true, that *Chriſtopher Ruxbie*, the Fellow complained of by Queen *Elizabeth*, was in *Scotland*; but 'tis no leſs true, that being a Papiſt, he feign'd himſelf a Refugee from *England* upon account of Religion, but in reality was ſecretly ſent hither by the Queen of *England* and Mr. Secretary *Cecil*, under colour of appearing a zealous Favourer of her Majeſty's Right and Title to the Crown of *England*. He was to endeavour to ſpeak with our Queen, and to take an Occaſion of informing her Majeſty of the great Friendſhip diverſe of the *Roman* Catholicks had for her, who durſt not deal with the *Scottiſh* Ambaſſador in *England*, becauſe he was a Proteſtant: Yet all this was nothing but downright Roguery; for his true Errand was, to labour to come at the Truth of what was paſſing betwixt our Queen and the Subjects of *England*, and to give Advertiſement thereof to Secretary *Cecil:* For howſoever ſecretly *Robert Melvil* had managed his Dealings in *England*, yet ſomething thereof had reached Queen *Elizabeth*; and it was obſerved, no doubt with Diſpleaſure enough, that during the late Indiſpoſition of the *Engliſh* Queen, the moſt part of her Subjects, both Popiſh and Proteſtant, had determined to ſend for our Queen, and ſet the Crown upon her Head.

Yet this *Ruxbie* was clandeſtinely ſent as a Spy into *Scotland*.

Ruxbie got Acceſs to our Sovereign by the means of *John Leſlie* Biſhop of *Roſs (c)*, and wrote ſomething which he had learned here in *Scotland*, to the *Engliſh* Secretary; from whom likewiſe he had a Return written in Cypher: But *Robert Melvil*, who was in great Credit in *England*, coming to the Knowledge of this Contrivance, advertiſed our Queen to beware of *Ruxbie*, and how to behave herſelf with him, in order to countermine the *Engliſh* Plot. So that when Mr. *Killigrew* made his Complaint againſt *Ruxbie*, the Queen immediately cauſed him to be apprehended, together with all his Cyphers and Papers, among which was found the Letter written by Mr. Secretary *Cecil*. *Ruxbie* finding himſelf thus diſcovered, fell immediately upon his Knees, owned himſelf worthy of a thouſand Deaths, and humbly begged our Queen's Pardon. And her Majeſty cauſed him to be ſo ſecretly kept, that the *Engliſh* Ambaſſador could get no Intelligence for what Cauſe he was taken into Cuſtody; until at laſt it pleaſed her Majeſty to ſhew the Ambaſſador, that upon his Complaint, and to ſatiſfy her good Siſter, ſhe had cauſed apprehend *Ruxbie*, whom ſhe promiſed likewiſe to deliver up any time after his Return into *England*, as it ſhould pleaſe her Siſter the Queen of *England* to ſend for him. But ſhe very wiſely took no notice, that ſhe knew any thing of his true Errand; for her Majeſty had been adviſed to appear altogether ignorant of any of his Practices againſt her, deviſed by Secretary *Cecil*; it not being thought her Intereſt to put that Shame upon One who profeſſed ſo much to be her Friend *(d)*. Nor was it Time to caſt off Intelligence, ſo long as it was found profitable to entertain it.

(*a*) This *Iriſh* Gentleman of great Intereſt in that Country, gave Queen *Elizabeth* much Trouble. Our Queen diſclaimed having any Dealing with him; tho' I ſuſpect ſhe therein repaid Queen *Elizabeth* in her own *Engliſh* Coin.

(*b*) Theſe Compliments amongſt Princes have rarely any Foundation of Reality.

(*c*) Sir *James Melvil* blames this Prelate much; and I make no Doubt but he has been dup'd by *Ruxbie*. It ſeems likewiſe that Mr. *Randolph* has known nothing of *Ruxbie*'s true Errand. See Abſtract *June* 14th *1566* in the Appendix.

(*d*) No Body was at bottom a greater Enemy to our Queen than Secretary *Cecil*; or rather, no Body purſued his own Queen's Intereſt with more Aſſiduity and Faithfulneſs to her.

1566. As we owe this curious Piece of *Engliſh* Policy entirely to Sir *James Melvil*; ſo there can be no manner of doubt but the Readers will be extremely well pleaſed to ſee Sir *James*'s Account fortified by the following original Letter.

Ruxbie *to Sir* William Cecil *(a)*, Edinburgh 2*d* July *(b)* 1566.

Ruxbie writes out of *Scotland* to the Secretary of *England*.

‘MY Duty premiſed unto your Honour. This 1ſt of *July* I have received your Letters, wherein I perceive not only your godly Exhortation, but alſo your honourable and friendly Counſel, which by the Leave of God I deſign to follow, and think my ſelf thereby more bound to your Honour than ever my Service could be able to deſerve. Truth is, I cannot deny, but I have offended the Queen's Majeſty. Extremity drove me thereunto, but according to your Deſire I will ſtay. I deſire God may be no glader of my Soul than I would be to have Favour of my Prince and Country again, and would willingly ſpend my Life therein. I am not one of that deep Judgment as to wade into ſo high Matters, for it requires great Secrecy, otherwiſe I ſeek mine own Deſtruction; which I doubt not but your Honour will conſider. And I, in hope of that good Will I ever looked for from your Hand, will hazard my Life in following your Advice. As yet you need not take notice that *England* hath any Suſpicion of me, making no more account of me but as a ſimple Perſon, who by apparent Cauſes of Debt am driven out of my Country. I dare not as yet venture to ſpeak with Mr. *Killigrew*, leſt I ſhould be ſuſpected; but I truſt to have Means to have Conference with him hereafter. In the mean time make Notes of Inſtructions of all Things wherein you would have my Labour uſed, and by the Leave of God I will ſatisfy your Expectation. But your Honour muſt underſtand I cannot come into any great Credit with the Queen of *Scotland*, unleſs there may appear in me ſome Towardneſs of doing her Pleaſure, which may be uſed with Words, and not in Deeds. I have taken ſuch Comfort in your Honour's Letter, that I made bold to write to you myſelf. If I might by your good Means have Leave to ſpeak to Sir *Henry Piercy* about *Norham*, I would truſt to be better able to do Service to my Country *(c)*——

The Queen is brought to Bed of a Prince.

In the Month of *June*, the Queen perceiving the Time of her Deliverance to approach, wrote unto all the principal Noblemen of her Realm to come and remain within the Town of *Edinburgh*, during that Juncture. In Obedience to her Majeſty's Deſire, a great many aſſembled thither; and the King, with the Earls of *Argile*, *Athole*, *Murray* and *Mar*, remained with the Queen in the Caſtle; and the Earls of *Huntly*, *Bothwell*, and the other noble Perſons, lodged in the City *(d)*. And Matters being thus far regulated, it pleaſed Almighty GOD that the Queen was happily Delivered of a Male-Child on *Wedneſday* the 19th Day of the ſame Month of *June*, betwixt the Hours of Nine and Ten in the Forenoon *(e)*.

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(*a*) *Cotton* Library, Calig. B. 10. F. 379.

(*b*) I would ſuſpect a Flaw in this Date, ſeeing Sir *James Melvil* aſſures us, that when he went into *England* to acquaint Queen *Elizabeth* with the Birth of the Prince of *Scotland*, he told that Queen, that his own Miſtreſs had already cauſed *Ruxbie* be apprehended. This Date ſhould therefore in all Likelihood be *June* in place of *July*.

(*c*) This has been granted; for Sir *James Melvil* takes notice that *Ruxbie* conveyed his Letters into *England* by the means of Sir *Henry Piercy*, Brother to the Earl of *Northumberland*, who was Popiſh at the time.

(*d*) *Holinſhed* and *Spottiſwood*.

(*e*) Abp. *Spottiſwood*, from *Buchanan* probably, and the wretched *Engliſh* Tranſlator of *Buchanan*, have both perverted that Author's Words ſo, as to make this Birth fall out betwixt theſe Hours in the Night of that Day. But Sir *James Melvil*'s clear Authority rectifies their miſunderſtanding of Mr. *Buchanan*'s nice *Aſtronomical* Expreſſion.

CHAP. X.

1566.

Continuation of State-Affairs from the Birth of the Prince of Scotland, *afterwards King* JAMES VI. *on the 19th of* June 1566, *until the Murder of the King on the 10th of* February 1567-8.

AS the Birth of a Prince was one of the greateſt of Bleſſings that GOD could beſtow upon this poor divided Land; ſo was the ſame moſt thankfully acknowledged by all Ranks of People, according as the welcome News thereof reached their Ears. Great Joy and Triumph was made in *Edinburgh*; and all the Nobility that were preſent, together with many People, repaired to the High Church (*a*), and returned Thanks to GOD for ſo ſignal a Mercy both to the Queen and the whole Realm; and made their humble Prayers, That the young Prince might be endued with the Fear of GOD, with Virtue and Knowledge to govern the Realm and Subjects thereof, when ever the ſame ſhould happen to come into his Hands. Her Majeſty had taken ſuch Care to advertiſe ſpeedily the Queen of *England* of her Delivery, that ſhe had given previous Orders to Mr. (afterwards Sir) *James Melvil* (*b*), to hold himſelf in continual Readineſs to mount his Horſe; and for that Effect ſhe had before-hand ſigned a Letter to Queen *Elizabeth*, bearing a Blank to be filled, either with Son or Daughter, according as it ſhould pleaſe GOD to grant her (*c*) And becauſe no other Author has touched at this Gentleman's Performance at this Time but himſelf, and that no Perſon could do it ſo well as himſelf, I ſhall take the Freedom to inſert here Word for Word his own Account thereof.

The Birth of the Prince is duly ſolemnized.

(*d*) " All the while, *ſaith he*, I lay within the Caſtle of *Edinburgh*, praying
" Night and Day for her Majeſty's good and happy Delivery of a Fair Son.
" This Prayer being granted, I was the firſt who was thereof advertiſed by
" the Lady *Boin* in her Majeſty's Name, to part with Diligence the 19th of
" *June* 1566 betwixt Ten and Eleven in the Morning. By Twelve of the
" Clock I took Horſe, and was that Night at *Berwick*. The fourth Day after,
" I was at *London*, and did firſt meet with my Brother Sir *Robert*, who that
" ſame Night ſent and advertiſed Secretary *Cecil* of my Arrival, and of the
" Birth of the Prince, deſiring him to keep it quiet till my coming to Court
" to ſhew it my ſelf unto her Majeſty, who was for the Time at *Greenwich*,
" where her Majeſty was in great Mirth, dancing after Supper. But ſo ſoon
" as the Secretary *Cecil* whiſpered in her Ear the News of the Prince's Birth,
" all her Mirth was laid aſide for that Night. All preſent marvelling whence
" proceeded ſuch a Change, for the Queen did ſit down putting her Hand under her Cheek, burſting out to ſome of her Ladies, That the Queen of
" *Scots* was Mother of a fair Son, while ſhe was but a barren Stock. The
" next Morning was appointed for me to get Audience, at what Time my
" Brother and I went by Water to *Greenwich*, and were met by ſome Friends
" who told us how ſorrowful her Majeſty was at my News, but that ſhe had

Sir *James Melvil* is ſent with the News to Q. *Elizabeth*;

who turns out of Humour at the Report.

(*a*) Perhaps the Archbiſhop defers this aſſembling in the Church till next Day, becauſe he marks the Birth to have been in the Evening before. But I have no proper Voucher either to ſupport or correct him: Only *Holinſhed* makes this aſſembling to have been the ſame Day of the Birth.

(*b*) He acquaints us that he ſupplied now the Secretary's Place; young *Lethington* being not yet received into Favour.

(*c*) *Holinſhed* alone informs, that " ſhortly after the Queen was brought to Bed, ſhe ſent one of her Gentlemen called *Monſ.* " *Clarinoch* [this would ſeem to be the ſame Perſon who came from her Uncle the Cardinal, and mentioned by Sir *William Drury* " *February* 16th 1565-6, under the Name of *Clarenoc*] with Letters to the King of *France*, and to the Duke of *Savoy*, deſiring " them to ſend Ambaſſadors, which in their Name as Godfathers might receive her Son at the Baptiſm. —— Theſe Princes " were glad hereof, and promiſed to ſend Ambaſſadors to that Effect, as afterwards they did."

(*d*) Memoirs, *p.* 69.

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But promiſes to witneſs the Baptiſm by Proxy.

“been adviſed to ſhew a glad and cheerful Countenance: Which ſhe did in her beſt Apparel, ſaying, That the joyful News of the Queen her Siſter's Delivery of a fair Son, which I had ſent her by Secretary *Cecil*, had recovered her out of a heavy Sickneſs which ſhe had lyen under for fifteen Days. Therefore ſhe welcomed me with a merry Volt, and thanked me for the Diligence I had uſed in haſting to give her that welcome Intelligence. All this ſhe ſaid, before I had delivered unto her my Letters of Credence. After that ſhe had read it, I declared how that the Queen had haſted me towards her Majeſty, as one whom ſhe knew of all her Friends would be moſt joyful of the glad News of her Delivery, albeit dear bought with the Peril of her Life, ſhe being ſo ſore handled that ſhe wiſhed ſhe had never been married. This I ſaid by the way, to give her a little Scare from Marriage. For ſo my Brother had counſelled me, becauſe ſometimes ſhe boaſted to marry the Arch-duke *Charles* of *Auſtria*, when any Man preſſed her to declare a ſecond Perſon. Then I requeſted her Majeſty to be a Goſſip to the Queen, to which ſhe gladly condeſcended. Your Majeſty, ſaid I, will now have a fair Occaſion to ſee the Queen, whereof I have heard your Majeſty ſo oft deſirous. Whereat ſhe ſmiled, ſaying, She wiſhed that her Eſtate and Affairs might permit her; in the mean Time ſhe promiſed to ſend both honourable Lords and Ladies to ſupply her Room. Then I gave her Majeſty, in my Queen's Name, moſt hearty Thanks, for her friendly viſiting and comforting her by Mr. *Henry Killigrew*. She enquired if I had left him in *Scotland*, and what was the Cauſe of his long Stay? I anſwered, That the Queen took her Chamber ſhortly after his Arrival, which was the chief Cauſe of his Delay. But I had in Commiſſion to tell her Majeſty ſomething thereabout, to ſatisfy her Mind in the mean time, and to thank her Majeſty for the putting away of the *Scots* Rebels out of her Country, albeit there were ſome Reports that they were yet ſecretly entertained by ſome of her Subjects, though I hardly believed that any of her Subjects durſt be ſo bold, or ſo diſobedient. She affirmed they were out of her Dominions, and if it might be otherwiſe tried out, it ſhould not paſs without rigorous Puniſhment. I told her Majeſty, that upon her Deſire, and Ambaſſador's Complaint, the Queen had cauſed to apprehend Mr. *Ruxbie*, and had ordered him to be delivered to her Majeſty whenever ſhe ſhould pleaſe to ſend for him. And as concerning *Oneel*, ſhe had no dealing with him, nor knew that there had been any Servant of his ſent to my Lord *Argile*, until Mr. *Killigrew*'s coming that ſhe cauſed to enquire at the ſaid Earl, who acknowledged that *Oneel* had ſent one unto him about private Purpoſes betwixt themſelves, but that ſhe did neither ſee nor ſpeak with that Man, nor had any Dealing with any Man in *Ireland*.

The Propoſal is renewed for declaring our Queen preſumptive Heir to the Crown of *England*.

“Her Majeſty ſeemed to be well ſatisfied with the Matters of *Ireland*, and concerning Mr. *Ruxbie*; but ſhe forgot to ſend for him. Before I took my Farewell in order to my Return, I entred with her Majeſty concerning the Title. For my Lord of *Leiceſter* was become my Queen's avowed Friend, and had been twice in hand with the Queen of *England* a little before my coming, deſiring her to declare my Miſtreſs next Heir: Alledging it would be her great Security, and cried out in Anger that *Cecil* would undo all. Likewiſe the Duke of *Norfolk*, the Earl of *Pembroke*, and ſeveral others, ſhewed themſelves openly her Friends, after they underſtood the Birth of the Prince. So that her Majeſty's Matters in *England* were hopeful; and therefore I was adviſed to ſay unto her Majeſty, That I was aſſured ſhe had formerly delayed the declaring the Queen ſecond Perſon, only till ſhe might ſee ſuch Succeſſion of her Body as now God had graciouſly granted: entreating her Majeſty to embrace that fair offered Opportunity of ſatisfying the Minds of many, as well in *England* as in *Scotland*, who deſired to ſee that Matter out of Doubt. And the rather becauſe that the Queen my Miſtreſs would never ſeek any Place or Right in *England*, but by her Majeſty's Favour and Furtherance.

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"Furtherance. She anſwered, That the Birth of the Prince was a great Spur "to cauſe the moſt skilful Lawyers in *England* to uſe greater Diligence in "trying out that Matter, which ſhe eſteemed to belong moſt juſtly to her good "Siſter, and that ſhe wiſhed from her Heart that it ſhould be that way decided. I replied, That at my laſt being with her, I found her Majeſty upon "the ſame Terms, but that as I had brought her good News from the Queen, "I was very deſirous to be ſo happy as to carry home with me unto her Majeſty the good Tidings of that ſo long delayed Declaration. She anſwered, "She was reſolved to ſatisfy the Queen in that Matter, by thoſe Noblemen ſhe "was reſolved to ſend into *Scotland*, for the Baptiſm of the Prince. All this "I perceived to be but Shifts, and ſo took my Leave; becauſe my Brother "was to remain there. The next Day her Majeſty ſent unto me her Letter, "with the Preſent of a fair Chain."

To which that Princeſs gives good Words.

What follows here in Sir *James*'s *Memoirs* being ſtill neceſſary, or convenient at leaſt for the Suit of the Hiſtory, I have therefore adventured to add the ſame likewiſe here.

Advices by Mr. *Robert Melvil* for managing Matters, ſo as to retain the Queen of *England*'s Friendſhip.

"My Brother gave me the Advice of her Majeſty's Friends, together with "his own Inſtructions how to proceed after my coming home, as followeth.

"*Firſt*, That he is in ſuch Suſpicion for his handling there, by the Advertiſements of Mr. *Ruxbie*, and Practices of her Enemies, that her Majeſty "muſt ſignify to Mr. *Killigrew* that ſhe is minded ſhortly to call him home, "elſe he fears he ſhall be commanded to return.

"*Secondly*, That her Majeſty require the Earl of *Leiceſter* and Secretary "*Cecil* to be ſent to be her Goſſips, as fitteſt Inſtruments to perfect all Articles "and good Offices of Amity betwixt them.

"*Item*, That Mr. *Killigrew* be well treated and rewarded, that he may "make good Report to hold off Diſcord, that Intelligence may continue; and "deſire him to declare unto the Earl of *Leiceſter* and Secretary *Cecil*, that it "cannot ſtand with good Friendſhip, to be ſo long fed with fair Words without Effect.

"*Item*, That her Majeſty caſt not off the Earl of *Northumberland*, albeit "as a fearful and facile Man he delivered her Letter to the Queen of *England*; "neither appear to find Fault with Sir *Henry Peircy* as yet, for his dealing "with Mr. *Ruxbie*, which he doth to gain Favour at Court, being upon a "contrary Faction to his Brother the Earl.

"*Item*, That Mr. *Ruxbie* be well kept, and ſent far North to ſome ſecure "Part that he give no haſty Intelligence; for he hath already written unto "Secretary *Cecil* by Sir *Henry Peircy* his Convoyance, that he can diſcover "all your Practices and Secrets.

"Let my Lord *Argile* entertain *Oneel* as of himſelf, the Queen not appearing to know thereof.

"The Secretary *Cecil* deviſed ſtrange Practices againſt the Meeting, which "becauſe my Lord of *Leiceſter* diſcovered unto the Queen his Miſtreſs, *Cecil* "ſtirred up the Earl of *Suſſex* to forge a Quarrel againſt him, but the Queen took "the Earl of *Leiceſter*'s Part, and finally agreed them, and alſo *Leiceſter* and "*Ormond*.

"*Item*, That her Majeſty ſhould write two Letters with Mr. *Killigrew* to "my Brother, the one that he might ſhew unto the Queen of *England*; the "other that he might ſhew unto the Secretary *Cecil*.

"*Item*, To advertiſe my Brother what he ſhould do more for my Lady *Lenox*, whoſe Liberty might do much Good.

"Now to conclude, ſeeing the great Mark which her Majeſty ſhoots at, "let her Majeſty be more careful and circumſpect that her Deſires being ſo "near to be obtained, be not all overthrown for lack of Secrecy, good Management, and Princely Behaviour, having ſo many factious Enemies lying "in wait to make their Advantage of the leaſt Appearance that can be made.

"Shortly after my coming home, Mr. *Killigrew* the *Engliſh* Ambaſſador

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“ obtained his Diſpatch, with a friendly Anſwer to his Contentment, and a fair
“ Chain; and with him her Majeſty ſent theſe two Letters following to my
“ Brother by his own Advice, that he might take occaſion to let the Queen
“ of *England* ſee the one, and Mr. *Cecil* the other, partly to ſerve to put
“ ſome Doubts out of their Minds ingendred by Mr. *Ruxbie*'s Advertiſements;
“ for, as I have ſaid, the Biſhop of *Roſs* made the ſaid *Ruxbie*'s Addreſs to the
“ Queen, for neither he nor the Earl *Bothwell* deſired her Majeſty's Affairs to
“ proſper under my Brother's Management, becauſe he was not of their Faction,
“ ſo that by their means *Ruxbie* got that Intelligence as put all her Majeſty's
“ Affairs once in a Venture, until my Brother's extraordinary Intelligence from
“ ſuch as were moſt intimate with the Queen of *England*, made him cauſe to
“ apprehend the ſaid *Ruxbie* with his whole Letters and Memoirs, as ſaid is;
“ ſo are many good Princes handled, and commonly their trueſt Servants decourted
“ by the Envy and Craft of their factious Enemies; for wicked Men
“ who have loſt their Credit by Trumpery and Tricks, whereby they get no
“ place to do good Service to Princes, eſſay to creep unto their Favour by
“ Wiles, Flattery, and other unlawful Means, whereby they may decourt ſuch
“ as ſurmount them in Virtue and honeſt Reputation. Her Majeſty's Letters
“ to my Brother were as followeth,

Copies of two Letters by our Queen in Compliance with theſe Advices.

Truſty and well beloved, We Greet you well: Whereas your Brother James *hath told Us of the friendly and faithful Advice given unto you and him by Mr. Secretary* Cecil, *toward the Continuation of the Amity betwixt the Queen Our good Siſter and Us, tending alſo to Our own particular Advantage; We thought meet to ſend theſe few Lines to you, that you may thank him heartily in Our Name, and declare unto him Our Meaning and Intention, as you find Opportunity, touching the three Points that he did mention at that Time.*

The Firſt, *as We underſtand, touching Our Towardlineſs to them of the Religion. The* Second, *touching ſtrict Juſtice to be obſerved upon the Borders. The* Third, *that We will endeavour by no other Means to come to the Succeſſion of the Crown of* England, *but by the Favour and Forth-ſetting of Our good Siſter.*

As to the Firſt, *you ſhall anſwer in Our Name, That ſince Our Return out of* France, *We have neither conſtrained nor perſecuted any for Cauſe of Religion, nor yet minds to do; their Credit with Us being ſo manifeſt, that they are entruſted with the principal Offices, and bear the chiefeſt Charges in the Kingdom, and principally employed in Our moſt urgent Affairs before all others: Sir* Nicholas Throckmorton *can teſtify what he hath ſeen and heard at his being here thereanent, howbeit that contrary Bruits are blown abroad by the Malice and Practices of Our Enemies. To the* Second, *concerning the Borders, it is moſt certain that the principal Officers on both the Sides are ſpecial Inſtruments of all the Diſorders, taking occaſion upon Our late Troubles, when as they perceived that We might not ſo well take Order with them, as We were willing; as now when it hath pleaſed God to grant unto Us more Quietneſs. Deſiring him alſo to procure at the Queen his Sovereign's Hands, that the like Diligence be taken for her Part as ſhall be ſeen uſed by Us; and then we doubt not but that both he, ſhe and all other who complain ſhall be ſatisfied As to the* Third *and* Laſt *Head, you ſhall ſhew unto him the Tenor of Our other Letter, for Satiſfaction to the Queen and Our other Friends in theſe Parts. So with My friendly Commendations to him and his Wife, I commit you to the Protection of the Almighty. From the Caſtle of* Edinburgh *this Year* 1566.

Truſty and well beloved, We Greet you well: We have received great Comfort and Contentment by the Declaration your Brother hath made to Us, of the Queen our good Siſter's continual Affection and conſtant Love towards Us;

Vs; which ſhe hath now ſhewn unto you, and your Brother at his coming; as alſo by her Letters unto Our Self: Likewiſe for the Grant ſhe hath made to be Our Goſſip, and promiſes to ſend ſo honourable a Company of Lords and Ladies, for ſolemnizing the ſame in her Name; for which in Our Behalf you ſhall give her Majeſty moſt hearty Thanks, and ſhew unto her that We deſire nothing to be done therein, but as may conduce beſt for her Advantage, and leaſt to her Expence; praying her always that the principal Man, whom it will pleaſe her to ſend, be ſuch a one as We have by long Experience known to have been moſt familiar with her, to whom We may the more freely open Our Mind, and ſignify divers Things which We intended to have ſpoken by Mouth unto her ſelf, if God had granted Our deſired Meeting. As concerning Oneel, Ruxbie, *and all other Matters, We hope that Mr.* Killigrew *will ſatisfy her ſufficiently; and alſo how that We deſire to have no Advancement in that Country, but by her only Means and Help, hoping and intending ſo to direct Our Courſe and Behaviour toward her, as ſhe ſhall have Cauſe more and more to procure earneſtly and carefully her ſelf, all Things that may further Our Weal and Advancement, in this Country, that Kingdom, or any other. In the which Hope We will do Our beſt to follow ſuch Meaſures as may pleaſe her, and to avoid all Things that may offend her; and We give Our moſt ſtrict Command unto you to do the like, ſo long as you remain there; and wherever you be about Our Service even as I gave you Commandment of before: Nevertheleſs in the mean time, entertain moſt kindly and diſcreetly all thoſe in that Country who profeſs to bear good Will unto Vs, and to Our Title, yet in ſuch ſort as neither you nor they offend the Queen Our good Siſter. And if there chance to come to you any haſty or ſeditious Perſons, admoniſh them gently to ceaſe; and if they forbear not, ſhew unto them that We have promiſed to the Queen to declare the Names and Practices of ſuch unto her, and that We will not fail to do it indeed, if they ceaſe not: So ſhall it be known, that ſuch as are about to ſow Diſcord between the Queen Our good Siſter and Vs, doth it rather upon particular Reſpects and for their own Advantage, than for any Deſign to advance her Affairs or Ours.*

“ Theſe kind of Writings were for that Time deviſed to overthrow and caſt
“ down ſome Intelligences which were diſcovered by *Ruxbie*, and ſome Reports
“ raiſed by Enemies, that my Brother by his Practices and Perſwaſions
“ had kindled a great Fire, and had raiſed a great Faction in *England:* He did
“ not deny but he had dealt with many to win what Favour he could to his
“ Miſtreſs, but that he had done nothing that could offend the Queen of *England*,
“ and that he had no Commandment to enterpriſe any thing which could
“ be diſpleaſing to her. By this means *Ruxbie*'s Intelligence was ſuppreſſed,
“ and my Brother ſuffered to ſtay ſtill in *England*, whereby the Queen's
“ Friends ſo increaſed, that many whole Shires were ready to rebel, and their
“ Captains already named by the Election of the Nobility.” To return now,

The Readers will obſerve in the Courſe of the Rebellion laſt Year, that Mr. *Randolph* the Reſident of *England* had come into much Suſpicion of favouring and aſſiſting theſe Rebels, and that he had even been advertiſed by our Queen not to proceed in that manner; however it would ſeem the Evidence for it had not been ſo plain, that the Queen could fix it upon him with inconteſtable Conviction. But now her Majeſty having come at a more certain Intelligence of that Gentleman's Miſbehaviour (for he had all along made it his Buſineſs to foment Miſunderſtandings between her and her Subjects) reſolved once for all to get rid of him, and ſend him out of her Dominion. There is a notable Letter on this Head chances to be preſerved, and which well deſerves a Room here.

The *Engliſh* Reſident *Randolph* is ſent away, for his aſſiſting the *Scottiſh* Rebels.

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Letter by the Queen to the Queen of *England*, in juſtification of this Meaſure.

Queen of Scots *to the Queen of* England *(a).*

“RYcht excellent, Rycht heich and mychtie Princeſſe, oure derreſt Siſter and Couſin, in oure maiſt hartlie maner we commend ws unto zow; We have undirſtand be zowr Declaratioun maid not onlie to oure derreſt Brither the King of *France*, and to his Ambaſſatour reſident thair with zow, bot alſwa to *Monſieur Rambolet* his lait Ambaſſatour heir, and be Maiſter *Randolphe* zowr Agent, that neither ze had aydit, nor was myndit to ayde and ſupport oure Rebellis aganis ws; quhilk we have alwayis takin to be undoubtedlie trew, and will luke for na uther at zowr Handis: ſic Accompt make we of zow, and of that zowr Declaratioun, quhilk we will na wayis miſtruſt. Zit we have certane Knawledge that oure ſaidis Rebellis wer ſupportit with the Soum of Three thouſand Crownis, ſent to the Lady *Murray* be Maiſter *Randolphe* about the middis of *Auguſt* bipaſt, as the Man quha caryit the Money hes confeſſit in his awin Preſence: Quhilk his Proceding as we have juſt Occaſioun to think maiſt ſtrange, and beſydis the Office of a gude Miniſter profeſſing himſelf a peacibill Officiar and Intertenear of Amyty; Evinſa we and oure Counſall cannot think weill of his Behaviour, bot takis it to be beſydis zowr Opinioun, and tending to ſum uther Fyne and Purpois nor that for the quhilk he wes directit heir be zow; and hes tane Occaſioun to ſend him hame to zow, quhair his Behaviour in this Caiſs may be tryit, and he orderit accordinglie at zowr Diſcretioun. Of the quhilk oure Proceding we pray zow think not ſtrange, ſeing oure Cognitioun thairin is upoun na lycht Report, bot as we have ſaid of the ſame ſelf Man quha reſſavit of his Handis the Money caryit in, and reportit the Lady *Murray*'s Lettre of the Reſſait of the ſamyn agane to him, as at grittar lenth we have commandit oure Servand *Robert Malvile* to communicat unto zow. And gif, as of befoir, zowr Pleſſour be to have a Servand reſident heir, quhomſoevir it ſall pleis zow ſend, being a Man inclynit to Amytie and gude Offices, he ſall be gladelie welcum; and for zowr Reſpect will we command all Humanitie and gude Intertenement to be ſchawin that appertenis. And thus Rycht excellent, *&c.*

Tho' the Date of the foregoing Letter be not affixed, yet there are ſome Abſtracts remaining which go near to aſcertain the Time of this Event. *May* 26th 1566, *Randolph* to Sir *William Cecil*, *Queen* Mary *accuſes* Randolph *for having given* 3000 *Crowns to* Murray, *which was diſcovered by a Servant of* Murray's. *He denied it. She alſo blames him for being the Author of a ſcandalous Book reflecting on that Queen's Birth, Dignity and Government. She ſent* Robert Melvil *to the* Engliſh *Court to have him recalled.* *Randolph* to Sir *William Cecil, June* 17th 1566, *He is glad that he has Liberty to return from the Borders to Court (b). He acquainted the* Scotch *Proteſtant Lords, that he is to be ſucceeded by Mr.* Killigrew, *with whom they are to communicate their Affairs. July* 17th 1566, Earl of *Bedford* to Sir *William Cecil*, Randolph *is recalled, and* Killigrew *comes in his Place. This Change is a great Loſs to the Intelligence from* Scotland, *and which can only be ſupplied by the Laird of* Grange *(c).*

The two laſt Abſtracts are of farther Uſe, to certify us that Mr. *Killigrew* who had lately gone into *England* after Sir *James Melvil*'s Return from thence, was again ſent down to *Scotland*, to take upon him the Management of Queen *Elizabeth*'s Affairs here, in the room of Mr. *Randolph*. Neither Mr. *Cambden* nor Sir *James Melvil* take notice of that Gentleman's having come

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(*a*) Shatter'd MS.

(*b*) He has it ſeems remained on the Borders within the Limits of *England*, after his having been ſent out of *Scotland*, until he ſhould obtain his Miſtreſs's Allowance to come to Court.

(*c*) Hereby we ſee the Loſs the *Engliſh* Miniſtry were ſenſible they ſuſtained by the want of *Randolph* in *Scotland*.

1566. come twice into *Scotland*: And the former, tho' he narrates very exactly *Killigrew*'s Commiſſion in the Month of *June*, according as Sir *James* has given the Account thereof at good length; yet he is ſo far miſtaken, as to omit that firſt Journey altogether, and refers the Commiſſion concerning *Ruxbie* to *Killigrew*'s ſecond Coming into *Scotland*, in order to pay the Queen of *England*'s Compliment to our Queen after the Birth of her Son. So the only Hiſtorian that has taken due notice of *Killigrew*'s two Journies hither, is Mr. *Holinſhed*, who ſets them down moſt diſtinctly one after the other, and has his Authority as clearly affirmed by theſe two collateral Proofs of *Melvil*'s *Memoirs* and the above recited *Abſtracts*.

The Queen goes into the Country after her Recovery.

The Queen being now pretty well recovered after Child-bearing, thought fit for the ſake of her Health to take a little Refreſhment of better Air in the Country; and the Place ſhe made Choice to retire unto was the ſweet Seat of *Alloa*, whither ſhe went by Water in the Beginning of *Auguſt*, accompanied by the Earl of *Mar* the Proprietor of the Place, and the Earl of *Murray (a)*. During the Time her Majeſty remained at *Alloa*, *Monſ. Malvoiſir (b)* arrived in *Scotland* to congratulate her ſafe Delivery and Birth, on the Part of the *French* King; and was conveyed thither by the Biſhop of *Roſs*. This Gentleman being well acquainted with her Majeſty, was joyfully received by her; and made it his Buſineſs while here, to labour a Reconciliation in the Queen both towards the King her Husband and the other Aſſaſſines of *Riccio*. And in both theſe he ſeems to have ſucceeded pretty well; for by *Abſtracts* in the *Appendix* we learn that Secretary *Maitland* was allowed to wait of her Majeſty at *Alloa*; and there likewiſe the King and ſhe were together two Nights *(c)*. And in the End of the ſame Month, the King and Queen together, accompanied by the Earls of *Huntly*, *Murray*, *Bothwell*, and divers others, went into *Megatland (d)* to take the Recreation of Hunting. And after they had returned to *Edinburgh*, they went both together to *Stirling*.

The Caſe betwixt her Majeſty and the King rectified by original Abſtracts, and Letters

Strange and ſurpriſingly wild are the Accounts given by *Knox*, but moſt eſpecially by *Buchanan*, concerning the King and Queen about this Time. I ſhall not reckon it worth while to tranſcribe them here; and the beſt and ſhorteſt Confutation I could propoſe of them, is to leave my Readers the Trouble, or rather Satiſfaction, to compare the ſame with the juſt now mentioned *Abſtracts*, and the three following authentick Letters.

Letter from Monſ. le Croc *the* French *Ambaſſador in* Scotland, *To the Archbiſhop of* Glaſgow *the Queen of* Scots *Ambaſſador in* France *(e)*.

Monſieur,

Of *le Croc* the *French* Ambaſſador,

"ON the 22d Day of the laſt Month your Brother Mr. *Bethune* arrived at *Stirling*, where he found this Queen in good Health, as likewiſe "the Prince her Son, who is a very fine Child; and thrives ſo well, that a"gainſt the Time of his Chriſtening his God Fathers will feel the Weight of "bearing him in their Arms. They are lookt for about the End of this Month. "The Queen is now returned from *Stirling* to *Liſleburgh*, as being Vaca"tion-Seaſon, which, as you know, continues in this Country from *Auguſt* "until *Martinmaſs*, and during which the Nobility are convened to look "after the publick Affairs of the Queen and her Realm. The King however "abode ſtill at *Stirling*; and he told me there, that he had a mind to go be-

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(a) *Holinſhed*.

(b) Tho' *Caſtelnau Mauviſſier* ſays nothing expreſly of this Matter in his own Memoirs, yet he acknowledges his being ſent into *Scotland* ſome time after the Murder of *Riccio*. And the Abſtracts in the Appendix render it certain, that he was in *Scotland* at this preciſe Time.

(c) Let the Reader compare this with *Buchanan*'s Story.

(d) *Holinſhed*. This *Megatland* is a large open Tract of Ground in the Shire of *Tweeddale*; that ſame very likely whither the King had reſorted, when *Buchanan* made his invidious Reflection already taken notice of.

(e) *Bibl. Colleg. Scot Pariſ Mem Scot. Tom* ii. *p.* 255. an Original. I have tranſlated this and the following Letter into *Engliſh* for the Benefit of the ordinary Readers; but have likewiſe put the *French* Copies of them into the Appendix, Numb. 13.

1566. “ yond Sea, in a ſort of Deſperation. I ſaid to him what I thought proper at the Time; but ſtill I could not believe that he was in earneſt. Since that Time the Earl of *Lenox* his Father came to viſit him: And he has written a Letter to the Queen, ſignifying that 'tis not in his Power to divert his Son from his intended Voyage; and prays her Majeſty to uſe her Intereſt therein. This Letter from the Earl of *Lenox* the Queen received on *Michaelmaſs* Day in the Morning; and that ſame Evening the King arrived here about Ten of the Clock. When He and the Queen were a-bed together, her Majeſty took occaſion to talk to him about the Contents of his Father's Letter, and beſought him to declare to her the Ground of his deſigned Voyage: But in this he would by no means ſatisfy her. Early next Morning the Queen ſent for me, and for all the Lords and other Counſellors: As we were all met in their Majeſties Preſence, the Biſhop of *Roſs* [*John Leſlie*] by the Queen's Commandment declared to the Council the King's Intention to go beyond Sea, for which purpoſe he had a Ship lying ready to ſail; and that her Majeſty's Information hereof proceeded not from the Rumour of the Town, but from a Letter written to her by his own Father the Earl of *Lenox:* Which Letter was likewiſe read in the Council. And thereafter the Queen prayed the King to declare in Preſence of the Lords and before me the Reaſon of his projected Departure; ſince he would not be pleaſed to notify the ſame to her in private betwixt themſelves. She likewiſe took him by the Hand, and beſought him for God's ſake to declare if ſhe had given him any Occaſion for this Reſolution; and entreated he might deal plainly, and not ſpare her. Moreover all the Lords likewiſe ſaid to him, that if there was any Fault on their Part, upon his declaring it, they were ready to reform it. And I likewiſe took the Freedom to tell him, that his Departure muſt certainly affect either his own or the Queen's Honour; that if the Queen had afforded any Ground for it, his declaring the ſame would affect her Majeſty; as on the other hand, if he ſhould go away without giving any Cauſe for it, this thing could not at all redound to his Praiſe: Therefore that ſince I was in this honourable Employment, I could not fail, according to my Charge, to give my Teſtimony to the Truth of what I had both formerly ſeen, and did preſently ſee. After ſeveral Things of this kind had paſſed amongſt us, the King at laſt declared that he had no Ground at all given him for ſuch a Deliberation; and thereupon he went out of the Chamber of Preſence, ſaying to the Queen, *Adieu, Madam, you ſhall not ſee my Face for a long Space:* After which he likewiſe bade me *Farewell*; and next turning himſelf to the Lords in general, ſaid, *Gentlemen, Adieu.* He is not yet embarked; but we receive Advertiſement from day to day that he ſtill holds on his Reſolution, and keeps a Ship in readineſs. 'Tis in vain to imagine that he ſhall be able to raiſe any Diſturbance; for there is not one Perſon in all this Kingdom, from the higheſt to the loweſt, that regards him any farther than is agreeable to the Queen. And I never ſaw her Majeſty ſo much beloved, eſteemed and honoured; nor ſo great a Harmony amongſt all her Subjects as at preſent is, by her wiſe Conduct; for I cannot perceive the ſmalleſt Difference or Diviſion. I ſuppoſe your Brother Mr. *Bethune*, Mr. *Thornton* (*a*), and other Friends, write you ſo amply concerning all Matters, that I need trouble you with no more. This Queen hath commanded me to write to the Queen her Mother-in-law [Queen-Mother of *France*] touching the Promiſe which the late King her Father-in-law made be ratified to you by the late King her Huſband, and afterwards by the King now reigning. Mr. *Thornton* can inform you what I have wrote thereanent. And I beg you'll believe that I will as cheerfully perform any thing that concerns you, as you can deſire me; for I am very much beholden to you, both for the good Offices you do me your ſelf, and for thoſe I receive from your Friends

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(*a*) This is the Chanter of *Murray*.

1566.

" here; for all which I render you my moſt humble Thanks. The Cardinal of *Lorrain* acquaints me, that I muſt remain here about the Queen two Months longer than was in my Commiſſion, and aſſures me that Money for the defraying of my Charges ſhall be ſent by my Son, who is to come hither in the Retinue of the *Count de Briene (a)*: I wiſh it may be ſo; for in the mean time I lay out a great deal of Money. Tho' ſtill I be not able ſufficiently to expreſs the Honour and Bounty the Queen here ſhews me; for ſhe often prays me to ask Money from her, or any other Thing I ſtand in need of. All the Lords likewiſe open their Purſes to me, and teſtify a Deſire that I may not go away. Howſoever, I am hopeful (pleaſe God) to return immediately after the Baptiſm is over. You will be informed that the Nobility here do write an Account of all Things they and I were and are daily Witneſſes of, to the King and Queen *(b)* [of *France*,] and the Cardinal of *Lorrain*. This is all I have to ſay at this Time, except to recommend my ſelf moſt humbly to your Favour, in which I beſeech you to allow me both to live and die. I pray God, *Monſieur*, to grant you long Life and Health. From *Jedburgh* this 15th of *October* 1566.

Your moſt humble and obedient Servant,

Le Croc.

" *P. S.* After I had finiſhed this Letter, the Queen reſolved to delay her Diſpatch until ſhe ſhould be at this Town of *Jedburgh*, and ordered me to follow her thither in five or ſix Days; which I did. And during the five or ſix Days that I continued at *Liſleburgh*, the King, who had gone to *Glaſgow*, ſent me word to come and meet him half-way betwixt *Liſleburgh* and *Glaſgow*. I obeyed him, and found his Father the Earl of *Lenox* with him. We had much Communing together; and I remonſtrated to him every thing that I could think of: And now I believe he will not go out of the Kingdom; tho' I can perceive that he ſtill entertains ſome Diſpleaſure. I came hither to *Jedburgh*, on purpoſe to ſignify to the Queen what the King had ſpoken to me, and what I had ſaid to him."

The above Letter, the Readers will ſee, is penn'd with much Diſcretion and good Senſe, and confirms the Character given to the Author by Mr. *Holinſhed*, whoſe Words concerning him are theſe, " About this Time [*viz.* ſome time after *Riccio*'s Murder, and before the Birth of the Prince] there came from the King of *France* a wiſe aged Gentleman named *Monſ. le Croc*, as his Ambaſſador, and remained in *Scotland* all the Winter following." And as this Gentleman's Teſtimony alone may be a ſufficient Counterbalance to that of Mr. *Buchanan*; ſo theſe that are yet to follow muſt caſt the Scales entirely againſt him.

Letter by the Lords of the Privy-Council of Scotland *to the Queen-Mother of* France, *dated* October 8*th* 1566 *(c)*, *ſent by Secretary* Lethington; *To the Archbiſhop of* Glaſgow, *the* 24*th* October 1566.

Madam,

Of the Lords of the Privy-Council.

" THE great Benefit this Nation has always reap'd from the ancient Confederacy and mutual good Underſtanding between the two Crowns of *France* and *Scotland*, emboldens us to tranſmit this Narration to your Majeſty, tho' we are ſorry at the ſame time to have any Grounds of Complaint againſt thoſe to whom we owe all dutiful Obedience.

(a) This Gentleman came into *Scotland* in the End of the Year, to aſſiſt at the Baptiſm of the Prince.

(b) The Account to the Queen of *France* is that which immediately follows here.

(c) *Biblioth. Colleg. Scot. Pariſ. Mem. Scot. Tom.* ii. *f.* 250. a Copy.

1566 “ The Reſpect we bear to the King, as being Husband to the Queen our Sovereign, on whom ſhe has been pleaſed to confer ſo much Honour, and raiſe him to ſo high a Degree of Dignity, inclines us to ſpeak of him, and of every Thing that relates to him, with much Modeſty, and would diſpoſe us joyfully to paſs over in Silence the huge Injury he does to himſelf, to the Queen's Majeſty, and of Conſequence to all of us here, if our concealing the ſame could had the Influence to bury it in Obſcurity. But ſeeing that he himſelf is the very firſt Perſon who by his Deportment will needs diſcover it to the World, we can do no leſs, both for ſatisfying the Office we bear, and the Duty we owe to the Queen, than to teſtify the Things which we have both ſeen and heard, to all Thoſe who are allied to her Majeſty, eſpecially to the King your Son and your Majeſty's own ſelf, whom we look upon to be the principal Supports of our Sovereign and her Crown; that by theſe you may have Opportunity to perceive the great Trouble and Vexation the Queen our Sovereign labours under at preſent, and the Occaſion of it. About ten or twelve Days ago, the Queen at our Requeſt came to this Town of *Liſleburgh (a)* to give her Orders about ſome Affairs of State, which without her perſonal Preſence could not be got diſpatched. Her Majeſty was deſirous the King ſhould have come along with her; but becauſe he liked to remain at *Stirling* and wait her Return thither, ſhe left him there, with Intention to go towards him again, in five or ſix Days. Mean time while the Queen was abſent, the Earl of *Lenox* his Father came to viſit him at *Stirling*, and having remained with him two or three Days, he went his way again to *Glaſgow*, the ordinary Place of his Abode. From *Glaſgow* my Lord *Lenox* wrote to the Queen, and acquainted her Majeſty, that altho' formerly both by Letters and Meſſages, and now alſo by Communication with his Son, he had endeavoured to divert him from an Enterprize he had in view, he nevertheleſs had not the Intereſt to make him alter his Mind. This Project, he tells the Queen, was to retire out of the Kingdom beyond Sea *(b)*, and that for this purpoſe he had juſt then a Ship lying ready. The Earl of *Lenox*'s Letter came to the Queen's Hand on St. *Michael*'s Day [29th *September*;] and her Majeſty was pleaſed to impart the ſame incontinent to the Lords of her Council, in order to receive Advice thereupon. And if her Majeſty was ſurpriſed by this Advertiſement from the Earl of *Lenox*; theſe Lords were no leſs aſtoniſhed to underſtand that the King, who may juſtly eſteem himſelf happy upon account of the Honour the Queen has been pleaſed to confer upon him, and whoſe chief Aim ſhould be to render himſelf grateful for her Bounty, and behave himſelf honourably and dutifully towards her, ſhould entertain any thought of departing after ſo ſtrange a manner out of her Preſence, nor was it poſſible for them to form a Conjecture from whence ſuch an Imagination could take its Riſe. Their Lordſhips therefore took a Reſolution to talk with the King, that they might learn from himſelf the Occaſion of this haſty Deliberation of his (if any ſuch he had;) and likewiſe that they might thereby be enabled to adviſe her Majeſty after what manner ſhe ſhould comport her ſelf in this Conjuncture. The ſame Evening the King came to *Edinburgh*, but made ſome Difficulty to enter into the Palace, by reaſon that three or four Lords were at that Time preſent with the Queen, and peremptorily inſiſted that they might be gone before he would condeſcend to come in:

(*a*) By many and inconteſtable Evidences, I now ſee that *Liſleburgh* was the *French* Appellation for *Edinburgh*; but why they came ſo to call it, I know not.

(*b*) Mr. *Knox* ſays, the King “ wrote to the Pope, to the King of *Spain*, and to the King of *France*, complaining of the State of the Country, which was all out of Order, becauſe that Maſs and Popery were not again erected, giving the whole Blame thereof to the Queen, as not managing the Catholick Cauſe aright. By ſome Knave this poor Prince was betrayed, and the Queen got a Copy of theſe Letters into her Hands, and thereafter threatned him ſore; and there was never after that any appearance of Love betwixt them.” Of this Story we meet with no Veſtige in theſe Letters by the Lords of Privy Council, and the *French* Ambaſſador. But if the Thing was ſo as *Knox* relates it, ſurely it was no wonder that the Queen was highly diſpleaſed. Mr. *Knox* calls him now *poor Prince*. *Commiſeration* is certainly a good Quality; but when it is too much reſtricted to particular Perſons and Things, People are ready to term it *Partiality*. However the King was not always in *Knox*'s good Graces.

" Which Deportment appeared to be abundantly unreaſonable, ſince they were 1566.
" *three* of the greateſt Lords of the Kingdom, and that thoſe Kings who by
" their own Birth were Sovereigns of the Realm, have never acted in that
" manner towards the Nobility. The Queen however received this Behaviour
" as decently as was poſſible, and condeſcended ſo far as to go meet the
" King without the Palace, and ſo conducted him into her own Apartment,
" where he remained all Night; and then her Majeſty entred calmly with him
" upon the Subject of his going abroad, that ſhe might underſtand from himſelf
" the Occaſion of ſuch a Reſolution. But he would by no means give, or
" acknowledge that he had any Occaſion offered him of Diſcontent. The
" Lords of Council being acquainted early next Morning that the King was
" juſt a going to return to *Stirling*, they repaired to the Queen's Apartment,
" and no other Perſon being preſent except their Lordſhips and *Monſ. du Croc*,
" whom they prayed to aſſiſt with them, as being here on the Part of your Majeſty.
" The Occaſion of their meeting together was then with all Humility
" and Reverence due to their Majeſties, propoſed, namely, To underſtand from
" the King, whether according to Advice imparted to the Queen by the Earl
" of *Lenox*, he had formed a Reſolution to depart by Sea out of the Realm;
" and upon what Ground, and for what End? That if his Reſolution proceeded
" from ſome Diſcontent, they were earneſt to know what Perſons had
" afforded an Occaſion for the ſame? That if he could complain of any of
" the Subjects of the Realm, be they of what Quality ſoever, the Fault ſhould
" be immediately repaired to his Satisfaction. And here we did remonſtrate
" to him, that his own Honour, the Queen's Honour, the Honour of us all
" were concerned; for if without juſt Occaſion miniſtred, he would retire from
" the Place where he had received ſo much Honour, and abandon the Society
" of Her to whom he is ſo far obliged, that in order to advance him ſhe has
" humbled herſelf, and from being his Sovereign, had ſurrendred herſelf to be
" his Wife; if he ſhould act in this ſort, the whole World would blame him
" as ingrate, regardleſs of the Friendſhip the Queen bare him, and utterly unworthy
" to poſſeſs the Place to which ſhe had exalted him. On the other
" hand, that if any juſt Occaſion had been given him, it behoved the ſame to
" be very important, ſince it inclined him to relinquiſh ſo beautiful a Queen
" and noble Realm; and the ſame muſt have been afforded him either by the
" Queen herſelf, or by us her Miniſters. As for us, we profeſſed our ſelves
" ready to do him all the Juſtice he could demand. And for her Majeſty, ſo far
" was ſhe from miniſtring to him occaſion of Diſcontent, that on the contrary
" he had all the Reaſon in the World to thank God for giving him ſo wiſe and
" virtuous a Perſon, as ſhe had ſhewed herſelf in all her Actions. Then her
" Majeſty was pleaſed to enter into the Diſcourſe, and ſpoke affectionately to
" him, beſeeching him that ſeeing he would not open his Mind in private to
" her the laſt Night, according to her moſt earneſt Requeſt, he would at leaſt
" be pleaſed to declare before theſe Lords, where ſhe had offended him in any
" Thing. She likewiſe ſaid, that ſhe had a clear Conſcience that in all her Life
" ſhe had done no Action which could anywiſe prejudge either his or her own
" Honour; but nevertheleſs that as ſhe might perhaps have given him Offence
" without Deſign, ſhe was willing to make Amends as far as he ſhould require;
" and therefore prayed him not to diſſemble the Occaſion of his Diſpleaſure,
" if any he had; nor to ſpare her in the leaſt Matter. But tho' the Queen and
" all others that were preſent, together with *Monſ. du Croc*, uſed all the Intereſt
" they were able, to perſwade him to open his Mind; yet he would not at
" all own that he intended any Voyage, or had any Diſcontent; and declared
" freely that the Queen had given him no Occaſion for any. Whereupon he
" took Leave of her Majeſty, and went his way: So that we were all of Opinion
" that this was but a falſe Alarm the Earl of *Lenox* was willing to
" give her Majeſty. Nevertheleſs by a Letter which the King has ſince wrote
" to the Queen in a ſort of diſguiſed Stile, it appears that he ſtill has it in his

Head to leave the Kingdom; and there is Advertiſement otherwiſe, that he is ſecretly preparing to be gone. Of all which, and what paſſed betwixt their Majeſties and us, we could not fail to inform you, and to teſtify, likeas we do by theſe Preſents, that ſo far as Things could come to our Knowledge, he has had no Ground of Complaint; but on the contrary, that he has the very beſt of Reaſon to look upon himſelf as one of the moſt fortunate Princes in Chriſtendom, could he but know his own Happineſs, and make uſe of the good Fortune which God has put into his Hands. 'Tis true that in the Letter he wrote the Queen, he grounds a Complaint on two Points: One is, That her Majeſty truſts him not with ſo much Authority, nor is at ſuch Pains to advance him and make him be honoured in the Nation as ſhe at firſt did. And the other Point is, That no Body attends him, and that the Nobility deſerts his Company. To theſe two Points the Queen has made Anſwer, That if the Caſe be ſo, he ought to blame himſelf, not her; for that in the Beginning ſhe had conferred ſo much Honour upon him, as came afterwards to render herſelf very uneaſy, the Credit and Reputation wherein ſhe had placed him having ſerved as a Shadow to Thoſe who have moſt hainouſly offended her Majeſty; but howſoever, that ſhe has notwithſtanding this, continued to ſhow him ſuch Reſpect, that altho' they who did perpetrate the Murder of her faithful Servant, had entred her Chamber with his Knowledge, having followed him cloſe at the Back, and had named him the Chief of their Enterprize; yet would ſhe never accuſe him thereof, but did always excuſe him, and was willing to appear as if ſhe believed it not. And then as to his being not attended; the Fault thereof muſt be charged upon himſelf, ſince ſhe has always made an Offer to him of her own Servants. And for the Nobility, they come to Court, and pay Deference and Reſpect according as they have any Matters to do, and as they receive a kindly Countenance: But that he is at no Pains to gain them, and make himſelf beloved by them, having gone ſo far as to prohibite theſe Noblemen to enter his *Room*, whom ſhe had firſt appointed to be about his Perſon. If the Nobility abandon him, his own Deportment towards them is the Cauſe thereof: For if he deſire to be followed and attended by them, he muſt in the firſt place make them to love him; and to this purpoſe, muſt render himſelf amiable to them: without which it will prove a moſt difficult Taſk for her Majeſty to regulate this Point, eſpecially to make the Nobility conſent that he ſhall have the Management of Affairs put into his Hands; becauſe ſhe finds them utterly averſe to any ſuch Matter. And now your Majeſty will by this Narrative be able to form a Judgment, whether or no the Reaſons be well grounded, which the King alledges for the colouring over his Project. We were willing to lay them before you according to all the Knowledge we have of them, moſt humbly beſeeching your Majeſty, that if, in order to palliate his Fault, any other Perſons ſhall happen to report any otherwiſe to you than what we do write, your Majeſty may not truſt any Thing they ſhall contrive, in Prejudice of the Truth and of our Teſtimony. And thus, Madam, we earneſtly pray God may grant you Health and the Accompliſhment of all your Deſires. From *Liſleburgh* this 8th *October* 1566."

Letter by Mr. Robert Melvil *Ambaſſador for* Mary *Queen of* Scots *at the Court of* England, *To Abp.* Bethune *her ſaid Majeſty's Ambaſſador in* France *(a)*.

And of Mr. *Robert Melvil.*

"EFter my humil Commendatioun and Service unto zour Lordſchip, I have bien in this Countre this aught Dayis paſt, and wauld have bien glaid to have advertiſt your Lordſchip as weil of the Eſtait heir as of our awin Countre; and the lak [want] of ſuir Bearirs hes impedit the ſame. Firſt for our awin Affaires, I will impairt to your Lordſchip quhilk I am ſory of:

" The

(a) *Biblioth. Colleg. Scot. Pariſ. Mem. Scot. Tom.* ii. an Original.

1566.

" The Quene our Soverane wes in ſum Diſpleiſur at my Department upoun evil Behaviour of the Kingis Pairt, who wes of mynd to depairt out of the Realme, and no Occaſioun gevin him be hir Majeſtie, as the hole Counſale can record; nether will he declair quhairin his Diſcontentment is, bot in general that he is not regardit with the Nobilite as he ſould be, nether can obtene ſic Thingis as he ſickes, to witt, ſic Perſonis as the Secretary [*Lethington*] the Juſtice-Clerk, and Clerk of Regiſter, to be putt out of thair Office; Alledging thay ſould be gilty of this laſt odious Fact *(a)*, quhairof the Quenis Majeſtie hath takin Tryal, and findis thame not giltie thairin; with dyvers uthir Thingis not worth the Rehearſal. Sens my Depairture *(b)* I heir he is ſtayit, bot hes not ſens come neir the Quene. Hir Majeſtie in *Jedward* preſentlie and remanis fifteene Dayis langar, gif the goeing of the Commiſſionaris for the Chriſtening of the Prince do not haiſt hir Majeſtie. Th' Erle *Bodwel* having an Occaſioun to ryd in *Lidaiſdail* befoir, to bring in ſum of the *Elioats*, wes hurt be one of thame; bot he will recover. The Circumſtances this Berar can declair to your Lordſchip. The Nobilite wes in gude Accord among thairſelvis, and the Countre quyet.

" For the Eſtait of this Realme, the Parliament ſitts daily, and no Matter of Importance paſſit at this preſent *(c)*. I was direckit from my Soverane to knaw at the Quene heir, quhither it be hir Mynd to move any thyng of the Succeſſion, &c. *(d)* [the reſt of this Letter is concerning the Succeſſion, like others from the ſame Hand.] " At *London* the 22d of *October*.

Be zour Lordſchip's to command at Power and Service,

Robert Melvil.

As there had not been a ſettled Peace on the Borders of the two Nations, from the Time that our Queen's Marriage began to be talk'd of in earneſt, occaſioned by the Animoſity and Diſpleaſure of the Queen of *England*, as the Readers will have perceived by undoubted Vouchers; ſo of late much more had the Diſturbances and Troubles increaſed there, to the great Prejudice of our Queen's Authority within her own Realm. By ſeveral *Abſtracts* of Letters in the *Appendix* it does appear that the Earl of *Morton* had gained many of the *Scottiſh* Borderers to his Party, and among theſe the Laird of *Ceſsford* himſelf, Warden of the Middle Marches; and as the Queen was reſolved not to tolerate ſuch a publick Contempt and diſowning of her Authority, ſhe intended now to paſs in Perſon towards the Borders, and hold Courts of Juſtice at the Town of *Jedburgh*, for the Trial and Puniſhment of all looſe, diſorderly and traiterous Perſons *(e)*: And becauſe the Earl of *Bothwell* was Lord Lieutenant in theſe Parts, and had an Intereſt there, ſhe ſent him before *(f)* " to the Province of *Lidſdale* to compel certain unbridled inſolent Thieves to give their " Obedience to her. But when his Lordſhip went thither, they according to " their unruly Cuſtom, deſpiſed him and his Commiſſion in ſuch ſort, that they " invaded him fiercely, and hurt him in divers Parts of his Body and Head,

The Queen goes to *Jedburgh* to hold Juſtice Courts,

and ſends the Earl of *Bothwell* before, into *Lidſdale*.

(a) *David Riccio*'s Murder.

(b) By this and the firſt Part of the Letter it appears Mr. *Robert Melvil* had lately made a Trip into *Scotland*.

(c) Tho' Mr. *Cambden*, whoſe Annals of the Reign of Queen *Elizabeth* is in moſt Peoples Hands, fixes the Beginning of this *Engliſh* Parliament to the 1ſt Day of *November*; yet the *Journals* of all the Parliaments during the Reign of Queen *Elizabeth*, collected by Sir *Simon d'Ewes*, afford us better Aſſurance that this Parliament did really meet on the laſt Day of *September* 1566, and continued to ſit and do Buſineſs until the 2d of *January* thereafter. In this Book of Journals any curious Perſon may ſee the whole authentick Progreſs of the Points moved in the Parliament concerning the Marriage of the Queen of *England*, and her appointing of a Succeſſor in Failure of Heirs of her own Body. On the 18th of *October* a Motion thereof was firſt made in the Houſe of Commons; and altho' afterwards there were ſeveral Speeches concerning theſe two Points both in that Houſe and in the Houſe of Peers, yet the Journaliſt obſerves that no direct Petition from the Parliament was at all preferred to Queen *Elizabeth* on theſe Heads. On the laſt Day of the Parliament, her Majeſty took occaſion to ſhew her Reſentment againſt the Sticklers for her Marriage and Succeſſor, eſpecially the latter: A Point, as has been obſerved, ſhe never liked to hear of.

(d) See the Earl of *Bedford*'s Inſtructions, *November* 7th.

(e) See the Proclamation at *Jedburgh* p. 353.

(f) On the 17th of *September* the Earl of *Bothwell* is in the Council at *Edinburgh*, but is not there on the 6th of *October*.

1566. “ that hardly he eſcaped with Safety of his Life, and that in particular by the “ Hands of *John Eliot* of the *Park* (a); ſo that he was carried to his own “ Caſtle of *Hermitage* (b) until he ſhould recover of his Wounds. The Queen “ being then at *Jedburgh*, and underſtanding the certain Report of this Ac- “ cident, was ſo highly grieved in Heart, that ſhe took no Repoſe in Body un- “ til ſhe ſaw him” (c). And indeed if we ſhall conſider the Situation of the Borders at that Time, and the Inſolence of the Rogues in attacking openly the Perſon of the Queen's Repreſentative, it was no wonder tho' her Majeſty ſhould not deem it below Her to put ſuch a Mark of Regard on the Earl in his preſent Diſtreſs, as to pay him a Viſit, eſpecially ſeeing he ſurely believed to have departed from this Life, and hereof had advertiſed the Queen. Her Majeſty therefore went from *Jedburgh* to *Hermitage-Caſtle*, but returned that very ſame Day to *Jedburgh* again (d), becauſe ſhe did not think her Perſon in Security in the midſt of ſo many looſe Vagabonds, who might eaſily have conveyed her over into *England* in a few Hours. Upon her Return to *Jedburgh*, ſhe quickly fell into a ſharp burning Fever, occaſioned no doubt by ſuch a long Journey and the Night Air (e). At firſt ſhe ſwooned away, and lay as Dead for the Space of two Hours; and for ſome time thereafter, the Fever became ſo violent, as to deprive her of the Uſe of her Senſes: But theſe afterwards returning, ſhe very wiſely thought that perhaps Death might be approaching, and therefore ſhe deſired the Lords preſent to pray for her, and behaved herſelf with much Piety and Wiſdom during all the Courſe of her Illneſs: And her Majeſty was pleaſed to recommend her Son to the Guardianſhip of the Queen of *England* (f). Care was taken to advertiſe the King of her Majeſty's Sickneſs; but if he came at all to ſee her, 'tis certain he made no great Haſte, contrary to what *Buchanan* and *Knox* have related. Of this we have the ſure Teſtimony of the *French* Ambaſſador in a Letter from *Jedburgh* of the 24th of *October*, wherein he has theſe Words, —— “ The King is at *Glaſgow*, “ and has not come to this Place, altho' he has both received Advertiſement, “ and has had Time enough to come, had he been willing. This is ſuch a “ Fault as I know not how to apologize for it” (g).

The Queen falls ſick at *Jedburgh*.

During the Queen's Illneſs at *Jedburgh*, the Lords that were there preſent with her Majeſty, ſuſpecting that ſome Diſorders might poſſibly fall out at that Time, as is but too uſual in the Sickneſs and Deaths of Princes, very wiſely thought fit to emit this following Proclamation.

Jedburgh 25. Octob. Anno Dom. 1566.

SEDERUNT

Georgius *Comes de* Huntlie, Jacobus *Comes de* Murray, Jacobus *Comes de* Bothwell, Joannes *Comes de* Athole, Andreas *Comes de* Rothes, Georgius *Comes de* Cathnes, *Epiſcopus* Galloway, *Epiſcopus* Roſſen, *Epiſcopus* Orchaden, *Secretarius*, *Theſaurarius*, *Clericus Regiſtri*, *Clericus Juſticiariæ*.

Procla-

(a) The *Eliots*, *Armſtrongs* and *Scots* were all now banded together.

(b) It was a Caſtle in *Liddiſdale*, alias *Lidderdale*, near the *Engliſh* Border. The Inhabitants of *Liddiſdale* were moſtly of the Sirname of *Armſtrong*.

(c) *Crawford*'s Memoirs, MS. The Reader will obſerve the Difference 'twixt this Account of the Matter, and that which is given by *Knox* and *Buchanan*.

(d) *Crawford*'s MS. The Diſtance may be about eighteen Miles betwixt *Jedburgh* and *Hermitage*.

(e) *Ibid.* adds, “ and the great Diſtreſs of her Mind for the Earl of *Bothwell*.”

(f) See the Queen's Letter *p.* 354.

(g) —— *Le Roy eſt à Glaſco, & n'eſt point venu icy; ſi eſt ce qu'il a eté averti par quelques-uns: Et a eu du temps aſſez pour venir s'il euſt voulu. C'eſt une faulte qui je ne puis excuſer. Colleg. Scot. Pariſ.* In the ſame Repoſitory is an original Letter of the 23d *October* at *Jedburgh*, from the Lords of Privy Council to Abp *Bethune*, of the Queen's falling ſick ſix Days before, ſigned by *Huntly*, *James Stewart*, [*Murray*] *Athole*, *Lethington*. *Item*, A Letter by the Biſhop of *Roſs*, containing an Account of the Queen's Behaviour, &c. during her Illneſs. See Appendix, Numb. 14.

Proclamatioun to keip gude Reule at *Jedburgh.*

And the Lords iſſue a Proclamation for keeping the Peace.

Forſamekill as the Quenis Majeſtie, movit of the Zeale hir Hienes hes continowallie borne to Juſtice, reparit to this Countrie accumpanyit with hir Nobilite *(a)*, for Adminiſtratioun thairof to the uthir oppreſſit Subjectis; and for hir hither cuming, at Goddis Pleſſour, hir Majeſtie is verit with Infirmite and Seiknes, quhairthrow hir Hienes is not abill, according to hir gude Inclinatioun, to attend upoun that Thing quhilk wes the Occaſioun of hir Majeſties reparing in thir Partis at firſt: And albeit the Nobillmen and Counſal preſent hes gude Hoip and Confidence of hir gracious Convaleſcence and reſtoring to Helth, yit in the men tyme divers Perſonis, Luffaris of Unquyetnes and Innemeis to this commoun Weill, mair reſpectand thair particular Querrellis nor the Quyetnes of the Countre, may peradventure tak Occaſioun throw hir Hienes Diſeaſe and Seiknes, to revenge thair privat Querrellis, and mak Moleſtatioun and Perturbatioun to the diſturbing of all gude Ordour; Quhilk the Nobilite and Counſal tymeouſlie fearand, hes with ane Voice and Mynd conſentit, and in the Preſence of God, and on thair Honors, faithfullie promittit to utheris, That all Particularitie, Feid, Favour, or Affectioun, ſet aſyd, Thai ſall declair thamſelffis Innemeis to the Perſoun or Perſounis quhatſumevir Comittaris of the ſaid Diſordour and Unquyetnes, as gif the Offence were done to ony of thamſelffis in particular. And thairfoir Ordanis ane Officiar of Armes to pas to the Mercat-Croce of the Burgh of Jedburgh and thair be opin Proclamatioun command and charge all and ſundrie hir Majeſties Legeis and Subdittis quhatſumevir, that thai and ilk ane of thame contein thamſelffis in Quyetnes and gude Ordour and on nawayis to tak upoun hand to put on Armour, or to invaid, moleſt, perſew or inquiet utheris in Bodyes or Gudes, be Word, Deid or Countenance, undir the Pain of Treſſoun; Certifyeing thame that ſall preſume to do in the contrair, beſyde the Puneiſment ordinar of the Law and Conſuetude of the Realme, thai ſall be perſewit and followit to the Deid as Traitouris to the hail Realme, and the hail Force and Power of the Nobilite ſall be uſit agains thame, as gif the Offence were comittit agains ony of thair awn Perſonis in particular.

How ſoon the Queen was in any tolerable Condition for Travel, her Majeſty ſet out to return towards *Edinburgh*; and being deſirous of a long Time to view the Town of *Berwick*, ſhe came through the Shire of *Merſe* for that purpoſe. Of this Progreſs there is no where ſo good and circumſtantiate an Account as that which here follows:

Particulars of the Queen's Journey homeward.

(b) " The Quenis Majeſtie being convaleſcit of hir Infirmitie, departit of
" *Jedburgh*, and came firſt to *Kelſo*, quhair efter hir Grace had remainit
" twa Nights, paſſed to *Hume*; and in the Way viſit *Werke (c)*. From *Hume*
" to *Langtoun* and *Wedderburn*; and then took purpoſe to viſit *Barwick*,
" and upon the 15th *(d)* Day of this inſtant, hir Majeſtie paſt theither accom-

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(a) By this authentick Proclamation and the foregoing Letter of the *French* Ambaſſador, the Readers will obſerve the notorious Falſhood of *Buchanan*, who repreſents the Queen to have flown in great Haſte from *Borthwick* to *Melros*, and from *Melros* to *Jedburgh*, upon her hearing the Misfortune of *Bothwell*. Her Majeſty was at *Jedburgh* ſeveral Days before that Accident fell out, and went thither, as this Proclamation informs, in the Company of her Nobility, and with a very honourable and laudable Deſign. This Proclamation confirms the Ingenuity of *Crawford*'s MS. which repreſents the Queen as having gone to *Jedburgh* to hold Courts of Juſtice, and as hearing while there the Misfortune the Earl of *Bothwell* had come by: Very contrary indeed to the other Author's Miſrepreſentations. No wonder that his repeated Falſhoods deprive him of Credit.

(b) Letter by Secretary *Maitland*, *November* 19th 1565, *Colleg. Scot. Pariſ.*

(c) This is a Caſtle on the *Engliſh* Side of the River *Tweed*.

(d) Her Majeſty then muſt have begun her Journey about the 10th of *November*. *Cecil*'s Diary is manifeſtly erroneous in this Journey, and in ſome ſubſequent Dates.

1566. “ panied with 800 or 1000 Horſe. Sir *John Foreſter* Deputie undir my
“ Lord of *Bedford*, for avoiding of all Suſpicioun quhilk ſhe might take, came
“ and met hir at the *Bownroad*, accompanied with the Captanes and honeſt
“ Men of the Town, quhoſe hail Numbir exceedit not threſcore Horſe; and
“ ſwa conveyit hir Hienes to *Halydonhill*, and from that Weſt the Town,
“ quhair ſhe might have the perſyte View thairof; and ſwa the hail Ordonance
“ being ſchot, he conveyit hir Majeſtie almoſt to *Aymouth*, doand all
“ the Humanitie and Honour to hir Hienes that wes poſſible to him *(a)*.
“ From this, reſtand ane Night at *Coldingham*, ſhe came to *Dunbar*, and frae
“ that to *Temptallon*, paſſand fordwards towards *Craigmiller (b)*, quhair
“ ſhe minds to ſtay unto hir paſſing Weſt to *Stirling* to the Baptiſm, which
“ is yet deferrit to the 12th of *December*, becauſe of the lang Tarrie of the
“ Ambaſſador of *Savoye*, &c.

While the Queen lay at *Dunbar*, her Majeſty having received ſome agreeable Diſpatches from her Ambaſſador Mr. *Robert Melvil*, wrote the following Letter to the Privy-Council of *England*.

Letter from the Queen of Scotland, *To the Privy-Council of* England *(c)*.

Letter by her Majeſty to the Privy-Council of *England*.

“ Right truſty and well-beloved Couſins, we Greet you heartily well;
“ Whereas we have underſtood by Report of our familiar Servant *Robert*
“ *Melvil*, the good Offers made to our Behoof by the Queen our good
“ Siſter your Sovereign *(d)*: We think ourſelf obliged to do her whatſoever
“ a good Siſter and tender-hearted Couſin ought, where ſhe finds ſo great
“ Thankfulneſs; and that we could not declare the Affection we bear toward
“ our ſaid deareſt Siſter better, ‡ nor by that which we did, when we lookt not
“ to have bruiked this Life twelve Hours in our late Sickneſs; at which Time
“ our Meaning was, that the ſpecial Care of the Protection of our Son ſhould
“ reſt upon our ſaid good Siſter. We believe you have been always good Miniſters
“ to move your Sovereign to ſhew her own reaſonable Favour to our
“ Advancement in that which is right, and ſurely look you will ſo continue.
“ We take ourſelf (as we doubt not but you know) to be the Queen your Sovereign's
“ next Couſin, and next herſelf and lawful Iſſue of her Body, to have
“ greateſt Intereſt of all others to that which has been (as is reported) lately
“ motioned in the Parliament-Houſe. And albeit we had not of Mind to preſs
“ our ſaid good Siſter, further than ſhall come of her own good Pleaſure, to
“ put that Matter in queſtion; yet becauſe in that Caſe we will be judged by
“ the Laws of the Realm of *England*, we do effectuouſly require you to have
“ Reſpect to Juſtice with Indifferency, when ſoever it ſhall pleaſe the Queen
“ your Sovereign to put the ſame Matter in Deliberation. As to us, we will
“ noways inſiſt therein, till ſuch Time as it ſhall pleaſe herſelf to give us Warning.
“ We deſire you in the mean Time to have that Opinion of us, that as
“ we mean to continue all our Life in good Intelligence with the Queen your
“ Sovereign and that Realm; ſo if any Prince on Earth would offend the ſame,
“ we would withſtand him at our utter Power: And that you cannot adviſe
“ our ſaid deareſt Siſter to extend her Favours towards any that ſhall recognoſce
“ it

‡ *than.*

(a) Sir *James Melvil* ſays, “ Sir *John Foreſter* Warden upon the *Engliſh* Borders, came and conferred with the Queen for “ keeping of good Order; and in the mean time while he was ſpeaking with her Majeſty on Horſeback, his Courſer did riſe up “ with his foremoſt Legs, to take the Queen's Horſe by the Neck with his Teeth; but his Feet hurt her Majeſty's Thigh very “ ill. Incontinent the Warden lighted off his Horſe, and ſate down upon his Knee, craving her Majeſty's Pardon (for then all “ *England* did much reverence her) her Majeſty made him riſe, and ſaid that ſhe was not hurt, yet it compelled her Majeſty to “ tarry two Days at the Caſtle of *Home* until ſhe recovered again.” And here this Author adds, “ the King followed her Majeſty “ about whitherſoever ſhe rode, but got no good Countenance.” But as Sir *James* is in a manifeſt Error in this Part of his *Memoirs*, I ſhall not need to correct him in the laſt particular Point: His other three Contemporaries, *Buchanan*, *Knox*, and *Crawford's Memoirs*, contradict him plainly herein; and *Lethington*'s Silence is as ſtrong againſt him.

(b) I make no Doubt but the Earl of *Bothwell* might be in the Queen's Retinue; but I hope this Parade of a Journey quite confounds *Buchanan*'s Intrigue at this Time betwixt her and *Bothwell* all alone.

(c) Calig. B. 10. an Original.

(d) The Subſtance of theſe Offers will be known by the Queen of *England*'s Inſtructions to the Earl of *Bedford*. See them *p.* 356.

" it in a better ſort. And ſo we commit you to the Protection of God
" At *Dunbar* the 18th Day of *November* 1566.

Your gud Couſignace,
MARIE R.

Together with this Letter, it was thought expedient that the *Scottiſh* Miniſters of State ſhould likewiſe write to the Miniſters of *England*. Their Letter is entirely of the ſame Strain; and that it might not be loſt, I have put it into the *Appendix (a)*.

The Queen it ſeems kept cloſe at *Craigmillar* after her Arrival thither, until the Time that ſhe went to *Stirling* for the Baptizing of the Prince. Abp. *Spottiſwood* acquaints us, that here the Secretary renewed to her Majeſty the Purpoſe of a Divorce from the King her Husband in the Hearing of the Earls of *Argile* and *Huntly*; and that Prelate ſets down likewiſe the Queen's Return to the Secretary. That this Author has had ſome general Account of this Matter which paſſed at *Craigmillar* at this Time, is evident from the more authentick Account thereof contained in the publick Proteſtation emitted by the two Earls of *Argile* and *Huntly* in the Year 1568, wherein they declare, That the Earl of *Murray* and the Secretary *Lethington* came to their Apartments, and that afterwards they four, together with the Earl of *Bothwell*, went to the Queen, and in her and their Preſence the Secretary made a Propoſal, That if her Majeſty would be pleaſed to pardon the Earl of *Morton*, the Lords *Ruthven* and *Lindſay*, they ſhould find the Means, with the reſt of the Nobility, to bring about a Divorce between Her and the King, without her having any hand therein. The four Earls ſupported the Secretary's Propoſal; and the Queen declared ſhe would no otherwiſe agree to the Divorce, except under theſe two Conditions. One was, That the ſame ſhould be made lawfully: Th'other, That it ſhould nowiſe prejudge her Son; *otherwiſe hir Hienes wald rather endure all Tormentis, and abyde the Perrelles that mycht chaunce hir in hir Grace's Lyftyme*. The Secretary after this having ſaid ſome dark Words, the Queen again anſwered, *I will that ye doe nathing quhairto any Spot may be layit to my Honor or Conſcience; and thairfor I pray you rather let the Matter be in the Eſtait as it is, abyding till God of His Goodneſs put Remeid thairto: That ye believing to do me Service, may poſſibill turne to my Hurt and Diſpleaſor (b)*.

The Conference at *Craigmillar* concerning a Divorce from the King, rectified.

In the Beginning of *December* the Queen received a Letter from the Earl of *Bedford* the *Engliſh* Ambaſſador, deſiring to have a Safe-conduct, and to be informed of the Time when he ſhould preſent himſelf before her Majeſty, becauſe, as would appear, he had not as yet got ſure Advice of the Day appointed for the Baptiſm of the Prince. To which her Majeſty made the following Anſwer.

Letter, Queen of Scots *to the Earl of* Bedford *(c)*.

The *Engliſh* Ambaſſador demands and receives a Safe-conduct.

" Right truſty and well-beloved Couſin, we Greet you well: We have re-
" ceived your Letter from the Gentleman, Bearer thereof. And whereas
" you require that by him you may have full and perfect Underſtanding of our
" Pleaſure, for aſcertaining the Time when you ſhall repair towards us; We
" aſſure you whenever you pleaſe to come, you ſhall be as welcome as we may
" make you; and thereunto all Times ſhall be alike. But in Conſideration
" that the very Day of our Son's Baptiſm ſhall be, God willing, the 15th inſtant,
" we think it beſt that you addreſs you to enter on *Scots* Ground upon the

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(a) Numb. 15.

(b) Theſe Anſwers of the Queen are ſurely very far different from Mr *Buchanan*'s wicked Suggeſtions on the Head But if any one will prefer that Man's Credit, who was neither Eye nor Ear Witneſs, before that of theſe two noble Earls, we may ſafely ſay, that *Great is that Perſon's Faith!* See this Proteſtation at length in the Appendix, Numb. 16.

(c) Calig. B. 10. F. 389. an Original.

1566.

“ 8th Day of this ſame Month, againſt the which we have commanded our
“ Warden to meet you, and to convoy you hither. And albeit your own
“ Perſon, employed in ſuch a Meſſage, were Surety enough both for yourſelf
“ and your hail Company, and that you needed no other Paſport at all; yet
“ for Satisfaction of your Letter, you ſhall herewith receive our Safe-conduct
“ according to your Deſire. Further preſently we need not write, ſeeing we
“ look ſo ſhortly for your own Preſence; whereunto we refer the reſt, com-
“ mitting you to the Tuition of God. *Craigmillar, December* 4th 1566.

Your right good Friend,
MARIE R.

“ We deſire you to ſend forward this our Letter to our Servant *Robert Mel-*
“ *vil* at Court.”

Sir *James Melvil* acquaints us, that when the Queen was advertiſed of the Earl of *Bedford*'s Arrival at *Berwick*, ſhe ſent him to *Coldingham*, to be the Earl's firſt Convoy, and to inform him rightly of all her Proceedings, and to overthrow all evil Bruits invented by the Malice of her Adverſaries: And Sir *James* adds, that the good Earl gave him more Credit than he did to any wrong Report of Her that was made. The Earl arrived at Court with a great Retinue, to the Number of Fourſcore Horſes: And beſides the particular publick Errand he was known to come about, namely, the witneſſing the Baptiſm of the Prince, he had likewiſe private Inſtructions to negotiate at this Time with our Queen; a Copy whereof I here lay before my Readers.

The Ambaſſador arrives.

(a) Inſtructions to the Earl of Bedford, *of her Majeſty's Privy-Council, Lord Warden of the Weſt-Marches towards* Scotland, *Governor of* Berwick, *ſent by the Queen's Majeſty into* Scotland *to be an Aſſiſtant at the Chriſtening the Queen of* Scots *Son the Prince there, 7th* November 1566 *(a)*.

His Inſtructions.

‘ THE firſt Cauſe of your Sending is; Seeing the Queen of *Scotland* re-
‘ quired us to be Godmother to the Prince of *Scotland* her Son, as alſo
‘ the *French* King and Duke of *Savoy* to be Godfathers; and the *French*
‘ King hath ſent the Son of *Bryon* to repreſent him, as the Marquis of *Cham-*
‘ *bery (b)* doth the Duke: We have ſent you to her to tell her, That accord-
‘ ing to our former Agreement, upon her firſt ſending to us, we have diſpatch-
‘ ed you to aſſiſt and attend ſuch a Perſon in her Realm, as we have choſen to
‘ repreſent us, who is our dear and well-beloved Couſin the Counteſs of *Argile*,
‘ whom with Allowance of our good Siſter we have appointed and required to
‘ ſupply our Place, becauſe now, being Winter, we could not well ſend any of
‘ the Ladies of our Realm. We have the rather made Choice of her, hearing
‘ how dear ſhe is to our good Siſter. You ſhall deliver our Letter to that
‘ Counteſs, with our moſt hearty Recommendations, and our earneſt Requeſt
‘ to take the Pains to ſupply our Place, which ſurely with all our Heart we
‘ would as gladly do ourſelf, as ſhe ſhall, if Commodity and Convenience
‘ could as well ſuffer it as our Deſire could further it. As for the Behaviour
‘ at this Chriſtening, you ſhall govern yourſelf ſo as ſhall be moſt for our Ho-
‘ nour, and Pleaſure of our good Siſter, and to avoid ſuch Things as be againſt
‘ your Conſcience, and contrary to the Religion we profeſs: 'Tis beſt to imi-
‘ tate the Example of *Murray* and the other Lords of the ſame Religion, for
‘ which they have the Permiſſion of that Queen. At convenient Time you
‘ are

(*a*) The Reader will perceive by theſe Inſtructions, that the Queen of *England* has been in good earneſt deſirous to cheriſh Friendſhip with our Queen. The Birth of a Prince in *Scotland*, and the Ferment now in the Parliament of *England*, for the want of a known Succeſſor, has perhaps driven her Majeſty to this Condeſcendence.

(*b*) Calig. B. 10. F. 384.

(*c*) Yet Sir *James Melvil* calls him *Monſ. de Moret*; and he adds, that he came not until the Baptiſm was paſt and over. *Crawford*'s *Memoirs* and *Spottiſwood* report, that *Monſ. le Croc* ſtood for the Duke of *Savoy* at the Baptiſm.

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are to preſent her the Font of Gold *(a)* which we ſend with you: You may ſay pleaſantly, that it was made aſſoon as we heard of the Prince's Birth, and then 'twas big enough for him; but now he, being grown, is too big for it: Therefore it may be better uſed for the next Child, provided it be Chriſtened before it outgrow the Font. And ſeeing there are Matters of greater Conſequence that you are to treat with her, and becauſe you deſired one to be with you who is acquainted with the Affairs of that Queen, we have appointed *John Tamworth*, of our Privy-Chamber, to attend and be preſent with you, when you ſhall treat of that Affair with her.

‘You ſhall at ſome convenient Time ſay to the Queen, That as we would be loath by repeating Things paſt, to ſtir up Unkindneſs; ſo we expect that ſhe will conceive a great deal of our inward Affection in our digeſting her ſtrange Dealings with us in the Beginning and Proſecution of her Marriage *(b)*, wherein we have been ready to ſhow her Kindneſs, tho' we conceived Cauſe of the contrary: Yet we are content that we did beſtow our Kindneſs upon her, and will be ready always to augment the ſame.

‘After which you ſhall let her know, that by ſundry Meſſages ſent to her to ſignify our Miſliking, that ſundry Subjects of ours truly not worth the living at home being of light Behaviour, have repaired hither *(c)*, upon ſeveral Pretences of great Offers, more apt to breed Suſpicion of Unkindneſs, rather than produce any Effects or Satisfaction to her. And tho' our Siſter owns that there hath been ſuch Offers and Tenders, yet ſhe gave no Conſent or Allowance thereto that might in anywiſe impair the Amity to which ſhe is firmly reſolved to ſtand, without any Change or Alteration of Mind, which at an Interview we would certainly underſtand; for Want of which ſhe wiſhed to have ſome Perſon of Credit and Confidence ſent from us, to whom ſhe might freely impart what concerned us in that Behalf. Therefore we have appointed you to wait of her; for which ſpecial Account we have ſent you and our ſaid Servant *Tamworth*, whom for his Underſtanding, Faithfulneſs and Secrecy, we can truſt as well as any of our Servants *(d)*.

‘And you may aſſure her of ſuch Secrecy herein as ſhe can demand, and that we ſhall requit her Friendſhip therein by all Means poſſible.

‘And as for what paſſed of late betwixt our ſaid Siſter and us, as well by *Melvil* and otherwiſe, concerning the Title to be here conſidered and declared, we think herein ſhe did not deſign to moleſt us, conſidering ſhe found the ſame diſagreeable to us, and we think ſhe ſhould be ſatisfied with ſuch Anſwers as we formerly made, *viz.* That we never would [do] or ſuffer any thing to be done prejudicial to her Right, and would earneſtly prohibite and ſuppreſs all Attempts directly or indirectly againſt the ſame: And that ſhe might well aſſure herſelf of our Amity: And that if any Motion ſhall be made that way, ſhe may truſt to our Friendſhip, and will meet with as much Favour and Furtherance as Juſtice and Equity can anywiſe deviſe to her Contentation.

‘You ſhall alſo inform her, how that laſt Summer a certain Caſe of Law ſeemed to touch her Intereſt; which did ſo much offend us, that we could not be quieted until we had the Party ſent for, and the Circumſtances thereof examined; but finding no ſuch Matter of Moment to the Prejudice of our ſaid Siſter, we did forbear ſuch Puniſhment as we were otherwiſe reſolved to inflict upon the Parties, as we intimated to her Servant *Robert Melvil*, by whom we hope ſhe is informed of the Sincerity of our Dealing. And you

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(*a*) This Font weighed 333 Ounces, which Mr. *Stow* ſays came to 1043 *l.* 19 *s.* which, if he is right, fixes the Value of *Gold* at that Time within the Kingdom of *England*. Mr. *Knox* is evidently wrong in his Calculation.

(*b*) The *Engliſh* Queen is very earneſt here to lay open her own Merits towards our Sovereign. The Birth of a Prince was a bitter Pill and a piercing Sword to her.

(*c*) Mr. *Cambden* mentions *Yaxley*, *Standon* and *Welch*, three *Engliſh* Fugitives, to have got Reception in *Scotland*. The laſt of theſe, *viz.* *Welch*, has been formerly named by *Randolph*: By Inadvertency I then called him *an Intelligencer to our Queen*, as if he had been ſtill in *England*; tho' by *Cambden*'s Information, he has certainly been at that Time within *Scotland*.

(*d*) This is ſaid with a View to upbraid our Queen, for her late Treatment of *Tamworth*.

1566. are to uſe your Diſcretion in the Declaration thereof *(a)*.

‘ There are certain particular Caſes, as ſundry of our Subjects having their Goods detained in that Country; for Remedy whereof, you ſhall uſe Means to that Queen.

‘ You ſhall alſo ſecretly enquire, what was the Meaning of the Journey which the Earl of *Argile* ſhould have made into *Ireland*, and how it was ſtayed; and if the ſame be not ſtayed, then to uſe all Means with ſuch as have received Benefit from us, to ſtay any ſuch ungrateful Enterprize to aid our ungrateful Rebels in that ſort; and take Occaſion to thank the Queen for ſtaying of him, and that we could not take it in good part to do otherwiſe, to permit any of hers to treat with ſo manifeſt a Rebel of ours *(b)*, without imparting the ſame to us.

‘ It may be demanded, that according to a late Requeſt made to us by her Servant Mr. *Melvil*, to cauſe certain Perſons now living to be examined of their Knowledge of the manner of the laſt Teſtament of King *Henry* our Father; you may tell, That for Satisfaction of her and our own Conſcience, we mean to examine the ſame, aſſoon as with Convenience we may *(c)*.

‘ And as yourſelf knows how we ſent you to *France* to that Queen, to require the Confirmation of the Treaty of *Edinburgh*, and the ſame being ſince deferred, upon account of ſome Words therein prejudicial to the Queen's Right and Title, before all others after us. Our Meaning is, to require nothing to be confirmed in that Treaty, but that which directly appertains to us and our Children, omitting any thing in that Treaty that may be prejudicial to her Title, as next Heir after us and our Children; all which may be ſecured to her by a new Treaty betwixt us. And for her Security, ſhe may have from us an Engagement, that we will never do or ſuffer any thing that may be to the Prejudice of her Title, and ſhall declare againſt any who ſhall invade the ſame *(d)*. You may perſwade her, that this manner of proceeding is the way to avoid all Jealouſies and Difficulties betwixt us, and the only way to ſecure the Amity.

‘ And before parting, you may tell her in our Name, That we ſaw nothing ſo fit to prevent the Deſigns of thoſe who are for ſtirring up Troubles, than to have a mutual Confirmation of a Treaty of perpetual Amity, and an Aſſurance

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(a) Queen *Elizabeth* no doubt points here at Mr. *Thornton* a Reader of Law in *Lincolns-Inn*, who had called our Queen's Title in queſtion; and whom the Queen of *England*, upon Complaint made by our Queen, did incarcerate in the Tower. *Cambden.*

(b) This was *Shan O-Neal* of the Kingdom of *Ireland*.

(c) That my Readers may be informed of what may be contained and intended here, they muſt know that the Parliament of *England* having granted a Power to King *Henry* VIII. to limit and diſpoſe of the Succeſſion of that Crown to ſuch Perſon or Perſons as he ſhould appoint by his Laſt will made in Writing, and *ſigned with his moſt gracious Hand*; that King, in purſuance and by virtue of this Act, did on the 30th Day of *December*, four Weeks before he died, ſign a Teſtament, wherein he excluded the Royal Family of *Scotland* deſcended from his eldeſt Siſter, and entailed his Imperial Crown to the Houſe of *Suffolk* deſcended from his ſecond Siſter. This Will of King *Henry* lay as a ſtrong Bar againſt our Queen; and on the other hand, the Partiſans of the Houſe of *Suffolk* built all their Expectation upon it. To get clear of this Obſtacle, the Supporters of our Queen's Claim alledged two great Invalidities in King *Henry*'s Will; one, that the ſaid Will was not ſigned with the King's *own* Hand, but with a *Stamp* or *Sign Manual*, which that King was known to have uſed for ſome large Space back; the other, that the Witneſſes and the Stamp were are all feign'd, *i. e.* affixed when the King was either dead, or paſt all Senſe of Life. Queen *Elizabeth* had never regarded much her Father's Will in her Advancement to the Throne, and by that means the *Will* had fallen by, or was ſo miſlaid as not eaſily to be recovered; or perhaps Queen *Elizabeth* being not very fond of her Father's Entail, was not willing to let it appear. All this made our *Scottiſh* Writers, ſuch as *John Leſlie* Biſhop of *Roſs*, and *William Maitland* the Secretary, ſtrenuouſly maintain the two former Invalidities in that Teſtament; and ſo far had they come to be perſwaded of the Truth of theſe, that Mr. *Melvil* we here ſee had an Inſtruction to ſolicite Queen *Elizabeth* to cauſe her Father's Will be ſearched into and examined, and which that Queen promiſes to do with Conveniency. The Misfortunes which befell our Queen ſhortly after this, did put an End to any further Buſineſs of this kind; otherwiſe both ſhe and her beſt Friends would have found their Requeſts to the Queen of *England* very much miſplaced, and that Princeſs conſulted better the *Scottiſh* Intereſt in ſuffering her Father's Will to remain in obſcure Corners, than to propale it to the Light: For *now* that Teſtamentary Deed is made publick by the Reverend Author of the *Hereditary Right to the Crown of England*, and the Sufficiency thereof cleared by him beyond all poſſibility of Reply. And therefore I, for my particular, muſt freely own, that Queen *Elizabeth* has never had an Intention to ſet aſide the Right of our Queen, and introduce her Father's *Nominees*. *Note*, What the Biſhop of *Roſs* maintains againſt the Will of King *Henry*, may be ſeen in his *Defence of Mary Queen of Scots*; and Secretary *Maitland*'s Objections to it, in his *Letter* written from *Stirling* the 14th of *January* 1566-7, directed to the *Engliſh* Secretary *Cecil*, and publiſhed by Bp. *Burnet* in the Appendix to the 1ſt Vol. *Hiſt. Reform.*

(d) Had Queen *Elizabeth* yielded this Point at firſt, the ſecret Grudge betwixt her and her Couſin had been in a great meaſure removed. Mr. *Buchanan* was too haſty, when he narrates this to have been the Iſſue of *Lethington*'s Conference with the Queen of *England*, the firſt Time he was ſent into *England* after our Queen's Arrival home in the Year 1561. I have already obſerved that this Propoſal made a Part of the Inſtructions intended to have been ſent laſt Year by Sir *Walter Mildmay*.

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‘rance of her Part to us, according to a Clauſe in the Treaty of *Edinburgh*; and the ſame Aſſurance for us to her, that we would neither do nor attempt, nor ſuffer to be attempted any thing derogatory to her Title, to be next Heir after us and our Children; whereof the one Part to be made by her to us, is juſt, and you may ſay to be demanded; and by the denying of it, we may conceive ſome want of good Meaning to us, which we are unwilling to do. And as for the other Part; tho' we are not bound thereto, yet we are content from the Favour we bear to her, to engage ourſelves in as good ſort as ſhe ſhall do for the other, and ſo quit her with a Benefit of meer good Will, for that which juſtly we may claim to be done by her *(a)*.

‘You may deal with ſuch of her Council whom you find beſt addicted to the Amity, that they may be ſatisfied that this is the moſt certain and only Way to preſerve the Amity; and that without ſuch Proviſions, tho' we are inclined to preſerve it, yet Occaſions will happen to incline either of us to be jealous one of another, which can't be remedied but by the Proceeding foreſaid.’

The Queen of *England* alters her Intention of ſending *Tamworth* along with the Earl of *Bedford*.

As the Queen of *England*, for the Reaſons here alledged, appears to have been deſirous to maintain a good Correſpondence and Friendſhip with our Queen; ſo could ſhe not but be ſenſible that the ſending *Tamworth* along with the Earl of *Bedford* would be conſtrued, and juſtly too, a plain inſulting of her Couſin of *Scotland*. However much therefore ſhe might have had an Inclination to take a kind of Revenge of our Queen for her late Treatment of this Man *Tamworth*; yet upon ſecond Thoughts ſhe very wiſely recalled her Intention of ſending him into *Scotland* at this Time, and ſo we find the following Letter.

Qeen Elizabeth*'s Letter to the Earl of* Bedford, *November 9th 1566 (b)*.

‘WHereas by our Inſtructions in your Embaſſy to the Queen of *Scots*, we mentioned *John Tamworth*, whom we deſigned to join with you: Now we have changed our Reſolution, and acquaint you with it. And if our Siſter ſhall enquire about him, you may tell her that we have changed our Purpoſe of ſending him.’

12000 *l.* given by the States for the Expence of the Prince's Baptiſm.

The Time of the Baptiſm being now at hand, the Queen for that Purpoſe removed from the Place of *Craigmillar* to the Caſtle of *Stirling (c)*. Our Hiſtorians do take notice of the great Preparations that were made for rendring the Solemnity of the Baptiſm ſplendid; and as it had been cuſtomary in Events of this Nature, to grant our Princes a Taxation from the Subjects, ſo now a Taxation of 12000 *l.* was given by the States for defraying this extraordinary Expence *(d)*.

(*a*) Tho' Queen *Elizabeth* appears here to have been fond of outward Amity with our Queen, yet ſhe ſeems unwilling to abate any thing of her former Height. Our Sovereign was now in the *Meridian* of her Glory; but very quickly tumbled into Obſcurity.

(*b*) Calig. B. 10. F. 387.

(*c*) Tho' Sir *James Melvil*, by his way of expreſſing, would ſeem to ſay, that the Queen took the Prince along with her to *Stirling*, yet by the preceeding Letter of *Monſ. le Croc*, we are aſſured the Prince was already in *Stirling*.

(*d*) Becauſe perhaps ſome Readers may be at a loſs to comprehend how a Taxation could be impoſed without a Parliament; for their Information and Satiſfaction I have thought fit here to inſert the Narrative of the Act of Privy-Council, tranſcribed from the original Record, *viz. Edinburgh 6. Octob.* 1566, SEDERUNT *Georgius Comes de Huntlie, Archibaldus Ergadiæ Comes, Jacobus Moraviæ Comes, Jacobus Comes de Bothuill, Joannes Comes de Atholl, Georgius Comes de Caithnes. Andreas Comes de Rothes, Joannes Archiepiſcopus Sti Andreæ, Alexander Epiſcopus Candidæ Caſæ, Joannes Epiſcopus Roſſen. Adam Epiſcopus Orchaden. Robertus Epiſcopus Dunkelden; Commiſſarii Burgorum, Edinburgh, Dundie, Aberdein, Striuiling, Perth, St. Androis, Lithgow, Haddington; Theſaurarius, Computorum Rotulator, Clericus Regiſtri, Clericus Juſticiariæ, Advocatus.* Taxatioun grantit of Twelve thouſand Pounds. Forſamekill as ſum of the greiteſt Princes in Criſtendom hes erneſtlie requirit of our Soverans, that be thair Ambaſſatouris thai may be Witneſſes and Goſſepis at the Baptiſme of thair Majeſties deireſt Son, the native Prince of this Realme, quhais Requiſitioun being baith reſſonabill and honourabill, thair Majeſties hes gladlie condeſcendit thairunto, and daylie lukis for the arryving of the ſaids Ambaſſatouris; for the quhilk Purpois honourabill Expenſes wilbe requiſite, quhilk movit thair Majeſties to expone the Mater to a gude Numer of the Prelatis, Nobilitie and Commiſſionaris of Burrowis conveint this Day to that Effect: And thai underſtanding the Occaſioun to be ſa neceſſarie, tending to the Honour and Eſtimatioun of our Soverans thair Realme, and commoun Weill thairof hes all with ane Conſent and Avyſe, liberallie and voluntarie grantit to thair Majeſties, for Supplying and Releif of the ſaids Expenſes, ane Taxatioun of Twelve thouſand Pounds, to be payit be the ſaids Eſtaitis at the laſt Day of November nixt to cume, in maner following; that is to ſay, Six thouſand Pounds be the Spirituall Eſtait, Four thouſand Pounds be the Baronis and Frehaldaris, and Twa thouſand Pounds be the Burrowis, in compleit Payment of the Soume of Twelve thouſand Pounds. And for inbringing, &c. R. M.

1566. On the 14th of *December* I ſee a Proclamation was emitted at *Stirling*, commanding all the Lieges to abſtain from all manner of Diſturbance during their Abode there, at the preſent Convention of Nobility, Ambaſſadors of foreign Princes, *&c.* or at their departing from thence; neither to wear any Fire-Arms about their Perſons, under the Pain of Death. And on the 15th *(a)* Day of the Month, being *Sunday*, at Five in the Evening, the Prince was carried by the *French* Ambaſſador from his Chamber unto the Chapel, betwixt two Rows of Barons and Gentlemen, each holding a Pricket of Wax in his Hand Next after the *French* Ambaſſador came the Earl of *Athole* bearing the *Great Serge of Wax*, the Earl of *Eglinton* carried the *Salt*, the Lord *Sempil* the *Cude*, the Lord *Roſs* the *Baſon* and *Ewer*; theſe Noblemen were all of the *Roman* Profeſſion. In the Entry of the Chapel the Prince was received by the Archbiſhop of St. *Andrew*'s, whoſe Collaterals were, the Biſhops of *Dunkeld*, *Dunblane* and *Roſs*; and there followed them the Prior of *Whitern*, ſundry Deans and Archdeacons, with the Singers of the Chapel in their ſeveral Habits and Copes. The Prince was held up at the Font by the Counteſs of *Argile*, in Name of and by Commiſſion from the Queen of *England*; and the Archbiſhop of St. *Andrew*'s did adminiſter the Sacrament of Baptiſm with all the Ceremonies uſed in the *Roman* Church, the *Spittle* only excepted by expreſs Order from the Queen. Neither the Earl of *Bedford*, nor any of the *Scottiſh* Nobility of the New Form, entred into the Chapel, but ſtood without the Door. After the Rites were all performed, the Child's Name and Titles were *thrice* proclaimed by the Heraulds under Sound of Trumpet, CHARLES-JAMES, JAMES-CHARLES *(b)*, *Prince and Steward of Scotland, Duke of Rotheſay (c), Earl of Carrick, Lord of the Iſles, and Baron of Renfrew.* Then did the Muſick begin; and after it had continued a good Space, the Prince was again conveyed to his Apartment.

Manner and Ceremony of the Baptiſm.

The Feaſting, Triumph and Mirth upon this Occaſion was exceeding ſplendid, and continued ſo all the Time *(d)* the Ambaſſadors remained here. Howbeit the King was neither preſent at the Office of Baptiſm, nor at the publick Entertainments. For this Mr. *Buchanan*, after his ordinary Manner, makes the Queen to aſſign a ridiculous Pretence, *viz.* that his Embroiderers, Goldſmiths, and other Tradeſmen, had neglected to provide him with Furniture ſuitable for the Occaſion *(e)*. But 'tis not to be imagined her Majeſty would urge ſo ſhameful an Excuſe, ſince no leſs than ſix Months had paſs'd between the Birth of the Prince and his Baptiſm. But if it be true what Mr. *Cambden* tells, that the Queen of *England* gave a ſtrict Charge, that neither the Earl of *Bedford*, nor any *Engliſhman* in his Retinue, ſhould give the Title of *King* to the Lord *Darnly*, the King's Abſence has moſt probably flowed from this Prohibition; becauſe, as a late Writer well obſerves, "it would have been inconſiſtent with his Majeſty's Honour to have been refuſed the *Regal Title* "in a *Scottiſh* Court; and it was neceſſary at that Juncture, not to quarrel "with the Queen of *England*" *(f)*.

As the Earl of *Bedford* had brought a Letter and Inſtructions with him from the Queen of *England* to our Sovereign, ſo her Majeſty charged the ſaid Earl with a Part of her Mind to be communicated back again to her Couſin; a Copy whereof I am here to inſert. And becauſe in the ſame *Shatter'd MS.* from which I take it, there is immediately in the Front of this Paper, a Letter likewiſe to the Queen of *England*, reſpecting the Earl of *Bedford* and the Meſſage ſent

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(a) *Spottiſwood* alone, of all the other Hiſtorians either *Scottiſh* or *Engliſh*, is right as to the Day of the Baptiſm; and from him only likewiſe we have an Account of the Ceremony.

(b) See *Crawford*'s Mem. and *Spottiſwood's* Hiſt. both MSS. This laſt which is now in my Hands, appears to be the ſame Bp. *Burnet* mentions in the *Hiſtory of his own Times.*

(c) This is a new Proof that the Prince's Father had not received this Title, as I have formerly obſerved.

(d) See a merry Story related by Sir *James Melvil, p. 76.*

(e) The ſame Writer uſes likewiſe more Impertinence here: In which however he is left unſupported by *Knox* and *Melvil*; the laſt of which had much better Opportunity of knowing, and the former would been as loath to conceal a bad Thing.

(f) Hiſtory of *Mary* Queen of *Scots, Lond.* 1725, 8*vo.*

ſent by him; I have therefore put them together here, according as the Subject-Matter of them ſeems to require.

1566.

Mary *Queen of* Scots, *To* Elizabeth *Queen of* England *(a)*.

Letter from the Queen of *Scots* to the Queen of *England* by the Earl of *Bedford*.

“RYcht excellent, Rycht heich and mychtie Princeſſe, oure derreſt Siſter and Couſin, in oure maiſt hartlie maner we commend ws unto zow; We have reſſavit zowr Lettre ſent be the Erle of *Bedforde* zowr lait Ambaſſatour towart ws, and hes hard of him ſic Materis as he had in Charge to move to ws on zowr Behalf, tending to the Increſs and Continewance of our Amytie and gude Intelligence betwix oure Cuntreis, eſteming with oure ſelf the Honour and gude Will, ſa greit and large, quhilk at this Tyme ze have ſchawin ws, that we cannot rander zow condigne Thankis according to the Worthines of it, quhilk we have reſſavit at zowr Handes; and zit may ze be weill aſſurit, that on oure Part nathing ſall be omittit quhairin we may mak Demonſtratioun of oure gude Hart to gratifie zow in ſemblabill maner, or ony uther wayis to ſchaw zow Pleſſour, gif that any thing ſtand in ws quhilk may be acceptabill and to zowr Contentatioun. And for the Materis proponit to ws be zowr ſaid Ambaſſatour, we have anſerit him thairin as we truſt to his Satisfactioun; the particular Report quhairof we remit to his awin Sufficiencie. Bot in ſpeciall, quhairas ze requeir that by a reciprocus Contract to pas betwix zow and ws, it may be manifeſted to the Warld, that we mene not to pretend ony thing may be derogatorie owther in Honour, or utherwayis to zowr ſelf during zowr Lyff, or zit eftir the ſame, to the lauchful Iſſue of zowr Bodie; and on the uther Part, that ze will nevir do nor ſuffer ony thing to be done to the Prejudice of oure Titill and——quhilk we have as zowr nixt Couſing: Bot at zowr——will repres and ſubdue all maner of Attemptis that ſall directlie or indirectlie tend to the Overthraw or Hinderance thairof. The proceding in this Mater is of all utheris to zowr ſelf, derreſt Siſter, beſt knawin; for alwayis have we commendit ws and the Equitie of oure Caus to zow, and hes certanelie lukit for ——Freindſchip thairin: Quhairon we have continewalie——oure ſelf, and now think ws fullie aſſurit of the ſame, having thairof ſa large Pruif, be Knawledge of zowr gude Mynd and entiere Affectioun declarit be zowr ſaid Ambaſſatour, as alſwa be oure Servitour *Robert Malvile*; not doubting bot in Tyme convenient ze will proceid to the perfyting and conſummatioun of that ze have begun to uttir, alſweill to zowr awin People as utheris Nationis, the Opinioun ze have of the Equitie of oure Caus, and zowr Affectioun towart ws, and namelie in the examining of the Will ſuppoſed maid be the King zowr Fader, quhilk ſum wald lay as a Bar in oure way, according to zowr awin Promeis to ws, alſweill contenit in zowr Lettre ſent be oure Servitour *Robert Malvile*, as maid to him in direct Termis; quhairof he hes maid ws report that ze wald proceid thairin, befoir zowr Nobilitie (being at this preſent aſſemblit) depart towartis thair awin Houſes, the Particularis quhairof we have remittit to the Declaratioun of zowr ſaid Ambaſſatour: And thairfoir that ſic a Contract may paſs ordourlie to bayth oure Contentmentis, we will accord to ſend ſum of oure Counſale, in tyme convenient, authorizat to treate, confer and accord with zow and zowr Counſale in all Thingis may tend to zowr Satisfactioun and the Weill of ws bayth, and perfyte eſtabliſhing of an inviolabill Amytie betwix ws and oure Countreis, ſa far as of Juſtice and Equitie be ather of ws may be cravit; for we lyke weill of the Motioun maid be zow in that Behalf. And in the mene tyme we will with oure haill Hart, and be all gude Meanis poſſibill to us, ſtudy to interteny and increis the gude Amytie and Intelligence betwix ws, and ſall neglect na maner of Thing on oure Syde that may further and advance the ſamyn; lu-

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(a) Shatter'd MS.

1566. “king alwayis for the lyke of zow, derreſt Siſter and Couſyn, quhome in gude Helth we pray God lang to continew in proſperous Regime. Gevin undir oure Signet at *Striviling* the third Day of *Januare*, the xxv. Zeir of oure Regime, 1566.”

More of ſic Heidis as we have deſyrit oure Couſyng the Erle of Bedforde *to declair to oure derreſt Siſter the Quene his Soverane.*

Inſtructions from the Queen of *Scots* by the ſaid Earl.

“IN the *Firſt*, Quhairas the Quene oure gude Siſter, alſweill to oure Servant *Robert Malvile* Reſident with her for the Tyme, as be hir awin Lettres to ws, hes promittit in direct Termis that ſcho wald caus examinat the Will allegit maid be the King *Henry* the Aucht hir Fader, quhilk ſum wald lay as a Bar in oure way, and that ſcho wald proceid thairin befoir the Diſſolutioun of this Parliament, at leiſt befoir the Nobillmen convenit ſould depart towartis thair awin Houſes: We pray zow that ze will move this Mater anew unto oure ſaid gude Siſter, and erneſtlie requeir hir for ſum Perfectioun in it, that upoun the Examinatioun a Record of the Trewth may be maid *ad perpetuam rei memoriam:* And quhenſoevir ſcho thinkis gude to perfyte the ſame, we will at hir Advertiſement, gif ſcho ſall think it meit, ſend ſum of ours to attend thairupoun; quhairupoun we deſyir be zow to knaw hir Anſwer.

“And forſamekill as at this Parliament, and in the verie Parliament-hous, an *Daltoun* (a) hes ſpokin ſum Thingis rycht prejudiciall and diſadventageous to ws, quhairunto na Anſwer was maid at that Tyme, and thairthrow it is occaſioun aneuch for everie commoun Man at his hame-paſſing to communicate to his Nychtbouris that Thing quhilk to thame wes befoir obſcure, and zit to ws ſa hurtfull that we cannot bot erniſtlie requeir the reparing of it, conſidering the Thing ſpokin will be as ane Impreſſioun in thair Hartis, without thai perſave the ſame diſallowit be utheris. And althoch oure Servand wes than attending thair, zit had he oure Commandment neyther to ſpeik nor to do ony Thing bot according to hir Appoyntment and Pleſour; quhilk we traiſt he obſervit. And ſen we have uſit ws in this Cais na utherwayis, we think then ſcho wald have wiſchit ws, and in that Reſpect thinkis ws the mair ſuirlie perſuadit of hir ſteidfaſt Friendſchip and gude Will; and that ſcho, according to hir Promeis maid, will nowther do nor ſuffer ony thing to be done to oure Prejudice: We will pray zow to deſyire of hir ſic Ordour to be put heirin, that hir Miſlyking and Diſcontentatioun of this ſa raſche ane Interpryſe may be manifeſt alſweill to hir awin Subjectis as utheris, that thai all may weill knaw the——by his Face to——hir in deid, and the Matir to be reparit——Diſcretioun, as alſwa all Bukis ſet furth——diſchargeit and ſuppreſſeit.

“Mairowir, albeit we mynd nawyis to gif Avyſe——to the Quene oure gude Siſter in the Mater of hir——nor we ſall find agreabill to hir, knawing hir——abill to tak a gude Counſale to hirſelf, and to——awin Affaris bettir than we can devyſs; zit quhen ſcho ſall be movit to Zeale unto Marriage, quhilk being for the Honour and Commoditie, we wiſche to be ſchortlie. We——for oure Part the Perſonage quhome with ſcho ſould joyne, nixt hir awin Contentment, ſould be inclynit to the Utilitie of bayth the Countreis, and intertening of oure Amytie and Intelligence: And gif the Archduc *Charles* the Emperouris Bruther ſould be that Perſoun, thair is nane quhome we wald lyke bettir of, nor rather wyſche in that Place, knawing the gude Affectioun quhilk alſweill he as the Princes his Freindis beris to ws, and the Freindſchip and Intelligence alſwa betwix thame and oure Freindis;

(a) In *D'Ewes*'s Journal, Mr. *Dalton* is nam'd as one of the Members of the Houſe of Commons, who repair'd to a Committee of Lords on the laſt Day of *October*, in order to a Conference about a Succeſſor to the Crown. The Speech of this *Dalton* is not recorded in the Journal; but 'tis probably the ſame Perſon and Speech that Secretary *Lethington* aims at in his Letter already mentioned, to the *Engliſh* Secretary *Cecil*.

“ of the quhilk oure Meaning we make the Quene oure gude Siſter Demonſtratioun.

“ And quhairas oure loving Subject the Lord *Keith* hes now be the Space of aucht, or nine Zeiris bene continewalie detenit Priſonar be the Erle of *Northumberland* and Sr *Harie Percy*, and for his Ranſom hes oftymes offerit all Reaſoun that of ſic a Nobillman could juſtlie be requeirit: Nevirtheleſs not onlie is all reaſſonabill Ranſoum refuſit, bot the Trible thairof urgentlie cravit, to the pernicious Exempill of the Subjectis of bayth the Realmes, quhairof the Rigour is ſic, that the lyke has nevir bene ſene nor uſit in Tyme of grittеſt Weir and Hoſtilitie betwix the Realmes; alſwa a Thing verie repugnant to oure mutuall Intelligence and Amity. With this we are crediblie informit be ane ancient Law of *Merche* eſtabliſſit betwix the Erllis of *Dowglas* and *Northumberland*, inviolablie obſervit to this Aige; it is provydit, *That quhair unreſſonabill Ranſoum ſould be pertinatlie requirit on ather Syde, and Difference ſtanding thairon, the Ranſoum ſould be eſtimat and maid be a convenient Nowmer of indifferent Men of ather——choſin and ſworne to that Effect: And the Preſonar to pay ſic a Ranſoum as thai ſould find his State and Habilitie mycht beir*; and the ſame was his Taker conſtranit to accept. Quhilk laudabill Cuſtum we crave in the Lord *Keith*'s Caus to be obſervit; at leiſt that it wald pleis the Quene oure gude Siſter, that the ſaid Sr *Harie* may be chargeit to appeir befoir hir and hir honourabill Counſale, and ſum reſſonabill Ordour put to his Indiſcretioun, ſa far paſſing the Boundis of Reſſoun; leiſt in Tyme cuming this evill Exempill and Preparative dryve the Subjectis of ather Realme falling in lyke Caiſes to ane of twa Inconvenientis; that is, owthir perpetuall Servitude of Impreſonment, or uther Rewyne or Diſtructioun of Houſes and States on ather Syde.

“ And fordir, it is of Trewth, that beſydis the unreſſonabill Ranſoum and befoir Commoning of it, thair is requirit for the Lord *Keith*'s Chargeis, being a ſingill Man and Preſonar, that quhilk of Reſoun mycht ſtand for his full Ranſoum, that is Twa hunder *Lib. Sterling*.—— (a)

The Earl of *Bedford* departs homeward.

We are acquainted by Sir *James Melvil*, that the *Engliſh* Ambaſſador at his Departure (b) was rewarded with a rich Chain of Diamonds worth 2000 Crowns; Mr. *Cary*, eldeſt Son to the Lord *Hunſdon*, the firſt Perſon of his Retinue, with a Chain of Pearl, and a Ring with a fair Diamond; Mr. *Hatton*, another of the Retinue, a Perſon greateſt in Favour for the Time with the Queen of *England*, got a Chain with our Queen's Picture, and a Ring; Mr. *Ligniſh*, a Man much in Favour with the Duke of *Norfolk*, together with five other Gentlemen, had each of them Gold Chains (c). Several Perſons were ordered to convoy the Earl of *Bedford* to the *Engliſh* Border; and Sir *James Melvil*, who was one of the Number, takes notice, that they parted all very well contented and ſatisfied with our Queen, but that they lamented to perceive the King ſo much ſlighted, and that the Earl of *Bedford* deſired *him* in particular to requeſt her Majeſty to entertain the King as ſhe had done at the Beginning, for her own Honour and the Advancement of her Affairs: which, he ſays, he forgot not to do at all Occaſions (d).

The *Chriſtmaſs* Holidays being now cloſe at hand, the Queen went to paſs that Time in the Houſes of the Lord *Drummond* and Laird of *Tillibardin* (e); and

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(a) Here follow ſome leſſer Matters concerning Captures of Ships.

(b) At what Time the Earl of *Bedford* left this Kingdom, I can't preciſely ſee: But the ſhort Diary in *Anderſon*'s Collections, *Vol.* ii. *p.* 271. makes his Lordſhip depart from *Stirling* on the 23d of *December* towards St. *Andrew*'s. And Sir *William Cecil*, in a Letter dated 10th *February*, ſays, “ *Monſ. Moret* [the Ambaſſador of *Savoy*] is, I think, on the Way coming hither out of “ *Scotland*. My Lord of *Bedford*, who came long ago out of *Scotland*, arrived here but of late.” In the ſame Letter it appears *Le Croc* was then arrived at *London*.

(c) As the Ambaſſador of *France* brought no Preſent, ſo we hear of none that he got from our Queen.

(d) It had been ſurely a piece of great Prudence in the Queen to have overcome the Indignities done her by the King: But theſe Things are ſooner *ſaid* than *done*. By this Diſcourſe of the Earl of *Bedford*, it may be inferred that the King's Abſence from the Baptiſm has flowed from the Queen herſelf: Tho' ſtill the Conſequence is not altogether indubitable.

(e) The Caſtle of *Drummond* is twelve Miles from *Stirling*; and the Houſe of *Tillibardin* near the ſame Diſtance.

1566-7

The King goes to *Glaſgow:*

He falls ſick,

and is murdered.

and in the Beginning of *January* ſhe returned again to *Stirling*, where we find ſhe ſigns the foregoing Letter to the Queen of *England*. By the Diary juſt now mentioned, it would appear the King had taken the Time of the Queen's Abſence to remove himſelf to his Father at *Glaſgow*; and Mr. *Knox* acknowledges he went away from *Stirling* toward *Glaſgow without Good-night*. In *(a)* this laſt mentioned City the King fell deadly ill *(b)*, and continued to be ſick, at leaſt never recovered perfect Health, until the Day of his untimely Death. By the ſame Diary, the Queen it ſeems continued ſtill in *Stirling* until the 14th *(c)* of *January*, on which Day her Majeſty returned to *Edinburgh (d)*, and brought the young Prince *(e)* along with her; and after ſhe had ſtaid at *Edinburgh* the Space of a Week, ſhe took Journey to viſit the King at *Glaſgow*, and there remained ſome Days cheriſhing and comforting him in a ſingular manner, in ſo much that all good Men were glad to behold and hear of the happy Reconciliation between them two *(f)*. And when the King was in a Condition to travel, her Majeſty cauſed him to be conveyed in a Litter to *Edinburgh (g)*, where he might have better Conveniency of Phyſicians, &c. And becauſe the Air of *Holy-rood-houſe* was reckoned to be too damp, he was lodged in a Houſe which had formerly pertained to the Provoſt or Superior of the Church, commonly called the *Kirk o' Field (h)*, a Suburbs ſtanding on a higher Ground; tho' ſome ſay he was brought thither with a worſe Intention. Here her Majeſty continued to look pretty cloſe after her Huſband, and lay ſome Nights in a Room beneath the King's. But he had not been in this Place two Weeks, when the Houſe was blown up with Gun-powder, on *Monday* the 10th of *February* about One or Two in the Morning, a few Hours only after the Queen had left him! and his Body, together with that of a Servant ſleeping by him in the Room, was found lying naked on the adjacent Ground, without any Mark of Violence, any Hurt or Wound upon It: So that he was reckoned to have been ſuffocated, and carried out by the Hands of Men before the Powder had taken Fire. But tho' this ſeems indeed to have been the prevailing Sentiment at that Time concerning the King's Death, yet

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(a) Not only this Diary of *Cecil*'s, but *Crawford*'s *Memoirs* alſo and *Holinſhed* ſay expreſly, that the King was *in Glaſgow* before he ſickened; ſo it ſeems the Story of the *Poiſon* having been given him *at Stirling*, and his ſickening about a Mile from that Place, had not been *then* trump'd up; and the unexpected and ſecret Departure of the King may in a great meaſure ſerve to diſcredit the Story.

(b) Bp. *Leſlie* ſays, his Diſeaſe was the *French* Pox; and 'tis certain he dealt enough in the Way to obtain them.

(c) We may give the more Credit to this, that on the 10th of *January* an Act of Council at *Stirling* is copied by Mr. *Miln*, relating to Church Matters, at which the Queen is expreſly marked to be preſent.

(d) Mr. *Knox* mentions the Queen's Return to *Edinburgh* in the Month of *January*.

(e) *Buchanan* cannot ſuffer the Queen to have the Privilege to take her own Child along with her, but he muſt repreſent her as contriving and falling on Shifts how to get him into her Hands. This *good* Man ſhould have told us what Perſon was to controul her Majeſty from conveying her Child whither ſhe thought proper. She ſent him at firſt from *Edinburgh* to *Stirling* of her own proper Motion, and ſhe had Power to take him out of *Stirling* to *Edinburgh* again by the ſame Authority: And for this no Man could ſay unto her, *What doſt thou?* Only Mr. *Buchanan* muſt ever be ſnarling.

(f) Even *Buchanan* and *Knox* are forced to acknowledge the Queen's Kindneſs at this Time to the King; and *therefore* perhaps it has been found neceſſary to forge the pretended intercepted Letters. However in this I determine nothing.

(g) *Cecil*'s Diary marks the Queen to have taken Journey from *Edinburgh* on the 21ſt of *January*, and to have entred *Glaſgow* on the 23d: That her Majeſty ſet out again from *Glaſgow* with the King on the 27th *January* to the Houſe of *Kalendar:* That on the 28th they came to *Linlithgow*, where they remained all the next Day; and that on the 30th they arrived at *Edinburgh*. Concerning this Diary, I have already obſerved that it has very probably been communicated to Secretary *Cecil* by Mr. *Buchanan* or his *Amanuenſis:* The Perverſity of it will appear by the continued Repetition of, *the Queen and Bothwell went*, &c. whereas in her Majeſty's late Journey from *Jedburgh* to *Craigmillar*, we know that ſeveral Perſons of Diſtinction, and amongſt the reſt her own Brother the Earl of *Murray*, were preſent; yet even *then* the Diary acknowledges no other Perſon preſent but *Bothwell*. From which we may ſee what little Credit Men ought to give to ſome Writings. And here it may not be improper to obſerve likewiſe, that tho' Mr. *Anderſon* in his Collections thinks to recommend his Papers, by acquainting us that this and the other Paper is marked by *Cecil*'s Hand; yet this is ſo far from being a Recommendation of ſuch Papers as make *againſt* our Queen's Honour and *for* her Enemies, that to me nothing is a Mark of greater Suſpicion. Moſt of *Cecil*'s own Papers are drawn againſt our Queen; and ſuch in his Poſſeſſion as are for her, are interlined and perverted by him. And hereof the Readers of *Cecil*'s Papers would do well to take heed. Any curious Perſon may obſerve this in the *Cotton* Library; for Sir *Robert Cotton* the Collector of theſe Manuſcripts, purchaſed moſt of Sir *William Cecil*'s Papers.

(h) This was the Suburbs on the South-ſide of the City, whereabout now ſtands the Univerſity. The Place got its Name from a Collegiate Church dedicated to the Virgin *Mary:* Such a Church would now be called *St. Mary's in the Fields*. And tho' *Buchanan* ſhould muſter up double the Quantity of Rhetorick he had already employed in his *Detection* and *Hiſtory* to diſparage the Place; yet every Perſon that has been in *Edinburgh* knows for certain, that this Suburbs is the Place of beſt Air about the City. He ſays the Houſe where the King lodged was *in vaſta ſolitudine*, where no Noiſe nor Outcry could be heard; but does not reflect that himſelf owns the Duke of *Chaſtelherault* had a Lodging very near at hand, and at the ſame time takes notice of the Archbiſhop of St. *Andrew*'s being lodged there at the very Time of the King's Death.

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yet by all the Depoſitions of the Murderers that remain now on Record *(a)*, it never appears that he was either ſlain or taken out of the Houſe before the Powder was fired. Thus died in a barbarous and moſt wicked Manner King *Henry*, formerly Lord *Darnly*, in the Twenty firſt Year of his Age, and juſt two Years from his coming into *Scotland*; within which ſhort Space he had Experience both of the Smiles and Frowns of Fortune in a very eminent Degree. He is ſaid to have been one of the talleſt and handſomeſt young Men of the Age, that he had a comely Face and pleaſant Countenance, that he was a moſt dextrous Horſeman, and exceedingly well ſkilled in all genteel Exerciſes, prompt and ready for all Games and Sports, much given to the Diverſions of Hawking and Hunting, to Horſe-racing and Muſick, eſpecially playing on the Lute: He could ſpeak and write well, and was bountiful and liberal enough. But then to balance theſe good natural Qualifications, he was much addicted to Intemperance, to baſe *(b)* and unmanly Pleaſures; he was haughty and proud, and ſo very weak in Mind, as to be a Prey to all that came about him; he was inconſtant, credulous and facile, unable to abide by any Reſolutions, capable to be impoſed upon by deſigning Men, and could conceal no Secret, let it tend ever ſo much either to his own Welfare or Detriment.

His Character;

CHAP. XI.

Continuation of State-Affairs from the King's Murder on the 10th *of* February 1566-7, *until the Queen's Marriage with the Earl of* Bothwell *on the* 15th *of* May *in the ſame Year* 1567.

The Earls of *Bothwell*, *Morton* and *Murray* reported to have been in the Knowledge of the Murder;

THE Rumour of the King's Murder having ſpread itſelf through the City of *Edinburgh* the more quickly, by reaſon of the great Crack occaſioned by the blowing up of the Powder; the general Report came as quickly to run about, that the Earl of *Bothwell* had performed or coutrived that inhumane Wickedneſs; others laid it at the Doors of the Earls of *Morton* and *Murray (c)*; and ſome had the Aſſurance to blaſt the

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(*a*) Beſides the Depoſitions of the Criminals that ſuffered Death, and which are publiſhed by Mr. *Anderſon*; the Readers will ſee the Examination of one of the King's Servants who lay in the Houſe at the Time of the Murder, in Appendix. Numb. 17.

(*b*) Mr. *Knox* very honeſtly puts this as a Part of the King's Character, that *he was much given to* Venus's *Chamber*. But Mr. *Buchanan*, who never wants a good Tale for his Friend, ſays in his *Detection*, " Ferit ſcho [the Queen] leiſt he [the King] a " zoung Man, bewtiful, and ane King, ſuld caſt wantoun Eyis upon ſum uther Woman in hir Abſence? Na, God wait; for " that was it that ſcho maiſt deſyrit. For ſcho hirſelf had practiſit to allure him thairto befoir; ſcho hirſelf had offerit him the " Occaſiounis, and of hirſelf ſchawit him the Meanis [O vile and ſhameleſs Traducer!] This was it that maiſt grevit hir, " quile ſcho was ſeiking Cauſis of Divorce, that ſcho culd not find in him ſa mekle as ony ſclender Suſpicioun of Adulterie." The Readers may chuſe which Branch of theſe Contradictions to give the beſt Credit unto. The former appear'd to me beſt ſupported by collateral Evidence. The beſt of Friends may chance to differ, as the Caſe now is with *Knox* and *Buchanan*.

(*c*) The Earl of *Morton* at his Execution for this Murder many Years after, owned his Knowledge of it. But as to the Earl of *Murray*, I have never ſeen any thing authentick to fix the Knowledge of the Murder upon him, except what here follows, " Is " it unknown, think ye the Erle of *Murray*, (ſays Bp. *Leſlie* in his *Defence*, &c.) what the Lord *Harris* ſaid to your Face open" ly, even at your owne Table, a few Daies after the Murther was committed? Did he not charge you with the Foreknowledge " of the ſame Murther? Did not he, *nullâ circuitione uſus*, flatly and plainely burthen you, that you rideing in *Fiffe*, and come" ing with one of your moſt aſſured truſty Servants the ſaid Day wherein you departed from *Edinburgh*, ſaid to him among " other Talke, *This Night ere Morning the Lord* Darnley *ſhall loſe his Life*." But as the Lord *Herries* was a great Manager for the Queen his Sovereign, it may be juſtly thought ſtrange that this Lord ſhould never have emitted any Declaration of this Matter by himſelf; and on the other hand, that he ſhould never have contradicted this Affirmation by the Biſhop, his Collegue in the Queen's Affairs. The Declaration already mentioned and ſigned by the Earls of *Huntly* and *Argile*, does indeed contain the Sentiments of theſe two Peers, that the Earl of *Murray* might have had a Hand in the Murder of the King: But their Concluſion is by no means probative againſt him. To that Declaration his Lordſhip made an Anſwer, which I have likewiſe put into the Appendix. The Readers will form their own Sentiments concerning it; and I ſhall acknowledge that for my part I judge it to be a very general and evaſive Paper. He ought, in my Opinion, to have narrated in that Paper of his, all and every Thing he ſays he declared to the Queen of *England*, otherwiſe we are now juſt as wiſe as we would have been had he declared nothing at all, and made no Anſwer at all. He falls next upon the Story of ſigning of *Bands*, and deſcants largely thereof; and yet in all the Declaration by the other two Peers, there is not a Word concerning any *Band* at all. Finally, he takes no notice of the Challenge made by the two Earls, but only ſays he will avow and maintain, (*&c.* as in his Paper) not at all *directly* to the Things charged by the Earls of *Huntly* and *Argile*. *Note*, The Day before the King's Murder, the Earl of *Murray* preſſed the Queen hard to allow him to paſs into *Fiſe* to viſit his Lady, who he ſaid was fallen ill, and was like to miſcarry of a Child. Some People have obſerved, that this Nobleman went ſtill out of the Way when any fatal Accident was to fall out; tho' they aver that he had as deep a Share therein as thoſe that were preſent.

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as likewiſe the Queen.

A Diſcuſſion and Examination into *French Paris's* Teſtimony againſt the Queen.

Queen's Reputation with it. 'Twere too laborious, as well as unneceſſary a Task for me to repreſent here the various and contradictory Accounts of Writers, their Accuſations and Recriminations on this Head: I chuſe rather to remit my Readers to the Authors themſelves, and ſhall only take notice, that by the concurrent Teſtimonies of the Criminals that ſuffered a publick Death upon the Account of this Murder, the Earl of *Bothwell* was really the principal Perſon concerned in it; and that the Queen ſeems not, ſo far as they knew, to have had any hand therein. True indeed it is that *Nicholas Hubert* the *Frenchman*, commonly called *Paris*, in his Declaration at St. *Andrew*'s, of the Date the 10th *Auguſt* 1569, ſays ſeveral Things not very favourable for the Queen: But then it is to be remembred that this Man had been now full two Years and a half kept in Priſon; by which Time, he that was a Stranger, and deſtitute of all Means of Subſiſtence, might have eaſily been prevailed with to emit any Declaration his Examiners ſhould think proper, upon a Promiſe of Releaſment: Or the very Irkſomneſs of a long and tedious Priſon, and a ſort of Deſperation ariſing from thence, might have had the ſame Effect upon him. Nay, a Perſon in his Circumſtances might be ready enough to beg his Life to be taken away at any rate. And how unreaſonable it is to give Faith to poor, hungry, indigent, ſtarving Perſons, tho' no other ſuſpicious Circumſtances were in the Caſe, common Law and common Reaſon do ſufficiently diſcover; and in Fact ſuch ſort of Witneſſes are juſtly rejected both by the *Roman* and our own *Scottiſh* Laws. Nor can there be any other tolerable Ground thought on, why this poor Man ſhould be detained ſo long Time a Priſoner after the Execution of the other Criminals, had there not been ſome ſiniſtrous View therein. And no doubt our Suſpicion againſt his Teſtimony may juſtly receive an additional Weight, by ſuppoſing the Perſon to be a poor, empty, ſilly, facile Fellow; which Character may as rationally be aſcribed to him as any other, at this time of Day. Beſides, his very Declaration hammer'd out as it now ſtands, carries along ſome ſort of Inconſiſtencies, at leaſt ſome Things that have not the beſt Aſpect in the World. It ſeems to aſcribe to him too haſty an Acquaintance and Confidence with the Queen, no ſooner than on the Road to *Glaſgow*. What was the Uſe of delivering to him 300 Crowns in a Purſe to be given to the Earl of *Bothwell*, when that Earl was preſent himſelf with the Queen? How mean was it in the Queen to tell him by Word of Mouth, and to charge him to tell *Bothwell* that the King had deſired to give her a Kiſs, and that ſhe had rejected him, and that the Lady *Riris* would bear her Witneſs of the Truth thereof? He repreſents the Queen as utterly diffident of *Alexander Durham* Servant to the King, whereas *Buchanan* makes this ſame *Durham* her only Confident about the King to the very laſt Minute of his Life. He pretends the Earl of *Bothwell* told him of his criminal Correſpondence with the Queen, and the Manner he was taken into her Chamber in the Night-time! Such Secrets are not communicated; far leſs to Servants of ſo inferior Rank. Is it credible that he had the Charge of making the Queen's Bed? And at the firſt time he ſays he made it, he introduces *Bothwell* as declaring in plain undiſguiſed Words, that in that very Spot he [*Bothwell*] intended to lay Powder to blow up the Houſe; and yet *John Hepburn* (a) in his Depoſition declares, that the Project of murdering the King by Powder, was not thought of until two Days before the Murder; the former Deſign having been to kill him in the open Fields. He repreſents himſelf as uſing Freedoms with the Queen, and her Majeſty with him, more and greater than can eaſily be credited, and a farther Truſt repoſed in him in ſuch an arduous and momentous Affair than can ordinarily be accounted for. And beſides, tho' this Declaration of his be atteſted by *Alexander Hay* Clerk to the Privy-Council, yet it is ſomewhat obſervable that Mr. *Hay* does not at all atteſt before what Perſons the ſame

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(a) By this Perſon's Declaration likewiſe, *Bothwell* ſeems by chance to ſpeak, as if the Queen knew nothing of the Powder; and yet *Buchanan* makes *Paris*'s coming into the Preſence of the King and Queen, to have been the Sign for the Queen to be gone, that now the Powder and all Things were ready for the Execution.

ſame was emitted; he only ſays, *This is a trew Copy of the Declaratioun of the ſaid* Nicholas Hubert, *alias* Paris, *quhairof the Principall is markit every Lef with his awn Hand.* Neither does Mr. *Hay* inform us at what Time he himſelf made this notorial Copy; nor what Certainty he had that *Hubert* had actually formed that Subſcription. But *above* and *beyond* all critical Obſervations and Remarks as to this Declaration, 'tis of the utmoſt Avail here to conſider that Bp. *Leſlie* in his fore-mentioned *Defence of Queen* Mary'*s Honour*, has theſe expreſs Words, "For as for him that ye ſurmiſe was the "Bearer of them [Letters] *(a)*, and whom you have executed of late for the "ſaid Murther, [*viz.* this ſame *Frenchman*] he at the Time of his ſaid Execution, took it upon his Death, as he ſhould anſwer before God, that he "never carried any ſuch Letters, nor that the Queen was participant nor of "Counſayle in the Cauſe." And again, "We can tell you, that *John Haye* "of *Galoway* [*Talo*] that *Powry*, that *Dowgliſh*, and laſt of all, that *Paris*, "all being put to Death for this Crime, toke God to record at the Time of their "Death, that this Murther was by your Counſayle, Invention and Drift committed; who alſo declared, that they never knew the Queen to be participant, or ware thereof." Now as this Book was publiſhed by that Prelate about a dozen of Years before Mr. *George Buchanan*'s Death, and probably before that ever he began to write his *Hiſtory of Scotland*, at leaſt before he had compiled the latter Part thereof relating to this Period; might it not have been expected that that accurate Writer ſhould have taken ſome Notice of this bold and plain Affirmation, and have obtained proper Credentials from Perſons then alive and preſent at the Execution, for ſilencing the Biſhop of *Roſs*, and for preventing the World to lay any Streſs on what he ſo publickly avers? But of this no one Word drops from him at all; nay, which is not a little obſervable, he does not in the leaſt fortify his own Narration by the Teſtimony of this *Frenchman*, tho' he had been at Pains in his wicked *Detection*, to rake together all ſuch Reports as he thought could any way contribute to ſtain the Queen; he thinks it ſufficient in that *Book*, and in his *Hiſtory*, to affirm boldly, and he ſuppoſes the World muſt take for Truth all that flows from his eloquent Mouth. And truly to hear him talking of this Murder, we ſhould be ready to imagine the Queen, or ſome Confident of Hers, had revealed the whole Villany to this Author; ſo exact and pointed is he in every exterior Circumſtance, and even in the very ſecret Motions and Intentions of the Queen. And yet by all the other Accounts that have hitherto come to Light, he could know nothing at all of the one, and next to nothing of the other. The Earl of *Murray*, and the other Enemies of the Queen (among whom this Author was likewiſe preſent) found themſelves utterly at a Loſs in the Conferences next Year with the Commiſſioners of Queen *Elizabeth* in *England*, how to fix upon their Sovereign any Foreknowledge of the King's Murder; and yet this Writer now is enabled to tranſmit to Poſterity a preciſe Narration of all that helliſh Tragedy as acted by the Queen, without any other Helps or Memorials than was known the firſt Moment after the Fact. When Mr. *Buchanan*'s Readers have compared his whole Narration of this wicked Murder, &c. with ſuch authentick Credentials *(b)* of any Part as are yet upon Record, they 1566-7.

(*a*) Theſe were the Letters which the Queen's Enemies affirmed ſhe had written to *Bothwell*, and were intercepted on the Road from the Caſtle of *Edinburgh*; concerning which ſo much has already been ſaid *for* and *againſt*, that I willingly abſtain from entring into the Controverſy. I ſhall only put the Acts of Council, relative to this Point, in the Appendix; and there add any Remark may be proper. Beſides theſe pretended intercepted Letters, there are eleven other Letters lately publiſhed for the firſt Time at *Weſtminſter* in the Year 1726, under the Title of, *The genuine Letters of* Mary *Queen of* Scots *to* James *Earl of* Bothwell, *found in his Secretary's Cloſet after his Deceaſe*, &c. But if thoſe Letters can be eſteemed to contain the *genuine* Language of 170 Years ago, either as to the Phraſeology or the Syllabication, the preſent Generation may eaſily judge.

(*b*) The authentick Papers relating to this Matter are to be ſeen in Mr. *Anderſon*'s Collections; and I believe I may aſſure my Readers, that there is not one Act of Privy-Council relating to this Matter more than that Gentleman has ſet down, *viz.* thoſe of the 12th *February*, 14th and 28th *March*; and theſe will ſerve to condemn what *Buchanan* talks ſo largely of Proclamations. The Letters that paſſed between the Queen and Earl of *Lenox* will ſerve to rectify him in that Part of his Narrative; and Biſhop *Leſlie*'s Defence of the Queen, together with *Crawford*'s Memoirs, will juſtify her Majeſty in her Behaviour after the Murder, and in the Burial of the King: And perhaps there is ſcarcely any one minute Circumſtance in Mr. *Buchanan*, but what may be diſproved by Authors of equally good Credit with himſelf.

1566-7. will then be able to form a Judgment, whether he has narrated the Truth therein, or no. The Place alſo whither the Men in Power were pleaſed to convey *French Hubert*, and at laſt to execute him, namely St. *Andrew's*, affords its own Suſpicion of ſome ſecret and unfair Management, as being out of the Road of careful Obſervers; and upon that Account they had carried this Foreigner thither, to render him the more ſubſervient to their own Purpoſes. It may be ſaid, that had there been no Flaw in this Matter, the Men in Power might have thought it worth while to have re-conducted the Priſoner to *Edinburgh*, and there have made his Declaration and Execution as notorious and publick as their Affairs ſeem'd to require it, eſpecially ſeeing we all know very well, that in the Year preceeding his Execution their great Difficulty lay in making obvious to the Queen of *England*, that their Sovereign was guilty of aiding or contriving the Death of her Huſband, as I juſt now obſerved. And we know likewiſe that tho' theſe Men might be *Knaves*, yet they were no *Fools*. Finally, Do not the *Queſtions* put to this Criminal, and to none of the reſt, ſmell ſtrong of ſome prepared Contrivance?

The King's Burial.

To return now from this Digreſſion. After that the King's dead Body had been embalmed, it was decently, tho' privately, depoſited in the Vault beſide the Queen's Father King *James* V. at *Holy-rood-houſe (a)*; againſt which Time the Queen thought it becoming her to remove from that Palace to the Caſtle of *Edinburgh*.

Proclamation for the Diſcovery of his Murder.

On the 12th of *February* a Proclamation was emitted by the Privy-Council, promiſing, beſides other Things, a Reward of 2000 *l.* to any Perſon that ſhould firſt reveal the Deviſers, Counſellors, or actual Committers of the King's Murder; as likewiſe a Pardon of the Crime, altho' he were *participant and culpable thereof*. And in the Night of the 16th Day, a Ticket, Bill or Placaert was ſet on the Door of the Tolbooth of *Edinburgh*, in which was affirmed that the Earl of *Bothwell*, Mr. *James Balfour*, Mr. *David Chalmers*, and black Mr. *John Spence*, were the Perſons concerned in the Murder *(b)*. Hereupon 'tis ſaid that a new Proclamation was emitted, deſiring the Setter up of the former Bill to ſubſcribe his Name, and he ſhould receive the Sum promiſed in the firſt Proclamation: And that in Anſwer to this, a ſecond Bill was ſet up in the former Place, offering to come on *Sunday* next and avow the Matter, provided the Money were conſigned and put into indifferent Hands *(c)*.

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(a) The Diary mentions the King's Body to have been laid in the Chapel on the 12th of *February*, two Days only after the Murder. *Crawford's* MS. ſays, that "upon the fifth Day his Body was buried in the Tomb of the Kings at *Holy-rood-houſe*, "quietly in the Night, without any kind of Solemnity or Mourning heard among all the Perſons at Court." Thus this Author. But *Buchanan* acquaints us beſides this, that "the Nobles at Court had decreed that a Royal and Magnificent Funeral ſhould be "made for him: But that the Queen took care to have him buried in the Night-time by *Porters*, without any Funeral Honour; "and which highly increaſed the Indignity, ſhe ordered him to be depoſited beſide *David Riccio*, thereby deſigning, as it were, "to propitiate the Ghoſt of that moſt vile Fellow by the Sacrifice of her Huſband's Death." This truly is a heavy Charge againſt the Queen; but the Misfortune is that Bp. *Leſlie* in his *Defence* of the Queen has theſe Words, "Was not his Body embalmed, inſeared and interred beſide the Queen's Father the late King *James*, accompanied with the Juſtice-Clerk, the Lord of "*Traquair*, and divers other Gentlemen? The Ceremonies indeed were the fewer, becauſe that the greateſt part of the Council were Proteſtants, and had before interred their own Parents without accuſtomed Solemnities of Ceremonies. Neither yet "was there any ſuch Order taken or appointed by the Council [and this Prelate was one of the Council] for the interring of "the ſaid Lord *Darnly's* Body in ſuch ſort as ye notice, but even directly to the contrary." Moreover, as to what *Buchanan* ſays of depoſiting the King's Body beſide that of *Riccio*, ſome Notice of this has been taken already; and as 'tis certain that the Body of *Riccio* lyes not now in the Vault with the Kings, it might have been expected we ſhould have heard ſomething of its Tranſportation, ſince the Vault was certainly filled with the few Corpſes that are preſently therein ſeveral Years before Mr. *Buchanan's* Death. Theſe Corpſes are King *James* V's. his firſt Queen *Magdalen's*, Lord *Darnly's*, Lady *Jean Stewart's* the Queen's natural Siſter and Counteſs of *Argile*, and two young Infants Sons to King *James* V. whoſe Coffins, becauſe there is no more Space in the Vault, are laid a-croſs the other Corpſes.

(b) *Buchanan* ſets down the Form of the Placaert in his *Detection*; and in a Letter by Sir *William Cecil* the *Engliſh* Secretary, in the *Cabala*, it runs thus, *I according to the Proclamation have made Inquiſition for the Slaughter of the King, and do find the Earl* Bothwell, *Mr.* James Beafour *Parſon of* Flisk, *Mr.* David Chambers, *and black Mr.* John Spence, *the principal Deviſers thereof: And if this be not true, ſpier at* Gilbert Beafour. And Sir *William* ſays, "There were alſo Words added which he is "loath to report, that touched the Queen of *Scots*: Which he holds beſt to be ſuppreſt, becauſe ſuch Perſons anointed are not "to be thought ill of, without manifeſt Proof."

(c) I have mentioned this *ſecond* Proclamation and *ſecond* Placaert, becauſe I ſee them both mentioned by the Earl of *Lenox* in his Letters to the Queen, tho' I reckon it to be certain that there was never a *ſecond* Proclamation emitted by the Privy-Council, both becauſe Mr. *Anderſon*, who had in his Hands the original Record of Privy-Council, does not publiſh or take notice of a *ſecond* Proclamation; nor is any ſuch Thing to be ſeen in Mr. *Miln's* Excerptions: Mr. *Anderſon* and he in great Harmony placing immediately after the Diet of Council on the 12th of *February*, *that* which was held on the 14th of *March* enſuing; ſo that in the utmoſt Probability there has been no intervening Diet of Council.

1566-7.

The Queen having withdrawn from the Palace of *Holy-rood-houſe* againſt the Time of the King's Burial, as Decency ſeem'd to require, her Majeſty remained about ten Days in the Caſtle of *Edinburgh*; in which mean time Mr. *Robert Melvil*, who had probably come from the Court of *England* after the riſing of the Parliament of that Nation on the 2d of *January*, was diſpatched back again to that Court, whither we are certain he was arrived before the 20th of *February*; for by him Secretary *Cecil* ſays they expected to have heard many of the Circumſtances of the Murder, but obſerves that Mr. *Melvil* either could not, or might not tell any more than they had heard before (*a*). And during the ſame Space of Time likewiſe, that is, while the Queen was in the Caſtle of *Edinburgh*, arrived hither *Henry Killigrew*, whoſe Buſineſs was to condole and comfort our Queen in her preſent Diſtreſs (*b*), in the Name of his Miſtreſs the Queen of *England*.

Mr. *Killigrew* arrives from *England*,

On the 21ſt of *February* the Queen, by Advice of her Privy-Council and Phyſicians, retired, for the Enjoyment of better Air, to *Seton*, the Dwelling-place of the Lord *Seton* (*c*). And thither came *Monſ. le Croc* (*d*), who had only gone from this Country after the Baptiſm of the Prince, and was ſtill at *London* about the Time of the King's Murder.

and *Monſ. le Croc.*

A little before this had began the Intercourſe of ſome Letters between the Queen and the Earl of *Lenox*, relating to the finding out and trying of the Criminals concerned in the late Murder: And if any Miſrepreſentation of that Correſpondence hath been conveyed to the Minds of Men by ſome former Writers, a clear and diſtinct Account of the ſame is now to be had by the Publication of theſe Letters; and the whole Form of the Proceſs againſt the Earl of *Bothwell* on the 12th of *April* following: For tho' it does indeed appear that one or two of theſe Letters may be loſt, yet the ingenious Readers will eaſily perceive that what was material in that Correſpondence is ſtill preſerved in thoſe that remain. I thought it uſeful for this Hiſtory to inſert here theſe Letters, together with the more material Part of the Trial.

A Letter from the Earl of Lennox *to Queen* Mary, *20th* February 1566-7 (*e*).

Intercourſe of Letters 'twixt the Queen and Earl of *Lenox.*

" Pleiſit zour Majeſtie, I haif reſſavit be this Berare, my Servand, zour maiſt gratious and comfortabill Lettre, for the quhilk I raunder unto

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(*a*) *Cabala*, Letter 20th *February* 1566-7.

(*b*) *Buchanan* in his *Detection* ſays this Gentleman's Meſſage was to comfort the Queen. Tho' this *Detection* ſufficiently *detects* itſelf to be but one continued Piece of Satyrical Romance, yet I can't abſtain from deſiring the Reader to obſerve the poor and pitiful Fetch that Author thinks fit to make uſe of, in order to diſcover to the World the Queen's ſecret Behaviour in the firſt Days of her Mourning: His Words are, " Tho' he [*Killigrew*] being ane auld Courteour, and ane gude diſcreit Gentilman, did " nathing haiſtely; zit he came in ſa unſeſſonabilly of the Stage was prepairit and furniſchit, that he fand the Windois oppin, " the Candillis not zit lichtit, and all the Proviſioun for the Play out of Ordour." Now ſuppoſing even that the Windows of the Queen's Chamber had been open, and the Candles not lighted, what mighty Crime or Indecency was there in all that? Tho' Ceremony may require a Room to be cloathed in Black, the Light of the Sun to be ſhut out, and the Light of Candles to be uſed in place thereof; is it therefore required that at no Time, even when no Stranger is preſent, a mourning Perſon ſhall never enjoy a Peep or Ray of the Sun light? by no means. Howſoever, let the Thing be ſo; yet this Incident, as narrated by *Buchanan*, happening at Mr. *Killigrew*'s firſt Audience and Preſence, could ever any Perſon but the great Mr. *Buchanan* himſelf imagine that a foreign Ambaſſador, or other inferior Miniſter, was to pop (not into a King's, but) into a Queen's private Bedchamber, without the leaſt Notice given of his Arrival! eſpecially when we ſhall add in the preſent Caſe, that our Queen was now lodged within the ſtrong Fortreſs of the Caſtle of *Edinburgh*, the Gates whereof we can't ſuppoſe to be ſtanding open for every Paſſenger to enter in. Truly if any one has Stomach to ſwallow down this Farce, ſuch a Perſon is prepared for any Inconſiſtency whatſoever. It ſeems indeed every great *Genius* muſt have its Flaws: Mr. *Buchanan* could both *think* and *write* well, but ſure he could not always *adjuſt* well; or elſe he has reckoned all Mankind to be Fools, himſelf excepted. But let us hear Bp. *Leſlie* likewiſe on the ſame Point, —— " And yet did this good gentle Lady bemone, even ſuch a One [the King] a notable Time, enjoying and uſing none other than Candle-light, as was known to all the Nobility of *Scotland*, and alſo to one " Mr. *Henry Killigraie*, who was ſent thither from *England* to her Comfort, according to the Uſe and Manner of Princes." Now at leaſt this Man's *Yea* is as good as Mr. *Buchanan*'s *Nay*.

(*c*) " Who [the Queen] had a longer Time in this lamentable wiſe continued, had ſhe not been moſt earneſtly dehorted by " the vehement Exhortations and Perſwaſions of her Counſaile, who were moved thereto by her Phyſicians Informations, declaring to them the great and imminent Dangers of her Health and Life, if ſhe did not in all Spede break up and leave that " kind of cloſe and ſolitary Life, and repair to ſome good, open and holeſome Air: Which ſhe did, being thus adviſed and earneſtly thereto ſolicited by her ſaid Counſaile. All which notwithſtanding, this her Fact is with theſe moſt ſevere and grave " Cenſors taken for and reputed as the very next Sin of all to the moſt grievous Sin againſt the Holy Ghoſt," *Bp. Leſlie's Defence.* The Readers will ſee how bitterly the Queen is taxed by *Knox* and *Buchanan* for her retiring to *Seton*.

(*d*) *Buchanan* talks much of the Indecencies committed likewiſe by the Queen in the Sight of Mr. *Killigrew* and *Le Croc*; but had one or both theſe Miniſters ſaid ought thereof any where, that would merit more Credit.

(*e*) *Anderſon*'s Collections from *Cotton* Library.

1566-7. “zour Hienes maiſt humbill Thanks, and truſts nevir to deſerve uther at zour Majeſties Hands, then as zour Hienes offeris in zour ſaid Lettre. And ſeing it pleiſis zour Majeſtie to accept and tak in gude Pairt my ſympill Advys and Counſall, it boldens me the mair to continew thairin, and ſpeciallie in this following.

“That quhairas, notwithſtanding the Travel and Laubour quhilk I perceave zour Majeſtie takis for the juſt Triall of this lait cruall Act, and zet the Offendars not being knawn; to my greit Grief I am thairfoir forcit, be Nature and Dewtie, to be ſa bald as to geve zour Majeſtie my poore and ſimpill Advyſe for bringand the Mater to Licht, quhilk is to beſeik zour Majeſtie maiſt humelie, for Goddis Cauſe, and the Honour of zour Majeſtie and this zour Realme, that zour Hienes wald, with convenient Dilligence, aſembill the haill Nobilitie and Eſtatis of zour Majeſties Realme, and thai, be zour Advyſs, to tak ſic gude Ordour for the perfit Triall of the Mater, as I dout not bot, with the Grace of Almichtie God, his halie Sprit ſall ſa wirk upon the Hartis of zour Majeſtie, and all zour faythfull Subjectis, as the bluddie and cruall Actoris of this Deid ſall be manifeſtlie knawn. And althoch I knaw I neid not to put zour Majeſtie in Rememberance thairof, the Mater tuiching zour Majeſtie ſa neir as it dois, zet I ſall humelie deſyre zour Majeſtie to bere with me in trubilling zour Hienes thairin, being the Fader to him that is gone.

“Sa committis zour Majeſtie to the Protectioun of Almichtie God, quha preſerve zou with lang Lyf and maiſt happie Regne. From ——— the xx Day of *Februar*.

A Letter from Queen Mary *to the Earl of* Lennox *(a).*

“Richt traſt Couſing and Counſalour, we greit zou weill. We haue reſſavit zour Lettre of *Houſtoun*, the xx Day of this inſtant, gevand ws Thankes for the accepting of zour gude Will and Counſell in ſa gude Part. In that we did onlie it quhilk wes richt, and in ſchewing zou all the Pleſſur and gude Will that we can, we do bot our Dewtie, and it quhilk naturall Affectioun mon compell ws unto, alwayes of that ze may aſſuir zour ſelf als certanly at this preſent, and hereefter, ſa lang as God gevis ws Lyff, as euir ze mycht haue done ſen our firſt Acquentance with zou. And for the Eſſemble of the Nobilitie and Eſtaits, quhilk ze adviſe ws to caus be convenit, for a perfite Triall to be had of the King our Huſbandis cruell Slauchter, it is indeid convenient that ſua ſuld be; and evin, ſchortlie before the Recept of zour Lettre, we had cauſit proclame a Parlement, at the quhilk we doubt not bot thay all, for the maiſt part, ſall be preſent, quhair, firſt of all, this Mater (being maiſt deir to ws) ſall be handillit, and nothing left vndone quhilk may further the clere Triall of the ſame. And we, for our awin Part, as we aucht, and all Noblemen likwiſs (we doubt not) ſall maiſt willinglie direct all our Witts and Ingynis to this End, as Experience, in fyne, with Goddis Grace, ſall gif witneſſing to the Warld. And ſua we commit zou to God. At *Seytoun* the xxi Day of *Februar*, 1566.

Zour gud Dohter,

MARIE R.

A Letter from the Earl of Lennox *to Queen* Mary.

“I Rander maiſt humyll Thanks onto zour Majeſtie for zour gracious and comfortable Lettre quhilk I haif reſſauit the xxiiii of yis inſtant; and quhairas I perſaif be ye ſame, that it is zour Majeſties Pleſſur to remit the

“ Triall

(*a*) An Original.

"Triall of yis lait odious Act, to the Tyme of a Parlement, pleſit zour Majeſtie, althocht I am aſſurit zour Hienes thinks the Tyme als lang as I do, till ye Mater be tryit, and ye Actors of yat Deid condinglie puniſit, (zit I ſall humelie craif zour Majeſties Pardonis, in trubilling zour Hienes ſa oft thairin as I do, for yat the Mater twechis me ſa near) beſeiking zour Majeſtie maiſt hvmelie to accept yis my ſymple Advyſe in guid part, as followis, quhilk is, that quhair ye Tyme is lange to ye Parlament, yis Mater not beinge ane Parlament Mater, bot of ſic Wecht and Importance, quhilk aucht rather to be with all Expeditioun and Diligence ſocht out, and pvniſit to the Exemple of ye haill Warld, as I knaw zour Majeſties Wiſdome conſideris ye ſame, far mair nor my Witts can comprehend; zit forſamekill as I heir of certane Tikatts that hes bene put on ye Tolbuith Dure of *Edinburgh*, anſuering zour Majeſties fyrſt and ſecond Proclamationes, quhilks names in ſpeciall certane Perſonis Devyſars of ye cruall Murthour, I ſall thairfor maiſt humelie beſeik zour Majeſtie, for the Luif of God, ye Honors of zour Majeſtie and zour Realme, and Weill and Quyetnes of ye ſame, that it will pleis zour Majeſtie furthwyth, not onlie to apprehend, and put in ſuir Keiping, the Perſonis namit in the ſaid Tikatts, bot als, with Diligence, to aſſemble zour Majeſties Nobilitie, and yan, be oppin Proclamatioun, to admoneis and requyir ye Writtars of ye ſaid Tikatts to compeir, according to ye Effect thairof. At quhilk Tyme, gif yai do not, zour Majeſtie may, be ye Advyſe of zour Nobilitie and Counſall, releif and put to Libertie ye Perſonis in Tikatts foirſaid; ſa ſall zour Majeſtie do ane honorable and godlie Act in bringing ye Mater to ſic ane narrow Point, as ather ye Mater ſall appeir planlie befoir zour Majeſtie, to the Pvniſment of yame quha hes bene ye Actors of yis cruall Deid, or alls ye ſaid Tikatts to be found vane of yame ſelf, and ye Perſonis quhilks ar ſklanderit to be exonerit and put to Libertie at zour Majeſties Pleſſur. Sa committis zour Majeſtie to the Protectioun of Almichtie God, quha preſerve zou in Helth and maiſt happie Regne. Of *Houſtoun* the xxvi Day of *Februar*.

A Letter from Queen Mary *to the Earl of* Lennox *(a)*.

"Richt traſt Couſing and Counſalour, we greit zou weill. We haue reſſauit zour Lettre, and be the ſame perſauis that ze haue pairtlie miſtaken our lait Lettre ſent zou with zour Servand, vpoun the xxiiii of *Februar*, in that Point, that we ſuld remit the Triall of the odious Act committit, to the Tyme of a Parlement; we menit not that, bot rather wald wyſhe to God that it mycht be ſuddanlie and without Delay tryit, for ay the ſounair the bettir, and the gretair Confort for ws; zit becaus zour Advyſe was, that we ſuld convent our haill Nobilitie for that Purpos, we anſerit zou, that we had alreddie proclamit a Parlement, at the quhilk thai wald convene, and befoir the quhilk we jugeit it ſuld not be able to get thame togidder, ſen thai wald think dowble Convenyng hevy to thame; and ſua, in mention making of a Parlament, we menit not that this Triall wes a Parlament Mater, nor that it wes requiſit quhill then to differ it, bot that then the Nobilitie wald be beſt convenit. And quhair ze deſyr, that we ſuld cauſs the Namis contenit in ſum Tikatts affixit on the Tolbuith Dure of *Edinburgh*, to be put in ſuir Keiping; thair is ſa mony of the ſaidis Tikatts, and thairwithal ſa differit and contrarious to vtheris in compting of the Namis, that we wott not vpoun quhat Tikkat to proceid; bot gif thair be ony Namis mentionat in thame that ze think worthie to ſuffer a Triall, vpoun zour Advertiſement we ſall ſua proceid to the Cognitioun taking, as may ſtand with the Lawis of this Realme; and being fund culpable, ſall ſee the Puniſment als rigoruſlie execute as the Wecht of of the Cryme deſervis. Quhat

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(*a*) An Original.

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“ other Thing ze think meit to be done to that Purpoſe, we pray zou latt ws underſtand, and we ſall not omit ony Occaſioun quhilk may cleir the Mater; and ſua fair ze weill. At *Seytoun* the 1. Day of *Marche*, 1566.

Zour gud Dohter,

MARIE R.

A Letter from the Earl of Lennox *to Queen* Mary.

“I Thank zour Majeſtie maiſt humelie for zour gentill Anſwer as twechin ye Ward of the *Lennox*, albeit ye ſamyn dois not ſignifie unto me, quhidder it be zour Majeſties Will to beſtow ye ſame vpoun me or not, or utherwyſe to diſpenſs with ye Prynſis Aige, conforme to my Wrytting and humill Suit, quhairin I wald be glad to knaw zour Majeſties Pleſſur. Forther, quhair zour Majeſtie, in zour formar Lettre, wryttis unto me, that gif yair be ony Namis mentionat in ye Tikatts that were affixit vpoun the Tolbuith Dure of *Edinburgh*, that I think worthie to ſuffer a Triall for ye Murthour of the Kyng zour Majeſties Husband; vpoun my Advertiſement zour Majeſtie ſuld proceid to ye Cognitioun takin, as may ſtand with ye Lawis of yis Realme, and being fund culpable, ſall ſee ye Puniſchment als rigorouſlie execute as ye Wecht of the Cryme deſervis: Pleſit zour Majeſtie, my humill Petitioun was vnto zour Hienes, and zit is, that it may pleiſs zou, not onelie to apprehend and put in ſuir Keiping the Perſonis namit in the Tikatts, quhilk anſwerit to zour Majeſties fyrſt and ſecond Proclamationis, bot als, with Diligence to aſſemble zour Majeſties haill Nobilitie, and yan, be oppin Proclamatioun, to admonyſhe and requyre ye Wryttars of ye ſaid Tikatts to compeir, accordyng to the Effect yairof; at quhilk Tyme, gif thay do not, zour Majeſtie may, be ye Advyſe of zour ſaid Nobilitie and Counſall, releif and put to Libertie ye Perſonis in ye Tikatts foirſaid; and for ye Namis of ye Perſonis foirſaid, I merwell that ye ſamyn hes bene keipit fra zour Majeſties Aeirs, conſidering ye Effect of ye ſaid Tikatts, and ye Namis of ye Perſonis is ſwa oppinlie taulkit of; that is to ſay, in the fyrſt Tikatt ye Erle *Bothwell*, Maiſter *James Balfowr*, Maiſter *David Chalmirs*, and blak *Johne Spenſs*: And in the ſecond Tikatt, *Synzour Francis Baſtiane*, *Johne de Burdeouſs*, and *Joſeph Dauryis* * Brother, quhilk Perſonis, I aſſuyre zour Majeſtie, I, for my Part, greitlie ſuſpect; and now zour Majeſtie knawing yair Namis, and being ye Partie als weill, and mair nor I am, althocht I was ye Fader, I dout not bot zour Majeſtie will take Ordour in ye Mater accordyng to the Wecht of ye Cauſe, quhilk I maiſt inteirlie and humillie beſeik. Sa committis zour Majeſtie to the Protectioun of Almichtie God. xvii of *Marche*, 1566.

* *Dav. Riccio's*

Beſides the above Letter, we find one of the ſame Date publiſhed by *Buchanan* in his *Detection*, which I here likewiſe ſubjoin; leaving it to my Readers to form what Judgment they ſhall think fit, why there ſhould be *two* Letters left on Record of the ſame Date, but of a different Form.

“Pleiſit zour Majeſtie, quhair zour Hienes in zour laſt Lettre to me wrytis, that gif thair be ony Namis in the Tikatts that was affixit vpoun the Tolbuith Dure of *Edinburgh*, that I think worthie to ſuffer ane Triall for the Murthour of the Kyng zour Majeſties Husband, vpoun my Aduertiſement, zour Majeſtie ſuld proceid to the Cognitioun taking, as may ſtand with the Lawis of this Realme; and being fund culpabill, ſall ſe the Puniſchement as rigorouſlie executit as ye Wecht of ye Cryme deſeruis. Pleiſit zour Majeſtie, ſen the Reſſait of zour Hienes Lettre, I haue ſtill luikit that ſum of the bluddie Murthourirs ſuld haue bene oppinlie knawin or now. And ſeing thay ar not zit, I cannot find in my Hart to conceil the Mater ony langer, bot let

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"zour Majeſtie underſtand the Namis of thame quhome I greitlie ſuſpect; that is to ſay, the Erle *Bothwell*, Maiſter *James Balfour*, and *Gilbert Balfour* his Brother; Maiſter *David Chalmers*, blak Maiſter *Johne Spens*, *Seinzeour Frances*, *Baſtiane*, *Charles de Burdeaux*, and *Joſeph*, *David's* Brother. Quhilk Perſounis I ſall maiſt inteirlie and humbilie beſeik zour Majeſtie, that, according to my former Petitioun unto zour Hienes, it will pleis not onlie to apprehend and put in ſuir Keiping, bot als with Dilligence to aſſembill zour Majeſties haill Nobilitie and Counſell, and then to tak ſic perfite Ordour of the foirnamit Perſounis, that thay may be juſtlie tryit, as I dout not, bot in ſa doing, the Spirite of God ſall wirk in the ſaid Mater, as the Treuth ſall be knawn. Sa ſall zour Majeſtie do ane maiſt godlie and honorabill Act for zourſelf, being the Partie as ze ar; and an greit Satisfactioun it ſall be to all that belangis unto him that is gane, quha was ſa deir unto zour Hienes. And now not doutit bot zour Majeſtie will tak Ordour in the Mater, according to the Wecht of the Caus, quhilk I maiſt humblie beſeik, I commit zour Majeſtie to the Protectioun of the Almichtie God, quha preſerue zou in Helth, lang Lyfe, and maiſt happie Reigne. Of *Houſtoun* this xvii of *Marche*.

A Letter from Queen Mary *to the Earl of* Lennox (*a*).

"Richt traiſt Couſing and Counſalour, we greit zou weill. We haue reſſavit zour Lettre of *Houſtoun*, the xvii of this inſtant, relatiue to our laſt Wryting ſent zou, and ſpeciallie namand the Perſounis contenit in the Tikatts, quhom ze greitlie ſuſpect. For the Conuentioun of our Nobilitie and Counſell, we haue preuentit the Thing deſyrit be zou in zour Lettre, and hes ſent for thame to be at vs in *Edinburgh* this Oulk * approcheand, quhair the Perſounis nominate in zour Lettre, ſall abyde and underlye ſic Triall as be the Lawis of this Realme is accuſtomat; and being fund culpable, in ony wiſe, of that Cryme and odious Fact nominat in the Tikatts, and quhairof ze ſuſpect yame, we ſall evin according to our former Lettre, ſee the condigne Puniſchment, als rigoruſlie and extremlie executit as the Wecht of that Fact deſeruis; for indeid (as ze wrait) we eſteme our ſelf Partie gif we war reſolut of the Auctours; and thairfore we pray zou, gif zour Laſſour and Commoditie may ſuit, addres zow to be at vs heir in *Edinburgh* this Oulk approcheand, quhair ze may ſee the ſaid Triall, and declair thay Things quhilk ze knaw may further the ſame; and thair ze ſall haue Experience of our erneſt Will and effectuus Mynd to haue an End in this Mater, and the Auctours of ſa unworthie a Deid realie puniſt, als far furth, in effect, as befoir this, and now preſentile we haue wrytten and promiſt: And ſua for the preſent commitis zou to God. At *Edinburgh* the xxiiii Day of *Marche*, 1566.

Zour gud Dohter,
MARIE R.

* Week.

Act for the Trial of the Earl of *Bothwell*, &c.

In Conſequence of the preceeding Letters, we find in the publick Records an Act of Council 28th *March* 1567, directing the Trial of the Earl of *Bothwell*, and all other Perſons ſuſpected or delated as Principals or Acceſſories to the Murder of the King, to undergo an Aſſize for the ſaid Murder on the 12th of *April* following; and Warning to be given the Earl of *Lenox*, and all others that will accuſe the ſaid Earl of *Bothwell*, and remanent Perſons ſuſpected, at ſeveral Market-Croſſes to appear the ſaid 12th Day of *April* in the Court of Juſticiary, and there do what ſhall be neceſſary for Trial of the ſaid Matter (*b*). But before we proceed in the Sequel of this Affair, it will be proper to bring up the other Matters that were then adoing.

(*a*) An Original.

(*b*) See *Anderſon's* Collect. *Vol.* 1. and I obſerve that this Gentleman, after marking this Act, adjects, *p.* 60. *Contents*, the following N. B. viz. "The Reſidence of the Earl of *Lenox* at that Time was near *Dunbarton*, above forty Miles diſtant from *Edinburgh*." But what great Matter he would infer from thence, I can't diſcern.

1567.

On the 10th of *March* the Queen returned from *Seton* to *Edinburgh*, where ſhe remained until the 24th, during which Space, it is reported, much Inquiſition was made after the Upſetters of the Placaerts, *&c.* But all I can perceive of authentick at that Time, is the Act of Council on the 14th *March* for the apprehending of *James Murray*, *who*, as the Act bears, *had devyſit, inventit, and cauſit to be ſet up certane payntit Paperis upon the Tolbuith-Dure of* Edinburgh, *tending to hir Majeſties Sclander and Defamatioun, and ſwa comittand oppin and manifeſt Treſſoun aganis hir Hienes*, &c. (a)

By the Diary ſo often mentioned, we are informed that the Queen went again to *Seton-houſe* on the 24th of *March*, and continued there until the 10th of *April:* But ſeeing her Majeſty ſigns a Letter to the Earl of *Lenox* on the 24th of *March* at *Edinburgh*, and the Act of Privy-Council 28th of *March* at *Edinburgh* likewiſe, directing the Trial of the Earl of *Bothwell*, mentions the Queen to have that Day called for the Advice of her Nobles and Privy-Council; theſe two Conſiderations laid together may perhaps render the Authority of the Diary ſomewhat ſuſpicious here, tho' not unqueſtionably falſe.

In the *Abſtracts* of Privy-Council (b) there are theſe two following, *viz. Apud Seytoun* 5. April 1567, *Act ordaining Proclamatioun to be maid, to diſcharge the Comptroller to mell or uptake anie of hir Majeſties Rents, becaus ſhe was informit that the ſamen was to be applyed to uthir Uſes. Apud Dunbar penult.* April 1567, *Act contramanding the Act and Proclamatioun afoirſaid 5th* April.

Earl of *Murray* departs forth of the Kingdom.

On the 9th of *April* the Earl of *Murray* having lately ſought and obtained Leave to go into *France*, departed forth of the Kingdom, taking his Journey through *England*; and 'tis affirmed by ſome, that during his Abſence he ſhould have recommended the Care of all his Affairs to the Queen and Earl of *Bothwell* (c).

The Earl of *Lenox* having received Advertiſement of the Trial of the Earl of *Bothwell*, his Lordſhip took Journey to come to *Edinburgh*, in order to be preſent thereat: But having received likewiſe, as would appear, ſome Advice from his Friends not to come forward nor be preſent at the Trial; after he was advanced the length of *Stirling*, he wrote from thence this Letter that followeth to the Queen, in which he *now* alters the Strain of his Writing, and wants by all Means to have the Trial delayed, which he had been at Pains formerly to haſten forward. A longer Time, he pretends, would enable him to ſearch after the Murderers, tho' we may be aſſured this was all a mere Shift, ſince the Tickets had already mentioned their Names, and he had formerly pointed them out to the Queen.

Earl of *Lenox* craves a Delay of the Trial:

“PLeſit zour Majeſtie, I am laitlie informit that thair hes bene Proclama-
tiounis maid at *Glaſgu* and *Dumbartane*, charging me and others ha-
“ vand or pretendand to have Entreſs to concure with zour Majeſtie, and to
“ perſew the Erle *Bothwell* and utheris for the treſonable Murthour of the King
“ zour Majeſties Husband, to compeir befoir zour Hienes Juſtice or his De-
“ puteis in the Tolbuith of *Edinburgh* the xii Day of *Apryll* inſtant: The
“ quhilk I aſſuir zour Majeſtie I am not abill to keip; for being preſentlie on
“ my Jornay upon ſett Purpoiſs and deliberit Mynd to keip the ſaim, am fallin
“ in ſic Diſeaſe, that I may noway gudelie travell; zea, althocht I war abill,
“ I dout not bot in conſideratioun of the Schortnes of Tyme and Importance
“ of this greit and weichtie Mater, and als in reſpect of ſundre uthers reſon-

“ able

(a) See *Anderſon*'s Collect. *Vol.* 1. *p.* 38. *Buchanan* complains much that the Queen ſhould have kept ſuch a Pother now, about finding out the Authors of the Placaerts, painted Papers, *&c.* but was at no Pains at all to find out the Murderers of her Husband. But as we have ſeen by authentick Records that this is not preciſely true, ſo whatever Defect might be therein, the Readers will perceive by Peruſal of this Act in the Place here referred to, that his own *good* and *religious* Patron the Earl of *Murray* ſat in Council, and had a hand in this Day's Act.

(b) Lord *Pitmedden*'s Abſtracts.

(c) Theſe Authors take likewiſe the Freedom to obſerve here, that this cunning Lord went always out of the Way when he had any miſchievous Thing to do at Court by his Friends.

1567.

“ able Motivis and Cauſis belonging to the ſame, zour Majeſtie will beir with
“ me in beſeiking zour Majeſtie maiſt humelie for Juſtice and rychtious Cauſis,
“ and for zour awin Honour, being maiſt principall Partie, that it will pleis
“ zour Majeſtie, conforme to my formar ſeuerall Lettres, zour Hienes wald
“ caus apprehend and put in ſuir Keiping the ſuſpect Perſounis namit in the ſaim
“ (avoyding zour Majeſties Cumpanie of thame) For it was nevir hard of, bot
“ in the Triall of ſic ane odious Fact, all ſuſpectit Perſounis was alwayis apprehendit,
“ quhat Degre ſoevir thai war of, ſuppois thai war not giltie of the Fact,
“ till the Mater was trewlie tryit. And alſwa, that it wald pleis zour Majeſtie
“ to differ this Day of Law onto ſic ane reſonable Tyme, as I may not onlie
“ convene my Frends for keiping of the ſaim, conforme to the Lawis of this
“ Realme, as zour Majeſtie ſall appoint, bot alſwa, that I may haif ſufficient
“ Tyme to ſerſs and ſeik trew Triall at all Hands, and in all Partes, for Manifeſtatioun
“ of this maiſt odious Cryme, ſwa I ſall not faill (God willing) to
“ keip that Tyme appoyntit, and hoippis in God to bring with me ſic Pruif
“ as the Trewth ſalbe knawn: Utherwayis the ſuſpect Perſounis continewing
“ ſtill at Libertie, being gret in Court, and about zour Majeſties Perſoun, comfortis
“ and incoragis thame and thairs, and diſcoragis all utheris that wald gyf
“ in Evidence agains thame. Sa that gif zour Majeſtie ſuffer this ſchort Day of
“ Law to go forwart, eftir the maner as is appoyntit, I aſſuir zour Majeſtie ze
“ ſall haif na juſt Triall as ze ſall haif heireftir; and this geving zour Majeſtie
“ my ſymple Advyſs in the wayis I can for the juſt Triall of this unnatural and
“ cruall Fact, ſa neir as God gives me the Grace according to my Dewtie; beſeiking
“ alſwa zour Majeſtie maiſt humelie to grant me zour hie Commiſſioun
“ to apprehend and tak ſic Perſounis as I ſall get Knawledge that wes at the
“ cruall Murthour.. I committ zour Majeſtie to the Protexioun of Almichtie
“ God. I humelie beſeik zour Majeſtie to pas this Licence, to the Effect of
“ zour Hienes laſt Lettre ſent vnto me. From *Streveling* the xj Day of *Apryll (a).*

The Readers will eaſily obſerve, that tho' the Queen had been willing, it would now have been very improper to have adjourned the Court; and therefore next Day which was the 12th of *April*, the Day appointed for the Trial of the Earl of *Bothwell*, the Court of Juſticiary was kept in the Tolbooth of *Edinburgh* by the Earl of *Argile, then* hereditary Lord High Juſtice, with whom ſat four Aſſeſſors, namely, *Robert Pitcairn* Commendator of *Dunfermline*, the Lord *Lindſay*, Mr. *James Macgill* and Mr. *Henry Balnaves*, two Senators of the College of Juſtice *(b):* And after other previous Formalities, the following *Dittay* was ordered to be read.

But the Trial goes forward.

JAMES *Erle* Bothwell, *Lord* Haillis *and* Creichtoun, &c. *Ze ar indytit for Arte and Parte of the cruall, odious, treſſonabill and abominabill Slauchter and Murther of the umquhile, the richt Excellent, richt Heich, and michtie Prince, the Kingis Grace, derreſt Spous for the Tyme to our Souerane Ladie the Quenis Majeſtie, under Silence of Nicht in his awin Ludgeing, beſyde the* Kirk of Field, *within this Burgh, he being taking the Nichtis Reſt, treſſonabillie raiſing Fyre within the ſame with ane greit Quantitie of Powder, throw Force of the quhilk the ſaid haill Ludgeing was raiſit and blawin in the Air, and the ſaid umquhile King was murtherit treſſonabillie, and maiſt cruallie ſlane and deſtroyit be zow thairin, upon ſet Purpois, Prouiſioun and foirthocht Fellonie; and this ze did upon the Ninth Day of* Februar *laſt bypaſt, under Silence of Nicht, as ſaid is, as is notourlie knawin, quhilk ze cannot denie (c).*

(a) *Anderſon*'s Collections.
(b) Theſe four Aſſeſſors went all afterwards to *England*, and accuſed the Queen of the Murther of the King by means of the Earl of *Bothwell*.
(c) This Indictment, and the whole Proceſs of the Trial, is alſo to be ſeen in *Anderſon*'s Collections.

1567. Then the Juſtice, after ſome other Forms, " cauſit cal the ſaid *James* Erle *Bothwell*, as Defender on that ane Part, and *Matthew* Erle of *Lennox*, and all utheris our Souerane Ladyis Liegis, hauand and pretendand to perſew in the ſaid Mater, to compeir befoir him in this Court of Juſticiarie, to perſew and defend as accordis of the Law.

" Compeirit immediatlie thairefter in Judgement the ſaid *James* Erle *Bothwell (a)*, and enteris as parſonale, and then cheiſſit Maiſter *David Borthick* of *Luchthill* and Maiſter *Edmund Hay*, Prolocutoris for him, quha allwa compeirit parſonallie in Judgement, and wer admittit be the Juſtice to that Effect. ———

" The ſaid *Matthew* Erle of *Lennox*, and utheris our Souerane Ladyis Liegis, hauand, or pretandand to haue Entres to perſew in the ſaid Mater, being oftintimes callit to haue compeirit and concurrit with the ſaid Aduocates in Perſute of the ſaid Actioun, compeirit *Robert Cuninghame*, alledgeing him Seruand to the ſaid *Matthew* Erle of *Lennox*, and producit the Wryting underwrittin, quhilk he ſubſcriuit with his Hand in Judgement, as he that had Power to uſe the ſame; and proteſtit and deſyrit conform thairto in all Pointis. Of the quhilk Wryting the Tennor followis,

My Lordis, I am cum heir, ſend be my Maiſter the Erle of Lennox, *to declair the Caus of his Abſence this Day, and with his Power, as the ſame beiris. The Caus of his Abſence is the ſchortnes of Tyme, and that he is denyit of his Friendis and Seruandis, quha ſuld haue accumpanyit him to his Honour and Suretie of his Lyfe in reſpect of the Greitnes of his Partie, and he hauing Aſſiſtance of na Friendis bot onlie himſelf: And thairfoir his Lordſchip hes commandit me to deſyre an ſufficient Day according to the Wecht of the Caus, quhairthrow he may keip the ſame. And gif zour Lordſchips will proceid at this preſent, I proteſt that I may, without ony Diſpleſure of ony Man, uſe thir Thingis committit to my Charge be my Lord my Maiſter, quhairof I tak ane Document.*

Item, *I proteſt, that gif the Perſounis quha paſſis upoun Aſſyſe and Inqueiſt of thir Perſounis that ſall enter on Pannell this Day, clenge the ſaid Perſounis of the Murther of the King, that it ſalbe wilfull Error and not Ignorance, be reſſoun that it is notourlie knawin thir Perſounis to be the Murthereris of the King, as my Lord my Maiſter alledgeis. Upoun the quhilk Proteſtatioun I requyre ane Document (b).*

Robert Cuninghame.

" Upoun the Productioun of the quhilk Wryting and Proteſtatioun, the ſaid *Robert* askit Actis and Inſtrumentis.

becauſe the Lord Juſtice finds that the Earl of *Lenox* had formerly deſired a ſpeedy Proceſs, &c.

" The Juſtice being auyſit with the foirſaid Wryting and Proteſtatioun producit and uſit be the ſaid *Robert Cuninghame*, in reſpect of the Letteris and Wrytingis ſend to our Souerane be the ſaid *Matthew* Erle of *Lennox*, producit and red in Judgement, quhairof the Copyis ar underwrittin. Be the quhilk Letteris and Wrytingis, the ſaid Erle of *Lennox* deſyrit ſchort and ſummare Proces to be deducit in the ſaid Mater, and als of the Act and Ordinance of the Lordis of Secreit Counſell grantit thairupoun; and ſiclyke, in reſpect of the erniſt Inſiſting of the Aduocates deſyring Proces and richt Sute of the ſaid Erle *Bothwellis* erniſt Petitioun and Deſyre of Triall to be had in the ſaid Mater; with Advyſe of the Lordis and Baronis Aſſeſſoris preſent, fand be Interlocutor, That Proces ſuld be deducit in the ſaid Actioun this Day, conforme to the Lawis of this Realme, notwithſtanding the Wryting and Proteſtatioun producit be the ſaid *Robert Cuninghame*; and als ad-

" mittit

(*a*) The Author of *Innocence de Marie, &c.* ſays, the Earl of *Morton* attended the Earl of *Bothwell* in the Pannel.

(*b*) See the ridiculous Turn *Buchanan* puts upon this Proteſtation; and then conſider what Faith is to be given that Writer, even where he has a Foundation to narrate a Fact.

“ mittit him to concur and aſſiſt to the ſaid Aduocates, in Perſute of the ſaid “ Actioun, gif he pleiſit.——

Follows the ASSYSE.

Andro Erle of *Rothes*,
George Erle of *Caithnes*,
Gilbert Erle of *Caſſillis*,
Lord *Johne Hammiltoun* Commendater of *Arbroith*, Sone to the Lord Duke,
James Lord *Ros*,
Robert Lord *Simple*,
Johne Maxwell Lord *Hereis*,
Laurence Lord *Oliphant*,
Johne Maiſter of *Forbes*,
Johne Gordoun of *Lochinwar*,
Robert Lord *Boyde*,
James Cokburne of *Lantoun*,
John Somerwell of *Cambuſnethan*,
Mowbray of *Barnebowgall*,
Ogilbye of *Boyne*.

“ The foirnamit Perſounis of Aſſyſe being choſin, admittit, and ſworne in “ Judgement, as uſe is, and thairfoir the ſaid Erle *Bothwell* being accuſit of “ the ſaid Dittay of the Cryme afoirſaid, and the ſame being denyit be him, and “ referrit to the Delyuerance of the ſaid Aſſyſes, thay remouit furth of the “ ſaid Court, and altogidder conuenit; and efter lang Reſſoning had be thame “ upon the ſame Dittay, and Pointis thairof, thay and ilk ane of thame for “ thameſelfis, votit, delyuerit and acquytit the ſaid *James* Erle *Bothwell* of “ Arte and Parte of the ſaid Slauchter of the King, and Pointis of the ſaid Dittay (*a*).

And the Earl of *Bothwell* is acquitted.

“ And ſen [then] the ſaid *George* Erle of *Caithnes*, Chanceler of the ſaid “ Aſſyſes, in his and thair Namis askit Inſtrumentis, that nouther the ſaid Aduocatis, nor the ſaid *Robert Cuninghame*, as hauand Commiſſioun of my “ Lord of *Lennox*, nor na utheris brocht unto thame ony Wryting, Takin, “ or Verificatioun quhairby the Dittay abone writtin micht be fortifyit, nor “ the ſaid Aſſyſe perſwadit to delyuer ony utherwiſe then is abone writtin; “ nor zit was the ſaid Dittay ſworn, nor na Partie, except the ſaid Aduocatis, “ compeirit to perſew the ſame (*b*): And thairfoir, in reſpect that thay delyuerit according to thair Knawledge, proteſtis that thay ſuld incur na wilfull Error in ony wiſe heirefter. Quhilk Inſtrument and Proteſtatioun, “ immediatlie efter the Reentrie of the ſaid Erle of *Caithnes* Chanceler, and “ ane Part of the namit of the ſaid Perſounis of Aſſyſe, in the ſaid Court of “ Juſticiarie, befoir the Pronunciatioun of thair Delyuerance foirſaid, at the “ Deſyre of the ſaid Erle of *Caithnes*, was oppinlie red in Judgement; and “ thairupoun he of new askit Actis and Inſtrumentis, and proteſtis in maner “ abone expremit.

Extractum de libro actorum adjornalis S. D. N. Reginæ, per me Joannem Bellenden de Auchnoule militem, Clericum Juſticiariæ ejuſdem generalem, ſub meis ſigno & ſubſcriptione manualibus,

Joannes Bellenden *Clericus Juſticiariæ*.

(*a*) Mr. *Cambden* ſays, “ the great and ſole Concern of the Conſpirators [meaning *Murray*, *Morton*, and that Gang] was to “ get *Bothwell* cleared of the Guilt of the King's Murder.——On the Day appointed was *Bothwell* arraign'd and acquitted by his “ Judges, and by *Morton*'s Management.” And Bp. *Leſlie* ſays to the Faction in his *Defence*, “ Were not ye, and your Band and “ Adherents, the chief and principal Authors, Aſſiſters, Fautors, Aiders and Abettres, for the clearing and juſtifying of the ſaid “ *Bothwell*, accuſed and indited as gilty of the ſaid Murther?”

(*b*) Conformable to this, *Crawford*'s MS. ſays, the Jury “ acquitted him [*Bothwell*] from all Suſpicion of Acceſſion to the “ Murder of the King, becauſe it was neither proved by Witneſſes, nor notified to be probable Accuſation.”

1567.

Thus was the Earl of *Bothwell* acquitted by an Aſſize *(a)* of the Murder of the King; and yet nothing is more certain than that he was the very principal Contriver of that nefarious Wickedneſs, as appeared ſoon after both by the Declaration of ſeveral Perſons who acknowledged themſelves guilty as acceſſory to the ſame *(b)*, and by his own Confeſſion in *Denmark* the Time of his Death; the Particulars of which laſt, ſo far as I have got Information, the Readers may ſee in the *Appendix (c)*.

The Parliament ſits.

Two Days after the Acquital of the Earl of *Bothwell*, *viz.* on *Monday* the 14th of *April*, the Parliament of this Kingdom ſat down, and the Earl of "*Bothwell* was promoved to bear the Royal Scepter to the Parliament-Houſe" *(d)*. And becauſe the Affairs of this Meeting has not been hitherto candidly repreſented, and a late *Publiſher of Collections* thinks fit only to mention two or three Acts thereof, and omit the reſt, as being not neceſſary, I reckon, for his Purpoſe; I ſhall therefore be the more punctual in reciting the Journal of it, which through good Fortune is preſerved entire among the Records.

(e) The Parliament begun and holden at *Edinburgh* on *Monday* the 14th of *April* 1567. This Day the Queen was not preſent; and nothing farther was done than calling of the Members, and marking thoſe that were abſent. The Parliament was holden this Day by Commiſſioners therein named, *viz.* *John* Archbiſhop of St. *Andrew*'s Primate of our whole Kingdom, and Legate born, [*totius Regni noſtri Primatem, Legatum natum*] *Alexander* Biſhop of *Galloway*, *William* Biſhop of *Dunblane*, *Adam* Biſhop of *Orkney*, *John* Biſhop of the *Iſles (f)*; *Archibald* Earl of *Argile*, *James* Earl of *Bothwell*, *George* Earl of *Cathneſs*, *David* Earl of *Crawford*, *Hew* Earl of *Eglinton*, *Andrew* Earl of *Rothes*; *George* Lord *Seton*, *John* Lord *Fleming*, *James* Lord *Ogilvie*, *John* Lord *Herries*, *Laurence* Lord *Oliphant*; *John* Commendator of *Aberbrothick*, Sir *Richard Maitland* of *Lethington* Keeper of the Privy-Seal, *William Maitland* younger of *Lethington* Secretary, Sir *James Balfour* of *Pittendriech* Clerk of Regiſter and Council, Sir *John Bellendein* of *Auchnoul* Clerk of Juſticiary, Mr. *Robert Richardſon* Prior of *St. Mary Iſle* Theſaurer, Mr. *John Spence* of *Condie* our Advocate, *Commiſſarios per ſpecialem com-*

(a) *Buchanan*, *Knox* and *Spottiſwood* do all agree in the Story of the Earl of *Caſſils*; 'tho' after all they have ſaid, it appears to be told with too doubtful Circumſtances: For if that Nobleman was willing to pay the Mulct for refuſing to be of the Jury, 'tis much to be ſuſpected the Queen could not command him under the Pain of Treaſon, as theſe Writers are pleaſed to repreſent the Matter. Beſides, Mr. *Buchanan* in his *Detection* ſays, "It was concludit that the meaner ſort of the Judges might with Favour and fair Promiſes be led; and the reſt of the greater and graver ſort (whom for Faſhion ſake they were driven to call to the Matter) might be drawn with Fear to acquit him" [*Bothwell*.] If this was the Caſe in *Buchanan*'s Days, it may be juſtly ſuſpected that in our Days Fear operates moſt on the *meaner* ſort, and Favour on the *greater*. This Author ſays likewiſe, that the Judges were *conſtrained*. One methinks would not wiſh to appear for Life and Death, before a Bench of Judges *conſtrained* to ſit; ſuch a one might reaſonably dread an unfavourable Caſt. And whereas this Author is pleaſed to divide the Jury into a *meaner* and a *greater* ſort, perhaps that Diviſion will not be found ſo juſt as he would miſrepreſent it; ſince 'tis certain that all the Perſons of the Aſſize were very honourable, and ſufficient by our Law to ſit on the Trial of any Peer whatſoever. Mr. *Buchanan* makes alſo a huge Complaint, that the uſual Form of forty Days was not allowed to elapſe betwixt the Indictment and the Trial: But I ſuppoſe there may be herein ſome Miſtake by this Author, ſeeing no ſuch Space of Time is *now* required to intervene; fifteen Days only is the legal Term: And ſince we find the ſame preciſe Time betwixt the 28th of *March*, the Day on which the Trial of the Earl of *Bothwell* was appointed, and the 12th of *April*, the Day on which he was tried; we may ſafely conclude that the Term betwixt Indictments and Trials has been the ſame *then* as *now*. And as to the Grounds of *Buchanan*'s Complaint, it may with Juſtice be affirmed, that in the preſent Caſe the Earl of *Lenox* as Purſuer ſeems to have had ſmall Cauſe of Diſatisfaction againſt the Shortneſs of the Diet, ſince he had formerly in his Letters preſſed much for a ſpeedy Trial; nor could his Lordſhip and the Setters up of the Tickets be at any loſs to produce their Evidences, after what they had ſo vigorouſly affirmed. The Earl of *Lenox* ſeems indeed to have had better Foundation of Complaint, that the Earl of *Bothwell* was ſtill not only allowed to enjoy his Liberty after having been accuſed, but allowed beſides to be at Court, and ſit in the very Council which directed the Trial of himſelf and other Perſons alledged guilty of this Murther. To which, whether it be a ſufficient Reply, that Criminals are ſhut up in Priſon only to ſecure them againſt eſcaping out of the way of Juſtice, I leave other People to judge. And 'tis certain that after an Indictment is ſerved, all Perſons have Acceſs to the Pannel.

(b) See the Depoſitions of the Perſons who were executed for this Murder, in *Anderſon*'s Collections, *Vol.* 2.

(c) Numb. 18.

(d) *Crawford*'s MS. And this Author immediately adds, "And the Earl of *Lenox* perceiving all Things to go aſtray in *Scotland*, thought it unſure to remain any longer to behold ſuch unpuniſhed Barbarity; he therefore retired himſelf to *England* by the Weſt Sea."

(e) I ſuppoſe my Readers do know that all the Records of our Parliaments, the Acts excepted, are in the *Latin* Tongue; and I have here turned a Part of this Record into *Engliſh*, only for the Benefit of thoſe that underſtand not that Language.

(f) This was *John Carſwell*, at firſt made Superintendant of *Argile* and the *Iſles*, and afterwards in the Year 1566 preſented by the Queen to the Biſhoprick of the *Iſles*; for which, and for his being preſent in this Parliament, he was cenſured by the Aſſembly of the Kirk.

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commiſſionem dictæ ſupremæ Dominæ noſtræ Reginæ conſtitutos; together with *Monan* [*f. Ninian*] *Hog* Deputy of the Earl *Mariſchal*, *William Henderſon* the Conſtable's Depute, *David Kintore* Macer, *Andrew Lindſay* Dempſter *(a)*. On the 16th of *April* the Queen was preſent, and the Lords of Articles were choſen. Same Day, a Diſcharge to the Earl of *Mar* of his own and his Father's Keeping of the Caſtle of *Edinburgh*, conformable to a prior Exoneration made by the Queen and Privy-Council at *Holy-rood-houſe* 19th *March* 1566-7 *(b)*.

A Liſt of the Acts made therein.

Laſt Day of the Parliament, *viz.* 19th *April*, are theſe ſeveral Acts: 1. Act concerning the Religion, to be ſeen among the printed Acts towards the End of *Parl.* 1. King *James* VI. *(c)*. 2. Ratification of the Earldom of *Mar*, Regality of *Garioch*, heritable Capitanrie of the Caſtle of *Stirling*, and Keeping of the Park thereof; Sheriffdom of *Stirling*, Bailliary and Chamberlainry of the Lordſhip thereof, Chamberlainry of certain Lands in *Menteith*, &c. to *John Erskine* Earl of *Mar*. 3. Ratification of the Barony of *Blyth* to Sir *Richard Maitland* of *Lethington* Keeper of the Privy-Seal. 4. Ratification to Mr. *David Chalmers* of *Ochterſlo*, *Caſtleton*, &c. 5. Ratification to the Earl of *Bothwell* of ſeveral Lands, *&c.* to defray his Charges in Keeping the Caſtle of *Dunbar (d)*. 6. Act concerning the Oblivion *(e)*. 7. Act anent the Makers and Upſetters of Placaerts and Bills *(f)*. 8. Ratification to the Lord *Robert Stewart* Abbot of *Holy-rood-houſe*, the Queen's natural Brother, and to his Children, of ſeveral Payments to be made from her Majeſty's Thirds of the Abbacy of *Holy-rood-houſe*. 9. Ratification to the Queen's natural Brother *James* Earl of *Murray* of the ſaid Earldom, of the Date 22d *January* 1563-4; and *Strathdee*, of the Date 20th *October* 1564. 10. Ratification to *John Chiſholm* of her Highneſs's Lands, called the *King's Wark* in *Leith*. 11. Ratification to the Earl of *Huntly* of ſeveral Lands. 12. Ratification to the Lord *Herries* of *Terreigles*, to be holden in *Blanch-farm* of the Crown. 13. Ratification of ſome Lands to *John Sempil*, Son to *Robert* Lord *Sempil*. 14. Ratification to *James Ogilvie* of the Lands of *Findlater*, &c. 15. Ratification to *Michael Balfour* of *Burley* of the Coronerſhip of the Shire of *Fife*. 16. Ratification to the Earl of *Crawford*. 17. Ratification to the Earl of *Rothes*. 18. Ratification to the Earl of *Morton*. 19. Ratification to the Earl of *Angus*. 20. Ratification to the Earl of *Cathneſs* of the Office of Juſticiary within the Bounds and Dioceſe of *Cathneſs*, &c. 21. Reduction of the Forfeiture againſt the Earl of *Huntly (g)*, made at *Edinburgh* in the Parliament

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(*a*) In *Latin* it is, *una cum Davide Kintore Serjando, & Andrea Lindeſay Judicatore.*

(*b*) The Reader will remember that the Keeping of the Caſtle of *Edinburgh* had been committed to the Lord *Erskine*, Father of the now Earl of *Mar*, about the Time the Duke of *Chaſtelherault* demitted the Regency of the Kingdom *Anno* 1554. And now this Earl of *Mar* reſigned up the ſaid Caſtle to the Queen; and her Majeſty delivered into his Lordſhip's Keeping the young Prince her Son.

(*c*) This Act is ſo full and explicite for the Settlement of the new Form, that the Parliament held in the Month of *December* following by the Queen's inveterate Enemies and Rebels, could deviſe nothing ſtronger; and therefore ſatisfied themſelves with repeating it in that new Parliament. It is therein declared, that **the Quene had attemptit nathing contrare the Eſtait of Religioun, quhilk hir Majeſtie fand publiklie and univerſallie ſtanding at hir Arrival.** No Body needs find ſtrange that Mr. *Buchanan* ſhould roundly affirm, that nothing could be obtained at this Parliament from the Queen in favours of the reformed Religion: But that Abp. *Spottiſwood* ſhould blindly go into the ſame Steps, is unpardonable in that great Prelate.

(*d*) The Queen likewiſe, beſides the Caſtle of *Dunbar*, had committed to the Earl of *Bothwell* the Keeping of the Caſtle of *Edinburgh*; for which and other great Offices put into the Hands of this Nobleman, 'tis no wonder that the other Peers would make Complaints; for beſides that he was heritable Great Admiral of the Nation, he was juſt now Lord Warden of all the Marches. Theſe Heaps of Favour loaded on this Perſon, brings into my Mind the ridiculous Story narrated by *Buchanan*, concerning the fitting up the King's Cloaths, in order to be worn by the Earl of *Bothwell*. The Readers may ſee a ſmart Obſervation hereupon by Mr. *Crawford* of *Drumſoy*, in the Preface to the *Memoirs* which go under his Name.

(*e*) Theſe two preceeding Acts, see in *Anderſon's* Collections, *Vol.* 1. *p.* 117,———126.

(*f*) See this Act on the next Page.

(*g*) The Reader will likewiſe remember, that this Earl had been impriſoned ſoon after his Father's unfortunate Death; and the Earl of *Murray* had alſo been ſolicitous enough to have the Sentence of Death executed upon this preſent Earl of *Huntly*, even ſo far as to obtain a ſurreptitious Warrant for that Purpoſe; which how ſoon it came to the Queen's Knowledge, ſhe was pleaſed graciouſly to recall. (See *Crawford's Lives of the Chancellors*.) About the Time of her Marriage with the Lord *Darnly*, ſhe reſtored this Earl not only to his Liberty, but beſides made him Lord High Chancellor, upon removing the Earl of *Morton* 20th *March* 1565-6. Nevertheleſs the Forfeiture given againſt his Father had not been reverſed until now. Mr. *Anderſon* in the *Contents* of the 1ſt *Vol.* of his Collections, *p.* 65. ſays, " the Reaſons and Grounds of this Reduction ſeem to be ſomewhat extraordinary." The principal Reaſon, ſo far as I could obſerve, is the *Informality* of the Sentence of Forfeiture; and the ſame Reaſon is aſſigned for reducing the Forfeitures of the other Perſons at that Time concerned with the Earl of *Huntly*.

1567. 28th *May* 1563. 22. Reduction of Forfeiture againſt the Earl of *Sutherland*. 23. Four ſeveral Reductions of Forfeiture againſt Gentlemen of the Sirname of *Gordon*, for aſſiſting in the Battle of *Corrichie*. 24. Reduction of Forfeiture againſt *David Balfour* of *Balbutheis*, given in Parliament 14th *Auguſt* 1546 for the Murder of Cardinal *Beaton*.

Follows the Act anent the Makaris and Upſettaris of Placardis and Billis.

The quhilk Day, Forſamekle as be ane licentious Abuſe enterit laitlie and cum in Practize within this Realme, thair hes bene Placardis and Billis, and Tickittis of Defamatioun, ſet up under Silence of Nycht, in diverſe publict Places, alſweill within Burgh as utherwyſs in the Realme, to the Sclander, Reproche and Infamye of the Quenis Majeſtie, and diverſe of the Nobilitie; quhilk Diſſordour gif it be ſufferit langar to remane unpunyſt, may redound nocht only to the greit Hurt and Detriment of all Nobillmen in thair gude Fame, privat Calumpniatours having be this meanis Libertie to bakbyte thame, bot als the Commone may be inquietit, and Occaſioun of Querrell takin upoun fals and untrew Sclander (a). For Remeid quhairof, the Quenis Majeſtie and Thre Eſtaitis of Parlament ſtatutis and ordanis, That in tyme cuming, quhair ony ſic Bill or Placard of Defamatioun beis fundin affixt or tint, the Perſoun firſt ſeand or findand the ſamin, ſall tak it, and incontinent deſtroy it, ſwa that no forder Knawledge nor Copy pas of the ſamin: And gif he failzies thairin, and that thairthrow outher the Writing beis copyit, or proceidis to forder Knawledge amang the Peple, the firſt Sear and Findar thairof ſall be puniſt in the ſamin maner as the firſt Inventar, Writtar, Tynar, and Upſettar of the ſamin, gif he wer apprehendit; that is to ſay, The Defamaris of the Quene, under the Pane of Deid, and to extend upoun all utheris to Impriſonment, at the Quenis Grace Pleſſur, and forder to be punyſt at hir Hienes Pleſſur, according to the Qualitie of the Perſoun ſwa defamit.

After the riſing of the Parliament (in which the Earl of *Bothwell* is marked every Day to have been preſent) a very infamous and remarkable Scene did quickly open: This was the ſubſcribing a Bond by a great many of the Nobility in favours of the Earl of *Bothwell*, bearing Teſtimony of his Acquital of the late King's Murder; recommending him as a proper Perſon upon ſeveral Accounts for partaking the Honour of the Queen's Bed; and pledging their mutual Aſſiſtance in Defence of the Earl's Marriage with her Majeſty. The Tenor of the Bond was this,

Bond by the Nobility in favours of the Earl of *Bothwell*.

"WEE underſubſcryveand underſtanding, that altho' the nobill and mightie Lord *James* Erle *Bothwell*, Lord *Halis*, *Creightoun* and *Liddiſdale*, Great Admirall of *Scotland*, and Lievetennent to our Soverane Lady over all the Marches thairof, being not onlie bruitit and calumniat be Placartes privilie affixit on the publick Places of the Kirk of *Edinburgh*, and utherwayes sklanderit be his evill Willaris, and privie Enymeis, as Airt and Pairt of the haynous Murthour of the King, the Quenes Majeſties lait Huſband, but alſo be ſpeciall Letteris ſent to her Hienes be the Erle of *Lennox*, and delaitit of the ſamyne Cryme, quha in his Letteris earneſtlie deſyrit and requyreit the ſaid Erle *Bothwell* to be tryit of the ſaid Murthour, he be condigne Inqueiſt and Aſſiſſe of certane Nobillmen his Peeares and utheris Barronnes of gud Reputation, is fund guiltles and innocent of the odious "Cryme

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(a) The Ground and Reaſon of this Act as here narrated, is certainly very ſufficient for making a ſevere Law againſt ſuch Practices; let *Buchanan* turn the ſame into as much Ridicule as he will.

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“Cryme objectit to him, and acquite thairof, conforme to the Lawes of this Realme, quha alſo for farder Tryell of his Part, has offerit him reddie to defend and mantane his Innocencie, contrair all that will impugne the ſamyne be the Law of Armes, and ſua hes omittit nothing for the perfyte Tryell of his Accuſatioune, that any Nobillman of Honor, or be the Lawes ought to underlye and accompliſhe: And wee conſiddering the Anciencie and Nobilſenes of his Houis, the honorable and guid Service done be his Predeceſſoris, and ſpeciallie himſelffe to oure Soverane, and for the Defence of this her Hienes Realme againis the Enymeis thairof, and the Amytie and Friendſhipe quhilk ſa lang hes perſeverit betwix his Houis and everie ane of us, and utheris our Predeceſſoris in particular, and therewithall ſeing how all Nobillmen being in Reputation, Honor and Credite with their Soverane, ar comonlie ſubject to ſuſtene aſweill the vaine Bruites of the commone People inconſtant, as the Accuſatioune and Calumnies of thair Adverſers, invyfull of our Place and Vocation, quhilk we of our Dewtie and Friendſhip are aſtrictit and debtbund to repreſs and withſtand; THAIRFORE oblies us, and ilk ane of us, upon our Faith and Honors, and Treuth in our Bodies, as we are Nobillmen, and will anſwer to God, that in caice heireſtir anie maner of Perſon or Perſones, in quhatſumevir maner ſall happin to inſiſt farder to the Sklander and Calumniatioun of the ſaid Erle of *Bothwell*, as participant, Airt or Pairt of the ſaid hyneous Murthor, quhairof ordinarie Juſtice hes acquite him, and for the quhilk he hes offerit to do his Devoire be the Law of Armes, in maner above reherſt; Wee, and everie ane of us, be our ſelffes, our Kyn, Friendis, Aſſiſtaris, Partakeris, and all that will doe for us, ſall tak trew, effauld, plane and upricht Pairt with him, to the Defence and Mantenance of his Quarrell, with our Bodies, Heretage and Guids, agains his privie or publick Calumnyatoris, bypaſt or to cum, or onie utheris preſumeand onie Thing in Word or Deid to his Reproach, Diſhonor or Infamie. MAIROVIR, weying and conſiddering the Tyme preſent, and how our Soverane the Quenes Majeſtie is now deſtitute of a Husband, in the quhilk ſolitarie ſtate the Commonweall of this Realme may not permit her Hienes to continew and indure, but at ſum tyme her Hienes in appearance may be inclynit to yield unto a Mariage; and thairfore, in caice the former affectionate and hartlie Service of the ſaid Erle done to her Majeſtie from tyme to tyme, and his uther gude Qualities and Behaviour, may move her Majeſtie ſo farr to humble her ſelff, as preferring ane of her native born Subjectis unto all forrane Princis, to tak to Husband the ſaid Erle, wee, and everie ane of us underſubſcryveand, upon our Honors and Fidelitie, oblies us, and promitts, not onlie to forder, advaunce and ſet fordwart the Mariage, to be ſolemnizat and compleitit betwix hir Hienes and the ſaid noble Lord, with our Voatis, Counſell, Fortificatioun, and Aſſiſtance in Word and Deid, at ſic tyme as it ſall pleiſe her Majeſtie to think it convenient, and how ſone the Lawes ſall leave it to be done; but in caice onie wald preſume directlie or indirectlie, opinlie, or under quhatſumevir Colour or Pretence, to hinder, hald back, or diſturb the ſame Mariage, wee ſall in that Behalfe, eſteime, hald and repute the Hinderaris, Adverſeris, or Diſturbaris thairof, as our comoune Enimyis and evill Willeris; and notwithſtanding the ſamyne, tak pairt and fortifie the ſaid Erle to the ſaid Mariage, ſo farr as it may pleiſe our ſaid Soverane Lady to allow; and thairin ſall ſpend and beſtow our Lyves and Guidis againes all that leive or die may, as we ſall anſer to God, and upon our awin Fidelities and Conſcience; and in caice we doe in the contrare, nevir to have Reputatioun or Credite in na Tyme heireſtir, but to be accounted unworthie and faithles Traytors. In Witnes of the quhilk, wee have ſubſcryveit thir Preſents, as follows, at *Edinburgh*, the xix Day of *Aprile*, the Zeire of God, 1567 Zeires.”

This Bond is taken from a Copy in the *Cotton* Library; and the Names of the Subſcribents are contained in a ſeparate Paper bearing this Title, *viz.*

1567. "The Names of ſuch of the Nobility as ſubſcribed the Band, ſo far as *John* "*Read* might remember, of whom I *(a)* had this Copy, being in his own "Hand, being commonly termed in *Scotland*, *Aynſleis Supper*. The Earles, "*Murray (b)*, *Argile*, *Huntley*, *Caſſiles*, *Morton*, *Sutherland*, *Rothes*, "*Glencairn*, *Cathneſſe*. Lords, *Boyd*, *Seyton*, *Sinclare*, *Semple Oliphant*, "*Oglevy*, *Roſſe-Hacat*, *Carleile*, *Herris*, *Hume*, *Innermeith*. *Eglinton* "ſubſcribed not, but ſlipped away."

All Parties do acknowledge that there was ſuch a Schedule ſubſcribed at this Time, and that too by Perſons who were Enemies as well as Friends to the Earl of *Bothwell*: And I may reaſonably ſuppoſe my Readers will readily accept in good Part ſome further authentick Account of this ſo infamous a Writing.

Another Copy of this Bond, with ſome Difference in the Date,

There is then another Copy of this ſame Bond in the *Scottiſh* College at *Paris*, atteſted by the proper Subſcription of Sir *James Balfour* of *Pittendrich* the Clerk of Regiſter and Privy-Council, at the Time the Bond was formed, who had the Original in keeping; and this atteſted Copy that Gentleman ſent to Queen *Mary*, as he tells in his Letter to her Majeſty of the 30th *January* 1580-1 *(c)*. The Subſtance of the Bond is the ſame as in the Copy belonging to the *Cotton* Library, with no material Difference except the Date, which is the 20th of *April*, in place of the 19th. This Difference may indeed appear to be not very material; and yet there is ſome Ground for obſerving the Difference, when it is conſidered that the Fautors of the Earl of *Murray*'s Party pretend that in the very ſame Evening after the Parliament was ended, which was on a *Saturday*, the Earl of *Bothwell* invited ſo many of the Nobility to the Houſe of one *Ainſly*, a Taverner, where he made them ſign the foregoing Bond which he had ready in his Pocket for that purpoſe; the doing whereof, 'tis ſaid, they could not evite, that Earl having ſurrounded the Houſe with a great Number of armed Men: But to teſtify their Abhorrence of what they had been forcibly engaged to comply with, moſt of them got up early next Morning, and left the City by Four of the Clock. But this pretended Force and Jeſt of *Ainſly's Supper*, which in the *Cotton* Library is annexed to the Bond, ſeem to loſe their Foundation by the true Date being the *Twentieth* Day of *April*.

There is howſoever no doubt that the Earl of *Bothwell* has uſed all proper Perſwaſives to obtain the Conſent of ſo great a Number as ſubſcribed to this Bond. This is plainly acknowledged by himſelf in the Inſtructions ſent into *France*, after his Marriage with the Queen *(d)*; and I ſuppoſe as little doubt needs be made that theſe noble Perſons who did afterward ſet themſelves in ſuch Oppoſition to the Earl, did at leaſt very readily comply with *Bothwell*'s Propoſal, on purpoſe to lead him into Snares: And perhaps alſo it was true which *Cambden*, as well as ſome other Writers, ſays concerning the Bond, *viz.* "The "Confederacy ſo managed the Matter, as to work up a great part of the No"bility to comply with the Marriage, and to ſet their Hands to a Writing to "that Purpoſe; for fear if he [*Bothwell*] had ſunk from his Hopes, he ſhould "have betrayed the whole bloody Secret." And had there been ſuch Threatning and Colluſion of armed Force made uſe of by the Earl of *Bothwell*, as is pretended, in my Opinion we had heard more of it in a more publick manner, and that Lord's Enemies would not have failed afterwards to have made good uſe of it to ruin his whole wicked Contrivance.

and in the Subſcribers.

As to the Subſcribers of the Bond, they ſtand thus in the above mentioned atteſted Copy: *Santandrois*, *William* Biſhop of *Aberdeen*, *Alexander Epiſcopus Candidæ Caſæ*, *William* Biſhop of *Dumblain*, *Alexander Epiſcopus Brechinen.*

(a) viz. Sir *William Cecil*; for the Bond is among his Collections in the *Cotton* Library, Calig. B. I. F. I.

(b) Mr. *Anderſon*, Collect. *Vol.* I. *p.* 112. juſtly obſerves, that "Mr. *Read*'s Memory might have ſlipt in other Noblemens "Names, as he ſeems to have done in the *firſt* that he ſets down as a Subſcriber, *viz.* the Earl of *Murray*," who was at that Time certainly out of the Kingdom. This *John Read* [or *Reid*] was Mr. *George Buchanan*'s *Amanuenſis*, and he has been employed in copying Papers for Mr. *Cecil* the *Engliſh* Secretary: So we may gueſs at the Unworthineſs of theſe Papers, and how ſmall Regard is to be given them.

(c) *Mem. Scot. Tom* xiii. *Fol* 30.

(d) See theſe Inſtructions *p.* 388, *&c.*

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chinen. Joannes Epiſcopus Roſſen. John Biſhop of the *Iſles, Adam Orchaden. George* Earl of *Huntley, Argyl, Mortoun, Caſſilis, Sutherland, Errol, Crawford, Cathnes, Rothes.* The Lords, *R. Boyd, John* Lord *Glammis, Wm. Ruthven, Sempill, Herrys, Ja.* Lord *Ogilvy, Flemyng.* And underneath theſe Subſcriptions are the following Words, *This is the authentick Copie of the principal Band, as is above wretten,* [ſigned] *Sir J. Balfour.* [in his own Hand-writing.

Earl of *Bothwell* lays Hands on the Queen, and conveys her to *Dunbar-caſtle.*

The Earl of *Bothwell* being now Maſter of the joint Aſſiſtance, as he imagined, of ſo many noble Perſons, reſolved to make himſelf without Delay Maſter of the Queen alſo. For this Purpoſe when her Majeſty had gone to *Stirling* two Days after, *viz.* on the 21ſt, to viſit the Prince her Son, the Earl drew together a Body of about 800 Horſemen, under a Pretence, ſome ſay, of marching into *Lidſdale* to look after Thieves and Robbers, of which and the other Southern Countries he was Lord Lieutenant for the Time: But inſtead of going Southward, as was given out, he marched immediately to the Weſt, and met the Queen at *Almond-Bridge (a)* on the 24th of the ſame Month of *April,* in her Return from *Stirling,* took her Majeſty's Horſe by the Bridle, " and convey'd her by Force, as appeared, to the Caſtle of *Dunbar,* " to the end he might enjoy her as his lawful Spouſe.——The friendly Love " was ſo highly contracted betwixt this great Princeſs and her enormous Sub" ject, that there was no End thereoſ (for it was conſtantly eſteem'd by all " Men that either of them loved other carnally) ſo that ſhe ſuffered patiently " to be led where the Lover liſt, and all the Way neither made Obſtacle, Im" pediment, Clamour, or Reſiſtance, as in ſuch Accidents uſe to be, or that " ſhe might have done by her Princely Authority, being accompanied with " the noble Earl of *Huntly,* and Secretary *Maitland* of *Lethington*" *(b).* Sir *James Melvil* mentions the ſame two Perſons and himſelf to have been in Company of the Queen, and he tells that they three *only* were carried Captives to *Dunbar,* all the reſt of the Queen's Servants, *&c.* were permitted to go free; and next Day, he ſays, that *he* alſo obtained Permiſſion to go home. There, adds he, the Earl of *Bothwell* boaſted he would marry the Queen who would or who would not, yea whether ſhe herſelf would or no: And Captain *Blackader,* who had taken Sir *James,* alledged the Thing was done with her Majeſty's own Conſent.

He ſues for a Divorce, and obtains it;

Whatever Conjectures, Surmiſes, or Complaints might have been made in the Minds of Men, when they firſt heard of this ſurpriſing and treaſonable Action, yet all Ground of Conjecture ſeemed quite to evaniſh, when a Proceſs at the Earl of *Bothwell's* Inſtance was commenced, craving a Divorce from his Wife, Lady *Jean Gordon,* Siſter to the Earl of *Huntly,* to whom he had been married only about ſix Months before. The Buſineſs was proſecuted both after the ancient and the new eſtabliſhed Form. In the Archbiſhop's Court *(c)* the Earl ſued for a Divorce upon the Score of *Conſanguinity*; and in the new *Conſiſtorial* or *Commiſſariot* Court, appointed by the Queen *(d),* the Plea was founded on the Head of *Adultery:* And in both Courts the Divorce was finiſhed in the Space of very few Days *(e).* " They had ſcarcely remained be the Space " of ten Days in the Caſtle of *Dunbar,* and no great Diſtance being between " the Queen's Chamber and *Bothwell's,* when they thought it expedient to

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(a) It ſtands over *Avan-water,* a ſhort Mile to the Weſt of the Town of *Linlithgow,* and is now commonly called *Linlithgow-bridge.*

(b) *Crawford's* MS.

(c) Sometime about the End of *December* preceeding, the Queen had by a Signature reſtored to the Archbiſhop of St. *Andrew's* his ancient Conſiſtorial Juriſdiction over all that Dioceſe. The Judges nominated at this Time by the Archbiſhop were, *Robert* Biſhop of *Dunkeld, William* Biſhop of *Dunblain,* Mr. *Archibald Crawford* Parſon of *Egilſham,* Mr. *John Manderſton* Chanon of the College-Church of *Dunbar,* Mr. *Alexander Crichton* and Mr. *George Cook* Chanons of *Dunkeld.*——

(d) See the Act of Privy Council conſtituting the Court, *Anno* 1563, in the Appendix. The Judges in this Court were, Mr. *Robert Maitland,* Mr. *Edward Henryſon,* Mr *Alexander Sim,* and Mr. *Clement Little,* Lawyers.

(e) " The 26th Day of *April,* firſt Precept for the Partiſing of the Erle of *Bothwell* and his Wyiff, ſays *Cecil's* Diary, was di" rect furth from the Commiſſaries of *Edinburgh*; and *April* 27th, the ſecond Precept of Partiſing before Mr. *John Manderſton* " Commiſſair to the Biſhop of *Sanctandrois* wes direct furth."

He brings the Queen to *Edinburgh-caſtle*.

“ come to *Edinburgh-Caſtle (a)*: And by the Way the Queen behaved herſelf to the People, as that *Bothwell* was ready to put her at Liberty again, according to the Duty of an obedient Subject. But at the Entry of the Tower that leads to the Caſtle, he made Semblance to lead her Bridle; and ſenſible People interpreted the ſame, as that he conveyed her Majeſtie as a Captive into the Caſtle, where a Subject of his was, called Sir *James Balfour*” *(b)*. And *Buchanan* reports, that *Bothwell*'s Dependents threw away their Weapons, as they were conveying her Majeſty from *Dunbar* to *Edinburgh*, leſt ſome time or other they might come to be challenged for detaining the Queen a Priſoner *(c)*.

After the Court was thus returned to *Edinburgh*, a Number of Noblemen, Sir *James Melvil* ſays, were drawn together in a Chamber within the Palace, where “ they all ſubſcribed a Paper, declaring that they judged it was much the Queen's Intereſt to marry the Earl of *Bothwell*, he having many Friends in *Lothian* and upon the Borders, which would cauſe good Order to be kept.” And then adds he, “ the Queen could not but marry him ſeeing he had raviſhed her and lain with her againſt her Will.” But Bp. *Leſlie* in his *Defence* talks thus, “ She yielded to *That* to the which theſe crafty, colluding, ſeditious Heads, and the Neceſſity of the Time, as then to her ſeem'd, did in a manner enforce her.” Thus we have living Witneſſes teſtifying differently; but it were ſtrongly to be wiſh'd the Queen had not given too much Ground to Poſterity, to ſuſpect her Imprudence at leaſt in this unhappy Tranſaction! Whether Sir *James Melvil*'s Memory has fail'd him, and the Band which he mentions at this Time be the ſame with that of the 19th or 20th of *April*, or if this be another Band different from the other, I ſhall not affect to determine: But in either Caſe it may not be improper to ſubjoin here the *Conſent* which Mr. *Anderſon* tells us the Queen gave to the Band the Night before her Marriage; and it will be eaſy to obſerve, that this Paper has been ſign'd by her Majeſty as a Security to the Subſcribers of the foregoing Bond, according to what they ſeem to require in the Cloſe thereof.

And her Majeſty ſigns her Conſent to the preceeding Bond by the Nobility:

“ THE Queenes Majeſtie haveing ſene and conſidderit the Band above writtine, promittis in the Word of a Princeſſe, that ſhe, nor her Succeſſoris, ſall nevir impute as Cryme or Offence to onie of the Perſonis Subſcryveris thairof, thaire Conſent and Subſcriptioun to the Mater above writtin, thairin contenit; nor that thai, nor thair Heires, ſall nevir be callit nor accuſit thairfoir; nor zit ſall the ſaid Conſent or Subſcryving be onie Derogatioun or Spott to thair Honor, or thai eſteemit undewtifull Subjectis for doing thairof, notwithſtanding quhatſumevir Thing can tend or be allegeit in the contrare. In Witnes quhairof her Majeſtie hes ſubſcryveit the ſamyne with her awin Hand.”

And likewiſe an Order for proclaiming the Banns of her Marriage with the Earl of *Bothwell*,

The Queen's Conſent to her marrying the Earl of *Bothwell* being now obtained, the next Step was an Order under her Majeſty's own Hand, for having the Banns of Marriage betwixt her and the Earl of *Bothwell* promulged according to the new Form; which Order, after abundance of Reluctancy *(d)*, was at laſt complied with by Mr. *John Craig* one of the Miniſters of *Edinburgh*.

On the 8th of *May* there is an Act of Privy-Council at *Edinburgh*, *diſcharging all Lieutenandries made in favours of the Nobility, or any of them (e)*; and on *Monday* the 12th of *May* her Majeſty came into the Court of Seſſion, and there made the following Declaration.

Edin-

(a) This agrees well with the Diary, which ſays, that “ on *May* 3d the Queen was conveyit be *Bothwell*, and all his Friends and Speiris, to *Edynbrough* Caſtell.”

(b) *Crawford*'s MS. But this however has been a miſtaken Conjecture.

(c) The ſame Thing is ſaid in the Diary; which is a further Proof that the Diary has been formed from *Buchanan*'s Papers, or by his Scribe.

(d) An Account of the whole Demur, &c. may be ſeen in *Spottiſwood*, in the Acts of Aſſembly, and in *Anderſon*'s Collect. *Vol* 2.

(e) *Pitmedden*'s Abſtracts.

1567.

Edinburgh 12th *May*, 1567 (*a*).

And makes a publick Declaration of her good Mind towards him.

“THE quhilk Day our Soverane Lady compearand perſonalie in Jugment, in Preſens of the Lords Chancellor, Preſident, and haill Lords of Seſſioun underwritten; that is to ſay, *George* Erle of *Huntlie*, Lord *Gordoun* and *Badzenoch*, Chancellor, &c. Reverend Faderis in God, *Jhone* Biſhop of *Ros*, *Alexander* Biſhop of *Gallway*, *Adam* Biſhop of *Orknay*; Mr. *William Baillie* Lord *Provand*, Preſident, Mr. *Alexander Dunbar* Dene of *Murray*, Mr. *Robert Maitland* Dene of *Aberdene*, Mr. *David Chalmers* Chancellor of *Ros*, Mr. *Erchbald Craufurd* Parſon of *Egliſhame*, *Gawyne* Commendator of *Kilwining*, Sir *James Balfour* of *Pittendrich* Knycht, Clerk of Regiſter, *Richart Maitland* of *Lethingtoun*, *John Bellenden* of *Auchnoull*, Juſtice-Clerk, Knychtis, *William Maitland* younger of *Lethingtoun*, Secreter to our Soverane Lady, Mr. *Henry Balnaves* of *Halbill*, *Jhone Gledſtanes*, and Mr. *Edward Henerſon* Licentiat in the Lawis; and als in Preſens of *Jhone* Archbiſhop of *Santandrois*, *William* Biſhop of *Dunblene*, *David* Erle of *Craufurd* Lord *Lindſey*, *George* Erle of *Caitnes*, *Jhone* Commendator of the Abbey of *Abirbroith*, *Alexander* Commendator of *Culros*, *Robert* Commendator of St. *Mary* Ile, Theſaurer, *George* Lord *Sytoun*, *Robert* Lord *Boyd*, and *Symon Preſtoun* of *Craigmiller*, Knycht, Proveſt of *Edinburt*; being informit of before, that the Lordis of Seſſioun made ſum Doubt and Stop to ſit for Adminiſtratioun of Juſtice to the Liegis of this Realme, in reſpect that hir Hienes was tane and haldin in *Dunbar* be *James* Erle *Bothwile*, Lord *Hallis* and *Creychtoun*, and certene utheris his Complices, contrar hir Majeſties Will and Mynd. And now the Quenis Majeſtie, for Declaratioun of hir Mynd yairintill, hes allowit the foreſaids Lordis of Seſſioun for doing of Juſtice to hir Hienes Liegis ſen the Tyme forſaid; and further, hes in like Manner declarit, and declaris, That albeit hir Hienes was commovit for the preſent Tyme of hir taking, at the ſaid Erle *Bothwile*: And ſenſyn, be his gude behaving towart hir Hienes, and having ſur Knaledge of his thankfull Service done be him in Tyme bygane, and for mair thankfull Service in Tyme coming, that hir Hienes ſtands content with the ſaid Erle, and hes forgivin (*b*), and forgivis him, and all utheris his Complices being with him in Company at the Tyme forſaid, all Hatrent conceavit be hir Majeſtie for the taking and impriſoning of hir at the Tyme forſaid. And als declaris hir Majeſtie to be at hir Fredome and Libertie, and is mindit to promove the ſaid Erle to further Honors. for his Service forſaid. And Mr. *David Borthik* Procurator for the ſaid Erle, askit Inſtrumentis herof.”

To verify what her Majeſty ſays ſhe intended in the Cloſe of the foregoing Declaration, ſhe proceeded quickly to create the Earl of *Bothwell*, *Duke of Orkney* (*c*); and in the Space of two or three Days more, to confer on him ſtill a farther Degree of Honour, by aſſuming him publickly for her Huſband.

(*a*) *Anderſon*'s Collections, *Vol.* 1. *p.* 87.

(*b*) Our Hiſtorians take notice of a Meſſage ſent to the Queen by ſome Noblemen at *Stirling*, to know whether her Majeſty was taken and detained by the Earl of *Bothwell* againſt her Will, becauſe in ſuch a Caſe they would endeavour to liberate her: To which her Majeſty ſhould have returned for Anſwer, That tho' indeed ſhe had been taken againſt her Will, yet now ſhe was courteouſly enough entertained. Perhaps the Declaration now made by the Queen in Preſence of the Chancellor, &c. may have given Riſe to that pretended Meſſage from *Stirling*: For if any ſuch had been ſent her Majeſty, I can hardly think ſhe would have taken the Freedom to aver the direct contrary in her Inſtructions ſent into *France* after her Marriage with the Earl of *Bothwell*, as we will ſee ſhe does in moſt expreſs Terms. Or had any ſuch Meſſage really been, 'tis much to be preſumed that either Sir *James Melvil* or *Crawford*'s MS. might have taken ſome notice thereof.

(*c*) *Crawford*'s MS. adds, “ and *Schetland*.”

1567.

CHAP. XII.

Containing State-Affairs from the Queen's Marriage with the Earl of Bothwell *on the 15th of* May 1567, *until the Earl of* Murray's *Acceptation of the Regency in the Month of* Auguſt *the ſame Year.*

The Queen marries the Earl of *Bothwell*,

ON *Thurſday* the 15th Day of *May* in the Year 1567, the Queen thought fit to have her ſelf joined in Matrimony with *James Hepburn* Earl of *Bothwell*, now Duke of *Orkney*, at the Palace of *Holy-rood-houſe*, by *Adam Bothwell* Biſhop *(a)* of *Orkney*, within the great Hall where the Council uſually met, according to the *New Form*, after Sermon, and not at Maſs in the Queen's Chapel, as her former Marriage had been. As this unfortunate Princeſs might in a very particular Manner be noted to have been born unto Trouble, the ſame having remarkably attended her from the Cradle; ſo this bad and ill adviſed Action, her marrying the very Perſon who was but reputed (tho' he had not really been) the Murderer of her former Huſband, may truly be ſaid to have involv'd her in endleſs and remedileſs Miſfortunes: An Action for which her Well-wiſhers were ſorry and grieved at the Heart *(b)*, ſeeing by it ſhe mightily increaſed the Averſion already inſtilled into the People, and deprived her Friends of all juſt Apology in her Behalf: But an Action which her Enemies rejoiced to ſee accompliſhed, ſince by it ſhe laid the Foundation as it were of her own Ruin, and advanced their wicked Deſigns faſter than they themſelves could have lookt for. And now as a ſad Preſage of what was quickly to follow, this old *Latin* Phraſe of *Ovid* was found affixt on the Palace-Gate the ſame Night of the Marriage,

Menſe malas Majo nubere vulgus ait.

The Import of which is, that bad Women only marry in the Month of *May*.

The Earl of *Bothwell* is univerſally acknowledged to have been a worthleſs Man, and one that had ſquandred away a plentiful Fortune: And now ſeeing the Queen had ſtoop'd ſo low as to take him into her Bed, who could ever imagine that this Perſon would have been ſo ungrateful and brutiſh, as to ſhew the leaſt ſhadow of Diſreſpect towards her who had really loſt herſelf to raiſe him? Yet even this he was guilty of, and that too in a very great Degree, he not ſuffering her to paſs a Day without ſhedding of Tears, and teazing her to ſuch a Height, that out of Anguiſh ſhe had been heard to threaten her own Deſtruction! *(c)*.

who behaves himſelf rudely to her Majeſty.

Two Days after the Marriage, *viz.* on the 17th of *May*, we find marked the following *Sederunt* of Privy-Counſellors, *viz. George* Earl of *Huntly*, *David* Earl of *Crawford*, *John* Lord *Fleming*, *John* Lord *Herreis (d)*, *John*

(*a*) Mr. *Knox* might have ſpar'd his childiſh Remark concerning a *Biſhop*. This Biſhop was a Man of no Value, 'tis true; but that Author knew very well that he had before this Time *renounced* his Epiſcopal *Order*, and was become of *Knox*'s Party.

(*b*) Sir *James Melvil* tells how the Lord *Herries* came on purpoſe to *Edinburgh* ſometime after the King's Murder, and requeſted her Majeſty on his Knees not to marry the Earl of *Bothwell*, which Thing he ſaid came to be bruited in the Country; and that the Queen appeared to be in a Wonder how theſe Reports could go abroad, ſeeing there was no ſuch Thing in her Mind. Sir *James* himſelf had alſo a Letter from a great Friend of hers in *England*, one *Thomas Biſhop* a *Scottiſhman*, in which that Perſon declared that the ſame Report was run through *England*, which howſoever, he ſaid, he could not believe, by reaſon that he judged her Majeſty to be of far greater Knowledge than to commit ſuch a groſs Overſight, and ſo prejudicial every way to her Intereſt, ſeeing if ſhe married the Earl of *Bothwell*, ſhe would loſe the Favour of God, her own Reputation, and the Hearts of all *England*, *Ireland* and *Scotland*: This Letter *Biſhop* adjured Mr. *Melvil* to ſhew to the Queen, which he accordingly took the Freedom to do; but he tells that her Majeſty after reading it, ſaid nothing to himſelf, but talking of it with Secretary *Lethington*, called it *a Device of his own, tending to the Wrack of the Earl of* Bothwell. The *Engliſh* Secretary likewiſe, in a Letter in the *Cabala*. 12th *May* 1567, ſays, " the Queen of *Scots*, I think, will be wooed to marry the Earl of *Bothwell*." By all which we perceive that the Suſpicion of this Marriage has indeed been every where ſpread about. Nay, we ſee by the already mentioned Inſtructions ſent into *Fnglnnd* ſometime after this, that the Queen of *England* likewiſe had actually offered her Advice to our Queen, not to have any Dealing with the Earl of *Bothwell*. But it ſeems ſhe has been Proof againſt all friendly Remonſtrances; and ſo it fared but ill with her ere long.

(*c*) *Melvil*'s Memoirs.

(*d*) How this Lord has come ſo quickly into the Favour of the Duke of *Orkney*, after what we have heard of him immediately from Sir *James Melvil*, I ſhall not pretend to account for.

1567.

John Archbiſhop of St. *Andrews*, *Alexander* Biſhop of *Galloway*, *Robert* Lord *Boyd*, Mr. *Thomas Hepburn* Parſon of *Auldhamſtocks* Maſter of Requeſts *(a)*. And on the 19th of *May*, *Sederunt Jacobus Dux Orcaden. Comes de Huntlie, Archiepiſcopus Sti Andreæ, Epiſcopus Roſſen. (b)* On which Day there is a Prohibition under the Pain of Treaſon to utter or receive falſe and counterfeit Braſs Money, ſuch as *Babies*, *Placks*, *Hard-heads*, &c.

Apud Edinburgh 22. *May*, *Anno Dom.* 1567.

SEDERUNT

Jacobus *Dux* Orchaden. Georgius *Comes de* Huntlie, David *Comes de* Crawfurd, Joannes *Epiſcopus* Roſſen. Alexander *Epiſcopus Candidæ Caſæ*, *Secretarius*, *Theſaurarius*, *Clericus Regiſtri*, *Clericus Juſticiariæ*, *Cancellarius* Roſſen *(c)*.

Regulation of the new Privy-Council.

The Quenis Majeſtie, my Lord Duke's Grace hir Hienes Huſband, and Lordis of Secreit-Counſall, conſidering, *&c.* [here follows a Regulation for the Attendance of the Privy-Counſellors, according to the Plan appointed in the Year 1562, and is the ſame which Abp. *Spottiſwood* ſets down at this Time; the following Clauſe only excepted, which that Prelate has omitted] **and for the uthir Nobillmen and Lordis of the Counſall admittit of auld, of quhom ſum are preſentlie furth of the Realme, ſum agit, and not abill to endure Travaill, and ſum utherwayis occupyit in heich and weichtie Matteris; how ſone thair Abilitie and Commoditie permittis thame to repair to hir Hienes Preſens, or ſic utheris as hir Majeſtie ſall pleis choiſe and nominat to be of hir Counſall heireftir, that thai be lykwiſs appointit and warnit at quhilk Tyme thai ſall await and be admittit to the Quarteris above rehearſit, as hir Hienes ſall think gude. And the Clerk of Counſall to gif everie ane of the ſaidis Lordis at the end and outrunning of the Tyme quhilk thai remaine, ane Tikkit of the Day of thair departing, and of the Day that thai ſould enter and returne againe to Counſall.** R. M.

Next Day after this, 23d *May*, there is an Act of Council declaring the Queen's Revocation of any Writings that might have been purchaſed from her Majeſty, for permitting any Perſons to uſe the old Form of Religion, becauſe ſhe intends inviolably to maintain the Act publiſhed concerning Religion, upon her firſt Arrival from *France*.

Sometime in the Courſe of this Month of *May*, the Queen ſent *William Chiſholm* Biſhop of *Dunblane* into *France* with very large Inſtructions (already mentioned) concerning the Motives that inclined her Majeſty to take for Huſband the Earl of *Bothwell (d)*. And ſome time after, probably *(e)*, her Majeſty likewiſe ſent Mr. *Robert Melvil* into *England* with Inſtructions of a like Nature, but much ſhorter than the former. Both theſe have been lately publiſhed *(f)*; and yet ſince they contain ſuch a full Narrative of that whole Affair, I thought this Work might ſeem a little imperfect without them, and therefore I have taken upon me to give them Room here, deſiring the Pardon of my Readers, if they ſhall find Fault with the Repetition.

(a) This is according to *Pitmedden*'s Abſtracts; but *Haddington* has it thus, *viz.* 16. *May* 1567, *The Archbiſhop of St. Andrew's and Lord* Oliphant *admitted and ſworn upon the Privy-Council.* Item, *The Lord* Boyd *admitted the 17th Day. Mr.* Thomas Hepburn *admitted to be Maſter of Requeſts; which Office the Abbot of* Balmerino *had befoir.* But in neither Copy of theſe Abſtracts, is there any Buſineſs marked to have been done in Council. Mr. *Miln* omits this *Sederunt* altogether.

(b) This is according to *Haddington*; but *Pitmedden* here adjects, *Alexander Epiſcopus Candidæ Caſæ.*

(c) This was *David Chalmers* of *Ormond*, Chancellor of the Dioceſe of *Roſs*.

(d) Mr. *Buchanan* has turned theſe Inſtructions into elegant *Latin*, as far as theſe Words, *aſſuring thame that thai will find him reddie to do thame all the Honour and Service thai can requeir.* The famous Hiſtorian *De Thou*, and the great Critick *Le Clerc*, have both taken notice of theſe Inſtructions publiſhed by *Buchanan*, as couch'd with much Art. But *Le Clerc*'s Criticiſm fails him, when he judges them to have been originally drawn up in the *French* Language.

(e) I have ſaid ſo, becauſe Sir *William Cecil* in his Letter 26th *June*, mentions Mr. *Melvil* to be come lately hither from the Queen of *Scots*. *Cabala.*

(f) *Anderſon*'s Collections.

1567.

Inſtructionis to oure truſty Counſallour the Biſchope of Dunblane, *to be declarit be him on oure Behalfe to oure Bruther the maiſt Chriſtin King of* France, *the Quene oure gude Moder, oure Uncle the Cardinall of* Lorane, *and utheris oure Friendis: At* Edinburgh, *the*——*Day of* May 1567 *(a)*.

The Biſhop of *Dunblane* is ſent into *France* to excuſe the Queen's haſty Marriage.

“First, Ze ſall excuſe ws to the King, the Quene oure Modir, oure Uncle, and utheris oure Friendis, in that the Conſummatioun of oure Mariage is brocht to thair Earis be uther Meanis, befoir that ony Meſſage from oure ſelf thai haif bene maid participant of oure Intentioun thairin; quhilk Excuſe mon be chieflie groundit upoun the trew Report of the Duke of *Orknay*, his Behaviour and Proceidingis towartis ws befoir, and quhill this Tyme that we haif bene maid content to tak him to oure Husband. The Report as it is indeid, ſwa ſall ze mak it in this Maner. Begynnand from his verie Zouth, and firſt Entres to this Realme immediatlie eftir the Deceis of his Fadir, quha wes ane of the firſt Erllis of the Realme, and his Hous with the formeſt in Reputatioun. be reſſoun of the Nobilnes and Anciency of the ſamyne *(b)*, and greit Offices quhilk he hes heritabillie.

“At quhilk Tyme the Quene oure Modir being yan Regent of oure Realme, he dedicate his haill Service to hir in oure Name with ſic Devocion and Erniſtnes, that albeit ſone thaireftir the maiſt Part of the Nobilitie, almaiſt the haill Burrowis, and ſwa conſequentlie in a maner the haill Subſtance of the Realme, maid a Revolte from hir Authoritie undir Cullour of Religioun; zit ſwarved he nevir from oure Obedience, nor nevir micht be inducit owther be Promeiſs of gude Deid, or Threatningis of Wrak of his Leving and Heretage, with baith quhilk he wes ſtranglie aſſaultit, to leif ony Part of his Dewtie undone; bot rather to ſuffir his principall Hous and riche Moveables being thairin to be ſakt, his haill Leving to be deſtroyit, and at length himſelf deſtitute of oure Protectioun and Aſſiſtance of ony his Cuntremen, be compellit be Force of oure Rebellis, joynit with ane Army of *Ingland*, brocht in the Bowellis of oure Realme for thair Support, having na uther But to ſchote at bot onlie oure ſaid Husband, being yan Erle *Bothwell*, to abandoun his Landis and native Cuntre, and retier him to *France*, quhair he continewit in oure Service quhill oure Returning within *Scotland*. Ze ſall not omit his Service a lytill done afoir that Tyme in the Weiris aganis *Ingland*, quhairin he gaif ſic Pruif of his Vailzeantnes, Courage and gude Conduct, that notwithſtanding he wes yan of verie zoung Aige, zit wes he choſin out as maiſt fit of the haill Nobilitie to be oure Lieutenent-Generall upoun the Bordouris, having the haill Charge alſweill to defend as to aſſayle. At quhilk Tyme he maid mony nobill Entirpryſes, not unknawin to baith the Realmis, be the quhilk he acqueirit a ſingular Reputatioun in bayth.

“Eftir oure Returning into *Scotland*, he gaif his haill Study to the furthſetting of oure Authoritie, and to imploy his Perſoun to ſuppres the Inſolence of the rebellious Subjectis inhabiting the Cuntreis lying eweſt the Marches of *Ingland*; and within ſchort Tyme brocht thame to a perfyte Quietnes, with Intentioun to pas furthwart in the lyke Service in all uther Partis of the Realme.

“Bot as Invy evir followis Vertew, and this Cuntre is of itſelf ſumquhat ſubject to Factionis; utheris began to miſlyke his Procedingis, and ſa far be Reportis and miſconſtructing his Doingis, went about to put him out of oure gude Grace, that at lenth, upoun Cullouris inventit be his evill Willaris; for ſatisfeing of thame that mycht not abyde his Advancement, and avoiding of

“ further

(a) Shatter'd MS.

(b) This ſurely has been dictated by the Earl of *Bothwell*'s Friends, and is not preciſely true. The Family of *Hepburn* was of *Engliſh* Deſcent, and had but come into *Scotland* in the Reign of King *David Bruce*. Neither was the Earl of *Bothwell* the Stock of the Family, but the Laird of *Waughton* in *Eaſt-Lothian*. And, according to Mr. *Crawford*'s *Peerage*, he was not made Earl until the Year 1488, before which Date there were ſeveral Earls whoſe Succeſſors are ſtill ſubſiſting.

further Contentioun, quhilk mycht have brocht the haill Realme in Troubill, we wer compellit to put him in Ward (a).

“ Out of the quhilk eſchaping, to gif Place to thair Malice, he paſt out of the Realme towart *France*, and yair remanit quhill about twa Zeris * ſyne, yat the ſame Perſounis quha befoir wer the Inſtrumentis of his Troubill, began to forzett thair Dewtie towartis oure ſelf, putting thameſelfſis in Armes, diſplayit plane Baneris aganis oure Perſoun. At quhilk Tyme, be oure Commandment being callit hame, and immediatlie reſtorit to his former Charge of Lieutenent Generall (b), oure Authoritie proſpered ſa weill in his Handis, yat ſuddanlie oure haill Rebellis wer conſtranit to depart the Realme, and remane in *Ingland*, quhill ſum of yame upoun Submiſſioun and humill Sute wer reconceylit to ws. How treſſonabillie we wer demanyt for hame-bringing of the reſt, be thame quhame we had advancit to mair Honour than thai wer worthie of, it is not unknawen to oure Uncle, quhilk makis ws to pas it ovir the mair ſchortlie.

* *ago.*

“ Zit it is worthie Remembrance with quhat Dexteritie he red himſelf of the Handis of thame that at that Tyme detenit oure Perſoun captive, and how ſuddanlie be his Provydence not onlie wer we deliverit out of the Preſſoun, bot alſwa that haill Cumpany of Conſpiratouris diſſolvit (c), and we recoverit oure formar Obedience. Indeid we mon confeſs that Service done at that Tyme to haif bene ſa acceptabill to ws, that we could nevir to this Hour forzet it, quhilk he hes evir ſinſyne proſecutit with the lyke Dilligence in all mycht content ws, ſwa that we could not wyſs mair Fidelitie nor gude Behaviour yan we haif alwayis fund in him, quhill of lait, ſen the Deceis of the King oure Huſband, yat as his Pretenſis began to be heichar, ſa fand we his Procedingis ſumquhat ſtrange. albeit now ſen we ar ſa far procedit with him, we mon interpreit all Thingis to the beſt; zit haif we bene heichlie offendit, firſt with his Preſumptioun, yat thocht we could not ſufficientlie reward him, onleſs we ſould gif oure ſelf to him for ye Recompanſs of his Service; nixt for his Practiſes and ſecreit Meanis; and at lenth the plane attempting of Force to haif ws in his Puiſſance, for feir to be diſappointit of his Purpois.

“ His Deportmentis in this Behalf may ſerve for ane Exempill, how cunninglie Men can cover yair Deſigneis, quhen thai haif ony greit Interpryis in heid, † quhill yai haif brocht yair Purpois to pas. We thocht his Continewance in the awayting upoun ws, and Reddines to fulfill all oure Commandmentis, had procedit onelie upoun the acknawlegeing of his Dewtie, being oure borne Subject, without furder hid Reſpect; quhilk movit ws to mak him the bettir Viſage, thinking nathing leſs yan that the ſame being bot ane ordinarie Countenance to ſic Nobillmen as we fand affectionate to oure Service, ſould encourage him, or gif him Bauldnes to luke for ony extraordinar Favour at oure Handis: Bot he, as weill hes apperit ſenſyne, making his Proffeit of everie Thing mycht ſerve his Turne, nocht diſcovering to oure ſelf his Intent, or yat he had ony ſic Purpois in heid, wes content to intertene oure Favour be his gude outwart Behaviour, and all Meanis poſſibill. And in the mene tyme went about be practiſing with ye Nobillmen ſecretlie to make yame his Friendis, and to procure yair Conſent to the Furtherance of his Intentis: And ſwa far procedit be Meanis with yame, befoir yat evir the ſame come to oure Knawlege, that oure haill Eſtaittis being heir aſſemblit in Parlament, he obtenit ane Writting ſubſcrivit with all yair Handis, quhairin thai nocht onelie grantit thair Conſentis to oure Mariage with him, bot alſwa obleiſt thameſelfis to ſet him forwart thairto with thair Lyvis and Gudis, and to be Inymeis to all wald diſturb or impede the ſamyn; quhilk Lettre he purcheſt, geving thame to undirſtand that we wer content thairwith.

† *until.*

(a) The Readers will obſerve this Part in our publick Hiſtories.

(b) See Band in the Appendix, *September* 17th 1565.

(c) This reſpects the Event of *David Riccio*'s Murder.

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“ And the ſamyn being anis obtenit, he began afar of to diſcovir his Intentioun to ws, and to aſſay gif he mycht be humill Sute purches oure gude Will: Bot finding oure Anſwer nathing correſpondent to his Deſyre, and caſting befoir his Eyis all Doubtis that cuſtumabillie Men uſis to revolve with thameſelſis in ſemblabill Interpryſis, the * Outwardnes of oure awin Mynd, the Perſuaſionis quhilk oure Friendis or his Unfriendis mycht caſt out for his Hinderence, the Change of thair Myndis quhais Conſent he had alreddie obtenit, with mony uther Incidentis quhilk mycht occur to fruſtrat him of his Expectatioun, he reſolved with himſelf to follow furth his gude Fortoun, and all Reſpectis laid apart, ayther to tyne all in ane Hour, or to bring to pas that Thing he had takin in hand; and ſwa reſoluit quiklie to proſecute his Deliberatioun, he ſufferit nocht the Mater lang to ſleip, bot within four Dayis thaireſtir, findeing Opportunitie, be reſſoun we wer paſt ſecretlie towartis *Striveling* to viſite the Prince our derreſt Sone, in oure returning he awayted ws be the Way, accumpaneit with a greit Force, and led ws with all Dilligence to *Dunbar*.

* Untoward-neſs.

“ In quhat Part we tuke that maner of Dealing, bot ſpeciallie how ſtrange we fand it of him, of quhome we doubtit leſs than of ony Subject we had, is eaſie to be imagined.

“ Being thair, we reprochit him, the Honour he had to be ſa eſtemit of ws, the Favour we had alwayis ſchawin him, his Ingratitude, with all uther Remonſtrances quhilk mycht ſerve to red ws out of his Handis. Albeit we fand his Doingis rude, zit wer his Anſwer and Wordis bot gentill, That he wald honour and ſerve ws, and nawayis offend ws; askit Pardoun of the Bauldnes he had tane to convoy ws to ane of oure awin Houſis, quhairunto he wes drevin be Force, alſweill as conſtranit be Luſe, the Vehemencie quhairof had maid him to ſet apart the Reverence quhilk naturallie as oure Subject he bure to ws, as alſwa for Saiftie of his awin Lyff. And thair began to mak ws a Diſcours of his haill Lyff, how unfortunate he had bene to find Men his Unfreindis quhome he had nevir offendit; how thair Malice nevir ceaſit to aſſault him at all Occaſiounis, albeit onjuſtlie; quhat Calumpnyis had thai ſpred upoun him twiching the odious Violence perpetrated in the Perſoun of the King oure lait Husband; how unabill he was to ſafe himſelf from Conſpiraceis of his Innemeis, quhome he mycht not knaw, be reſſoun everie Man profeſſed himſelf outwartlie to be his Freind; and zit he had ſic Malice, that he could not find himſelf in Suirtie, without he wer aſſurit of oure Favour to indure without Alteratioun; and uther Aſſurance thairof could he not lippin in, without it wald pleis ws to do him that Honour to tak him to Husband; proteſting alwayis that he wald ſeik na uther Soveraintie bot as of befoir, to ſerve and obey ws all the Dayis of oure Lyff, joyning thairunto all the honeſt Language that could be uſit in ſic a Cais.

“ And quhen he ſaw ws lyke to reject all his Sute and Offeris, in the End he ſchowed ws how far he was procedit with oure haill Nobilitie and Principallis of oure Eſtaittis, and quhat thai had promeiſt him undir thair Handwrittis. Gif we had Caus yan to be aſtoneiſt, we remit ws to the Jugement of the King, the Quene, oure Uncle, and utheris oure Freindis. Seing oure ſelf in his Puiſſance, ſequeſtrat frome the Cumpany of all oure Servandis and utheris quhome of we mycht ask Counſale; zea, ſeing thame upoun quhais Counſale and Fidelitie we had befoir dependit, quhais Force aucht and mon manteine oure Authoritie, without quhome in a maner we ar nathing; (For quhat is a Prince without a Peopill?) befoirhand alreddie zealded to his Apetyte, and ſwa we left allane as it wer a Pray to him: Mony Thingis we revolved with oure ſelf, but nevir could find ane Outgait. And zit gaif he ws lytill Space to meditate with oure ſelf, evir preſſing ws with continewall and importune Sute.

“ In the End, quhen we ſaw na Eſperance to be red of him, nevir Man in *Scotland* anis makand ane Mynt to procure oure Deliverance, for that it mycht appeir be thair Hand writtis and Silence at that Tyme, that he had won thame all, we wer compellit to mitigat oure Diſpleaſour, and began to think upoun that he propoundit; and yan wer content to lay befoir oure Eyis the Service he had done in Tymes paſt, the Offer of his Continewance heireftir; how unwilling oure Peopill ar to reſſave a Strangear unacquainted with thair Lawis and Cuſtumis, that thai would not ſuffir ws lang to remane unmareit, that this Realme being devidit in Factionis as it is, cannot be contenit in Ordour, onles oure Autoritie be aſſiſtit and furthſet be the Fortificatioun of a Man quha mon tak Pane upoun his Perſoun in the Executioun of Juſtice, and ſuppreſſing of thair Inſolence that wald rebell, the Travell quhairof we may na langar ſuſtene in oure awin Perſoun, being alreddie weryit, and almaiſt brokin with the frequent Uprores and Rebellionis raſit aganis ws ſen we come in *Scotland*; how we have bene compellit to mak four or fyve Lieutenentis attanis in divers Partis of the Realme, of quhome the maiſt part, abuſing oure Autoritie, hes, under cullour of oure Commiſſioun, raiſit oure Subjectis within thair Charge aganis oure ſelf: And ſeing Force wald compell ws in the End, for Preſervatioun of oure awin Eſtait, to inclyne to ſum Mariage, and that the Humour of oure Peopill wald nocht weill degeſt a foreyn Husband, and that of oure awin Subjectis thair wes nane, eyther for the Reputatioun of his Hous, or for the Worthines of himſelf, allweill in Wiſdome, Valzeantnes, as in all uther gude Qualities *(a)*, to be preferrit, or zit comparit to him quhome we have takin; we wer content to accomode oure ſelf with the Conſent of oure haill Eſtaittis, quha, as is befoir ſaid. had alreddie declarit thair Contentationis.

“ Eftir he had be thir Meanis, and mony utheris, brocht ws agaitward to his Intent, he partlie extorted, and partlie obtenit oure Promeis to tak him to oure Husband: And zit not content thairwith fearing evir ſum Alterationis, he wald nocht be ſatisfeit with all the juſt Reſſounis we could allege to have the Conſummatioun of the Mariage delayit, as had bene maiſt reſſounabill, quhill we mycht communicat the ſame to the King, the Quene, oure Uncle, and utheris oure Freindis; bot as be a Bravade in the Begynning he had win the fyrſt Point, ſa ceaſed he nevir till be Perſuaſionis and importune Sute, accumpaneit nottheles with Force, he hes finalie drevin ws to end the Work begun at ſic Tyme and in ſic Forme as he thocht mycht beſt ſerve his Turne, quhairin we cannot diſſembill that he hes uſit ws utherwayis than we wald have wyſſit, or zit have deſervit at his Hand, having mair Reſpect to content thame by quhais Conſent grantit to him befoir hand he thinkis he hes obtenit his Purpois, althoch thairin he had bayth fruſtrate ws and thame, than regarding oure Contentatioun, or zit weying quhat wes convenient for ws, that hes bene noriſſed in our awin Religioun, and nevir intendis to leif the ſamyne for him or ony Man upoun Earth *(b)*.

“ Indeid with this Point we find Fault in oure Mynd, albeit we ar content that nowther the King, the Quene oure Modir, oure Uncle, nor ony uther, lay it to his Charge; for now ſen it is paſt, and cannocht be brocht bak agane, we will mak the beſt of it, and it mon be thocht, as it is in effect, that he is oure Husband, quhome we will bayth luff and honour, ſwa that all that profeſſis thameſelfis to be oure Freindis mon profeſs the lyke Freindſchip towartis him quha is inſeparabilie joynit with ws. And albeit he hes in ſum Pointis or Ceremoneis rakleſt himſelf †, quhilk we ar content to impute to his Affectioun towartis ws, we will deſyre the King the Quene oure Modir, oure Uncle, and utheris oure Freindis, to beir him na leſs gude Will than all had procedit to this Hour with the Avys of all oure Freindis, and in the beſt Ordour that he could haif devyſit, aſſuring thame that thai will find him reddie to do tham all the Honour and Service thai can requeir.

† i. e. deborded from Decency.

(*a*) Theſe Topicks are commonly made uſe of, and are commonly as ill grounded as they were at this Time.

(*b*) The Queen here ſeems to apologize for her Marriage with one that was of the new Religion, and that it was ſolemnized after that Form.

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“ *Item*, In cais it ſall be objectit to zow be the King, the Quene oure Modir, oure Uncle, or any uther oure Freindis, that oure preſent Mariage can nocht be lauchful, in reſpect that he quhome withall we ar preſentlie joynit wes of befoir couplit to a Wyff; ze ſall reply and anſwer according to the verie Treuth, That albeit he wes befoir mareit, zit befoir oure Mariage with him, the formar Contract and Band wes be the Ordour of Law, expreſſit in the *Canonis* reſſavit and practizit in oure Realme, for lauchful Caus of Conſanguinitie, and utheris relevant, diſſolvit, and the Proces of Divorce ordourlie led; ſwa that we on the ane Part, and he on the uther Syde, being bayth fre, the Mariage mycht lauchfullie and weill aneuch be accompliſſit be the Lawis of this Realme, as now at Goddis Pleſſour it is, quhairby the foirſaid Objectioun, or ony the lyke tending to this Fyne, may be elydit and ſet by (a).

“ Furthermair, it may be that oure Uncle the Cardinall ſall object and find Fault, that we maid not ſic exact Diligence in convoying hither of the *Nunce Apoſtolice* as the Wecht of the Mater cravit: In quhilk Point ze ſall anſwer and ſatisfie him be Declaratioun and making of trew Report, how this laſt Zeir about *Martimes*, we directit towart the ſaid *Nunce* oure weilbelovit Clerk and Servitour Maiſter *Stevin Wilſoun*, inſtructit with oure Mynd, quhairof the chief Intent wes, how the *Nunce* mycht be maiſt ſuirlie and convenientlie tranſportit towart oure Realme, and to oure Preſence, be the Conduct of oure ſaid Servitour; and zit we ſe na Apperance of his cumming, bot is partlie fruſtrat and put by oure Purpois, for lak of that Support quhilk anis we undirſtude of his *Halines* Liberalitie to have bene deſtinat for ws for the maintening of oure Eſtait, and furthſetting of oure Authoritie (b); bot cheiflie in Default of his Preſence, Counſale and Conference with him, quhilk joynit with the uther Thing befoir ſaid, in all Apperance wes nocht onlie likelie to have furtherit and avancit the Matir verie heichlie, bot alſwa mycht have red ws out of mony thrawart Accidentis quhilk ſenſyne we have fallin into; ane of the principall Occaſionis quhairof we mon imput to the ſaid *Nunceis* Abſence, and nocht reſorting to ws, quhilk hes procedit on his awin Motioun, and ſair aganis oure Will, as ze ſall mak oure Uncle to undirſtand be all the gude and honeſt Perſuaſionis ze can, tending to this End.”

Inſtructioun to oure truſty Servand Robert Malvile, *to be declarit be him on oure Behalf, to oure derreſt Siſter the Quene of* Ingland.

and *Robert Melvil* into *England* with Inſtructions of a like Nature.

“ EFtir that ze have preſentit oure maiſt hartlie Commendationis to oure ſaid derreſt Siſter, ze ſall expone and declair unto hir the verie Occaſionis quhilk hes movit ws to tak the Duke of *Orknay* to Husband, and thairwithall mak oure Excuſe for that we ſa ſuddanlie procedit to the Conſummatioun of oure Mariage, not makand oure derreſt Siſter Advertiſement, nor askand hir Advys and Counſal thairin.

“ For the Firſt, Ze ſall grund zow upon the Conditioun and Stait of ws and oure Realme, declarand how we wer deſtitute of ane Husband, oure Realme not throuchlie purgit of the Factiounis and Conſpiraceis that of lang tyme hes continewit thairin, quhilk occurring ſa frequentlie, had alreddie in a maner ſa weryit and brokin ws, that be oure ſelf we wer not abill of ony lang Continewance to ſuſtene the Pynis and Travell in oure awin Perſoun, quhilkis wer requiſite for repreſſing of the Inſolence and Seditioun of oure rebellious Subjectis, being, as is knawin, a Peopill als factious amangis thameſelfis,

“ and

(a) The Caſe of this Divorce was too ſcandalous a Matter for the Queen to have ever any Dealing in it. She ought to have rejected the greateſt Prince in the World, if it behoved him to divorce another Woman firſt, to render him capable to marry her. But to take her own Subject after ſuch a manner, was by much too far below her Royal Birth and Dignity, had ſhe conſidered the ſame as it became her. I know very well that the Matter of *Divorce* was a chief Reproach upon the Practice and Religion of the preceeding Times; but I much doubt whether any Divorce and ſubſequent Marriage was ever ſo offenſive and ſcandalous as this.

(b) I have put into the Appendix, Numb. 19. two Letters in the *Latin* Tongue written by our Queen; one to the Pope, the other to ——— concerning the *Nuncio*: Theſe I have recovered from the Shatter'd MS. and I ſhall put likewiſe ſome other Letters, *&c.* into the Appendix concerning this *Nuncio*, who was now Biſhop of *Mondovi*, and afterwards Cardinal *Laurea*.

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“ and als faſſious for the Governour as any uther Natioun in *Europe*; and that for thair Satisfactioun, quhilk could not ſuffer ws lang to continew in the Stait of Widoheid, movit be thair Prayeris and Requeiſt, it behuvit ws to zield unto ane Mariage or uther.

“ Seing na Apperance of ony greit Commoditie to follow be protracting of Tyme, bot as on the ane Part thai wer verie weill content, zea and erniſtlie urgit ws yat we ſould without Delay proceid to oure Mariage, evin ſwa on the uther Syde, be thair Meaning, we perſavit how unwilling thai wer that we ſould cheis ony foreyn Husband, bot rather ſa far humill ws to be content with ſum borne Subject of oure awin for that Place, that were acquented with thair Maneris, and the Lawis and Cuſtum of oure Realme; for indeid we oure ſelf hes had ſum Pruif and Experience of thair ſturring, quhen as be occaſioun of oure foreyn Mariage, thai haif ſuſpectit to be hardly handillit of Strangearis. Quhen thairfoir in the Eyis and Opinioun of oure Peopill, ane of oure awin Subjectis wes jugeit maiſt meit bayth for ws and thame: Oure haill Nobilitie being laitlie aſſemblit at oure Parlament, wer beſt content that the Duke of *Orknay*, yan Erle of *Bothwile*, ſould be promovit to that Place, gif ſa wer oure Pleſour; and to that Effect ſubſcrivit a Lettre with all thair Handis befoir, or evir we aggreit to tak him to oure Husband, or that he oppynit his Mynd to ws in that Behalf, quhairby we wer movit to mak oure Choyſe of him, as ane quhais Wiſdome, Valzeantnes, and utheris gude Qualiteis, mycht be weill comparit, or rather preferrit to ony uther Nobillman in oure Realme, and his Hous honorabill and ancient. Bot indeid his faythfull and uprycht Service evir ſen he come to Manis State, ſpent and beſtowit for ws, and in oure Querrell, for furthſetting of oure Authoritie, quha evir ganeſtude it, wes na ſmall Motive in oure Conſait in making of oure Choyſe, the rather becaus nane, or verie few of all the Nobillmen, ar abill in that Point to debate with him; ſeing at ſum tyme or uther the maiſt Part of thame had leaft ws, he exceptit.

“ Thir Thingis being conſiderit maturelie, and having Reſpect to the Releif quhilk he ſould mak ws in Maniement of the publict Effaris of oure Realme, and Adminiſtratioun of Juſtice, with the quhilk, throw frequent Uproris and Seditionis, as we have ſaid, we wer fullie weryed, we reſolvit to marie him how ſone we mycht convenientlie: And for oure ſuddane Proceding in that Behalf, not makand oure ſaid derreſt Siſter previe of oure Intentioun, nor askand hir Advyis and Counſall thairin, quhilk we confeſs we aucht to haif done; the chief Occaſionis wer, as ze may bauldlie affirme, the Difficultie of the Tyme, divers Advertiſementis and Bruittis that come to ws, alſweill fra *France* as utherwayis, and ſic uther Thingis as in the mene tyme intervenit, and zit verie wechtie and ſufficient Cauſis, tending to oure greit Weill and Suirtie, quhilkis are weill knawin to oure ſelf, conſtrenit ws to mak ſic Haiſt as we have done, and not to delay the Mater quhill oure ſaid derreſt Siſter had bene adverteiſt of oure Intentioun and Purpois, and hir Advyis and Counſall had bene knawin and reportit to ws, quhairanent ze ſall pray and deſyr hir hartlie to excuſe ws; for as we nevir meanit to joyne in Mariage with ony that we belevit ſcho wes not contentit with, ſa for this quhilk is preſent, we traiſt ſcho will not onelie continew hir accuſtumat Favour and mutuall Intelligence with ws, bot als, for oure Reſpect, will extend hir Friendſchip to oure Husband, with quhome we ar inſeparabillie joynit, and to beir him and ws na les gude Will than gif all had procedit to this Hour with the Knawlege and Avyis of oure ſaid derreſt Siſter, quhome ze ſall aſſuir to find him reddie to do hir all the Honour and Service that ſcho can requeir of him.

“ *Item*, In cais the Quene oure gude Siſter ſall mak hir to think ſtrange of oure Mariage with the Duke of *Orknay*, be reſſoun he wes ſuſpectit and calumpniat of the odious Violence committit in the Perſoun of the King oure lait Husband, and that ſcho had writtin to oure ſelf ſumquhat in that Behalf

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“ of befoir. It is trew that ſcho wrate to ws, and we ſend hir Anſwer agane, the Copy quhairof we have deliverit zow heirwith, quhilk will inſtruct zow ſufficientlie quhat ze ſall anſwer to this Objectioun, in cais ze be burdynit with it: In Effect it is this, that ſeing he wes acquite be oure Lawis, and be the Senſament of Parlament *(a)*, and had further offerit him reddie to do all thing for Tryall of his Innocencie that ony Nobillman in Honour aucht *(b)*; we thocht the formar [to be] Calumpny and Accuſatioun, and that we mycht weill aneuch *(c)* tak him to Huſband.

“ *Item*, It may be that oure gude Siſter ſall allege oure preſent Mariage not to be lauchfull, in ſa far as the Duke oure Huſband wes couplit to a Wyff of befoir, quha zit levis: Ze ſall anſwer, That be the Lawis reſſavit within oure Realme, and often tymes practizit, as is notour aneuch, his formar Mariage wes diſſolvit, and the Proces of Divorce ordourlie led, for reſolute Cauſis of Conſanguinitie, and utheris befoir oure Mariage with him, and ſwa we mycht lauchfullie conſummat the ſamyn; for it is na new Thing nowther in *Scotland* nor *Ingland*.

“ *Item*, Ze ſall put oure ſaid gude Siſter in mynd of the Maiſtir of *Marchellis* lang Captivitie, throw Refuis of reſſonabill Ranſoum that mony tymes hes bene offerit, and the Matir verie oft motionat unto hirſelf, ſen thair is nathing to be had of thame in quhas Handis he now remanis, bot uttir Rigour and Extremitie; that it will pleis oure ſaid gude Siſter to appoint and gif Commiſſioun to ſum diſcreit Men to meit with utheris of the lyke Qualitie, to be ſend and appointit be ws, for making ane Modificatioun of the ſaid Ranſoum, ſwa that the ſamyn being payit, the Gentillman may be fre of his lang ſumptuous Captivitie.”

A Faction formed under Pretence of preſerving the young Prince.

It was very much talked in the Kingdom, that the Earl of *Bothwell* had a ſtrong Inclination to have the Prince in his Keeping: And Sir *James Melvil* gives a pretty circumſtantiate Account, how the Earl of *Mar* was enabled by his Advice to divert the Purſuit for a Time. This ſame Author likewiſe makes us underſtand in general, that on the other hand ſeveral of the Nobility had ſecret caballing to crown the young Prince, and proſecute the Murderers of his Father. Theſe different Views of the Earl of *Bothwell* and his Oppoſites came at laſt to terminate in Bonds and Aſſociations, for the Support of the reſpective Parties and Leaders, and no doubt the Deſtruction of their Enemies. The principal Lords, ſay ſome, who met at *Stirling* and aſſociated for the Prince, were the Earls of *Argile*, *Athole*, *Morton*, *Mar*, *Glencarne*; the Lords *Lindſay* and *Boyd (d)*: But as to the particular Perſons who combined with the Earl of

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(*a*) Bp. *Leſlie* mentions the ſame Thing likewiſe; and yet there is no ſuch Matter to be ſeen in the Record of the Parliament in *April* 1567.

(*b*) *i. e.* The Earl of *Bothwell* the ſame Day after his Acquital, I think, offered the Combate; a Thing uſual in thoſe Days to any that would dare to ſay he was guilty. *Buchanan* ſays, the Challenge was accepted on certain Conditions; but then he tells us no more of the Matter.

(*c*) *Well enough* is in our *Scottiſh* Dialect to this Day but a qualified ſort of Affirmation, and includes a kind of Diffidence, and ſecret Acknowledgment that the Thing might be better, or better done: And indeed I muſt own that I am nowiſe ſurprized that the Queen had not Courage to ſay more on the preſent Head; for to me it ſeems but a poor Apology for any Woman, and much more a Queen, who is ſtationed, we may literally ſay, in the View of *all* the World, to alledge, that becauſe the ſtrongly ſurmiſed Murderer of her former Huſband was cleared from that Imputation by a *Jury*, therefore ſhe could with a good Grace take the ſame very Perſon for her future Huſband. There is ſomething very delicate in a Point of this Nature, and the ſmalleſt Suſpicion ought to determine the ſurviving Party, eſpecially the Female, to abſtain from ſuch an Enterprize. But if the Queen in the preſent Caſe was conſcious of any Guilt in the Earl of *Bothwell*, or if ſhe gave the leaſt Countenance in aſſoilzieing him, we muſt take the Freedom to ſay, that ſhe has brought juſtly upon herſelf all the Misfortunes which from this Time did beſall her, how unjuſtly ſoever theſe might be inflicted by her Enemies. It was at leaſt incumbent upon her Majeſty (if ſhe entertained any Thought of marrying the Earl of *Bothwell*) to have ſifted into the Bottom of the Accuſation led againſt him, and to have allowed every reaſonable Scruple to be ſatisfied which the Earl of *Lenox* could propoſe; and particularly tho' the Day of the Trial could not be adjourned by her Authority, as that Earl required, yet ſhe might have eaſily commanded the Lord-Juſtice to delay the Buſineſs until another Day, after the Court was once formed. Truly I cannot but deem it a Piece of high Imprudence in the Queen to have taken at any rate the Earl of *Bothwell* to her Huſband, even tho' he had been as innocent of the Crime laid to his Charge, as the Child that was yet unborn. And the Imprudence was ſtill heightned, when ſhe could not be ignorant what a powerful Faction ſhe had to grapple with in the Kingdom, and ſo might eaſily judge that ſuch a Marriage (notwithſtanding all their hypocritical Bonds, *&c.*) would be afterwards improved to the beſt Advantage againſt her.

(*d*) This is the Liſt given by *Knox* and *Buchanan*: But *Crawford*'s *Memoirs*, MS. gives for the “ Chiefs of the Faction, *Morton*, *Mar*; Lords *Home*, *Sempil*, and *Lindſay*; Barons *Tillibardine* and *Grange*, and Secretary *Lethington*; theſe diſliking the Queen's Marriage, and being out of Countenance before, dealt ſecretly with others to make a Faction, pretending thereby to ſet the Queen to Liberty, and put *Bothwell* to a Trial for the ſuſpected Murder: Altho' their Intention was rather to ſeek their own Liberty [Authority] by Uprore and Rebellion, as in its own Place you ſhall hear.”

of *Bothwell*, we are left to gueſs without any particular Mention of them by our Hiſtorians. One Thing however, both *Buchanan* and *Knox*, and after them Abp. *Spottiſwood*, take care to inform the World of, that when the Queen had invited many of the Nobility to Court, and had deſired them to ſign a Bond for the Defence of herſelf and her now Huſband; the Earl of *Murray* alone had the Courage and Generoſity to decline doing it, telling for his Reaſon, that ſince he had formerly entred into Friendſhip with *Bothwell*, he would keep his Promiſe; but to ſubſcribe any Bond for the Queen, this he judged to be unneceſſary, ſeeing he was bound to obey her as his Sovereign in all lawful and juſt Things. Mr. *Buchanan*, according to his fine Talent, makes a noble Diſcourſe and Panegyrick here in favour of his *worthy* Patron; and yet when all this fine Story is told with all its agreeable Circumſtances, 'tis certain the Earl of *Murray* was not then, nor had been within this Kingdom for upwards of a Month at leaſt before the Queen's Marriage. If one or all of theſe Authors have jumbled different Times together, let themſelves bear the Blame; for I ſuppoſe they may have an Eye to ſomewhat of this kind, which the Earl of *Murray*, in his Anſwer to the Declaration of the Earls of *Huntly* and *Argile*, mentions to have fallen out after the Murder indeed of the King, but moſt certainly before the Queen's Marriage with *Bothwell* (a).

On the 28th of *May* the two following Proclamations are inſerted in the Regiſters of Privy-Council: And tho' there is no *Sederunt* of Counſellors marked, yet we ſee their Advice is mentioned in the Body of the Proclamations.

Edinburgh 28. *May* 1567.

Proclamatioun againſt *Liddiſdaill*.

Two Proclamations iſſued out for repreſſing the Robbers, &c. on the Eaſt Borders:

THe Quenis Majeſtie, conſiddering the greit Skayth and Detriment, quhilk the trew and gude Subjectis of this Realme, dwelland in the Cuntries aweſt the Bordouris, ſuſtein be the opin Reiffis, Thiftis and Oppreſſioun of the rebellious and diſobedient Perſounis Inhabitantis of Liddiſdaill, quhilk attour the odious Crymes above ſpecifiet, daylie murtheris and ſlayis the trew Legeis in the Defence of thair awn Gudis, in ſic ſort, that divers gude and proffitabill Landis are laid waiſt, and mony honeſt Houſhaldaris conſtranit to skaill thair Houſis: That the Invaſioun of the ſaidis Rebellis is almaiſt in na leſs hurtfull to the commoun Weill nor gif it wer opin Weir with forayn Innemyis; and ſeing the ſaid Rebellis owrlukit and winkit at be ſic as duellis maiſt eweſt to thame; Hir Majeſtie is conſtrenit to uſe the Force of the In-cuntries, for ſuppreſſing of the Inſolence of the ſaidis rebellious Peopill; and thairfoir, with Avys of hir derreſt Spous James Duke of Orknay, Erle of Bothwell, Lord Hails, Creichtoun and Liddiſdaill, Greit Admirall of this Realme, and Lordis of Secreit-Counſall, ordanis Lettris to be direct, chargeing all and ſundrie Erlis, Lordis, Baronis, Frehaldaris, Landitmen and ſubſtantious Zemen, dwelland within the Boundis of the Schireffdomes of Forfar, Perth; Stewartries of Strathern and Monteith, beneth the Hielands; the Schireffdomes of Striviling, Lanark, Clakmanan, Kynros and Fyffe: That thai, and ilk ane of thame, weill bodin in feir of Weir, with fifteen Dayis Victuall and Proviſioun, adres thame to convene and meit our Soverane Lady hir Majeſties derreſt Huſband foirſaid, or Lieutennant, at Melros, upon the Fifteenth Day of June nixt to cume; and ſwa to pas furthwart as thai ſall be comandit, for Invaſioun of the ſaidis Rebellis during the ſaid Space of fifteen Dayis, undir the Pain of Tynſall of Lyff, Landis and Gudis,

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(a) See this Paper in the Appendix.

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THe Quenis Majeſtie, conſiddering the greit Skayth and Detriment, quhilk the trew Subjectis of this Realme dwelland in the Cuntreis eweſt the Bourdouris ſuſtenis be the opin Reiffis, Thift and Oppreſſioun of the rebellious and diſobedient Perſonis Inhabitantis of Liddiſdaill, quhilk attour and beſydes the odious Crymes above ſpecifiet, daylie murtheris and ſlayis the trew Legeis in the Defence of thair awn Gudis, in ſic ſort, that divers gude and profitabill Landis are laid waiſt, and mony honeſt Houſhalderis conſtrenit to skaill thair Houſis: That the Invaſioune of the ſaidis Rebellis is almaiſt na les hurtfull to the commoun Weill nor gif it wer opin Weir with forayn Innemeis; and ſeing the ſaid Rebellis owrlukit and winkit at be ſic as dwellis maiſt eweſt to thame; Hir Majeſtie is conſtrenit to uſe the Force of the In-cuntreis, for ſuppreſſing of the Inſolence of the ſaid rebellious peopill; and thairfoir with Advyis of hir derreſt Spous James Duke of Orknay, Erle Bothwell, Lord Hailis, Creichtoun and Liddiſdaill, Greit Admirall of oure Realme, and Lordis of Secreit-Counſall, ordainis Lettris to be direct, chargeing all and ſundrie Erlis, Lordis, Baronis, Frehalderis, Landitmen, and ſubſtantious Zemen, dwelland within the Boundis of the Schireffdomes of Linlythgow and Edinburgh, Principall, and within the Conſtabularie of Haddingtoun and Berwick: That thai, and ilk ane of thame prepaire thameſelfis and be in reddines with ſex Dayis Victualls and Proviſioun, to meit hir Majeſtie hir ſaid Husband or Leutennant, at Tyme and Pleſour as thai ſall be adverteiſt, weill bodin in feir of Weir, upon ſex Houris Warning, to pas furthwart and attend as thai ſall be comandit, for Invaſioun of the ſaidis Rebellis durring the ſaid Space of ſex Dayis, undir the Pain of Tynſall of Lyff, Landis and Gudis. R. M.

Which Proclamations being miſconſtructed,

Theſe Proclamations having occaſioned ſeveral Rumours in the Country, diſſeminated induſtriouſly no doubt by the Queen's and *Bothwell*'s Enemies, her Majeſty found herſelf under a Neceſſity to endeavour the quieting the Minds of the People, and ſecuring them againſt any bad Deſigns, by the following Declaration.

Edinburgh 1ſt *June* 1567.

The Quenis Declaratioun upoun the Brutis.

The Queen is forced to emit a Declaration of her ſincere Intentions.

THe Quenis Majeſtie conſiddering and thinking upoun hir awn Eſtait and the Government of this hir Hienes Realme, owir the quhilk the Almichtie God hes placeit hir ſupreme Heid and lauchfull Inheritour; and with that calling to Mynd quhat greit Alteratiouns and ſtrange Accidentis hes fra tyme to tyme occurrit during hir Majeſties Reigne, bot maiſt ſpeciallie ſen hir Hienes Arryvall and returning in this Realme, and taking of the Management and Government of the Effairis thairof on hir awn Perſoun, quhilkis all, praiſit be God, are happilie quietit and ſet down be hir Majeſtie, God ſa weill proſpering the Work in hir Handis, alſweill to hir awn Honor as to the Satisfactioun and Contentment of all hir gude Subjectis, that in all this Tyme of hir Majeſties awn Preſence ſen hir ſaid Arryvall, thai have nevir felt the Force of forayne Inemyes, bot levit in gude Peace, nor zit bein overthrawn be the Auctors of ony domeſtick Seditionis that hes not bene ſpedelie dantonit and puniſſit for thair Demeritis: And ſwa thai may juſtlie compair thair Stait in this hir Majeſties Reigne to the maiſt happie

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Tyme that hes occurrit in Man's Memory. Bot as Invy is Enemy to Vertew, and that ſeditious and unquiet Spiritis evir ſeikis to interteyn Troubill and Vnquietnes, ſa can hir Majeſtie nevir meane ſa ſincerelie and uprychtlie, nor nevir direct hir Doingis ſa perfytlie, bot inſted of thankfull Hartis and gude Obedience, hir Hienes Clemency is comounly abuſit and recompanſit with Thrawartnes and Ingratitude; and quhen ſcho thinkis leaſt of ony Novatioun, evir ſum Inventioun or uthir is brocht in, and the People perſwadit to beleif it: as, That hir Majeſties Cair of this Comoun-weill were tint; That hir Majeſtie menit to ſubvert the Lawis, to reject the Counſall and Aſſiſtance of hir Nobilitie, and to handill all Thingis without ony Diſcretioun, contrair the ancient Cuſtum; bot laſt is, that is maiſt grevous and offenſive of all, That the Helth, Preſervatioun, ſuir Cuſtody and Government of hir maiſt derre and onelie Sone the Prince, now in his Infancy, were neglectit be hir Hienes, and na ſic Attendence had thairto as appertenit: And beſydes this, the Malice of ſum hes bene ſa greit, that quhairas hir Hienes with Avyis of hir Counſall laitlie ſet out Proclamatiounis, comanding hir Subjectis in certane Countries of the Realme to be in reddines and convene for Purſute of the rebellious and diſobedient Subjectis in Liddiſdaill, *be quhome the trew Legeis are havelie oppreſſit; it hes bene murmurit and put in the Heids of the People that thai Forceis were to be convenit for uthir Purpoſis that nevir enterit in hir Hienes Mynd; for in making of the ſaids Proclamatiouns hir Majeſtie had no cullorat Meaning, nor na uthir Purpois in Heid nor is planelie mentionat in the ſame, as the Succeſs will weill declair: Quhilks untrew Reportis and opprobrious Calumpnyis ſa neirlie twicheis hir Majeſtie, that conſtrainitlie it behuvis hir to gif plane Declaratioun of hir Mynd and Hart to all hir gude Subjectis, to the Effect that thai being certifit of the Veritie, be reſolvit of all Doubt and ſecludand Error, may ſtay thamſelffis on the Trewth. For firſt, as God knawis hir Mynd, ſcho nevir meanit the Subverſioun of the Lawis in na Jote, bot rather hes mentenit thame: Quhat is abill to be objectit, that evir hir Majeſtie tuk on hand inconſultat be the Nobillmen hir Counſall, or in quhat Point hes hir Hienes handillit ony maner of Thing in the publict Effairis, by * the Cuſtum of hir maiſt nobill Progenitouris, Men that are godlie and hes Diſcretioun may judge, and Tyme will manifeſt it to the haill Warld. And for hir derreſt Sone, of quhome ſall hir Majeſtie be cairfull, gif ſcho neglect him that is ſa deir to hir, on quhais gude Succeſs hir ſpeciall Joy conſiſtis, and without quhome hir Majeſtie could nevir think hirſelf in gude Eſtait, bot confortles all the Dayis of hir Lyff? And zit ſeing Men now thus buſſy in his Infancy to ground the Occaſioun of thair Particularities on his Perſoun, it may be thocht quhat thai wald protend, gif he wer of mair mature Aige. Bot as God hes hard hir Prayeris, and the Prayeris of hir People, in granting ſic happie Iſſue and Succeſſioun of hir Body eftir hir Lyff to poſſes and enjoy this Kingdom, ſa ſall hir Majeſties moderlie Affectioun towartis him appeir evidentlie, that nathing requiſite for his Nutriture, Cuſtody, Interteinment and Preſervatioun ſalbe forzet, and with that he committit to ſic Governance as utheris Princes of his Realme in thair Infancy hes bene accuſtomat in Tyme bygane: That in proces of Tyme the Auctoris of ſic falſe Reportis owther in previe or patent ſall worthilie accuſe thameſelffis of Vntrewth, and find thameſelffis fruſtrat of thair Inventionis; and hir Majeſties Cair towart hir Realme, and naturall Luff and entire Affectioun towart hir ſaid derreſt Sone ſall manifeſt the ſame, as it is in Effect, to the haill Warld. And that Lettres be direct for Publicatioun heirof in dew Form as effeiris.* R. M.

* i. e. contrary to

The diſcontented Lords, and other Heads of that Faction, were in the mean time very active in gathering together an Army before the Day appointed by the Queen for convening the Lieges to march into *Lidſdale*, &c. and what-

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Her Majeſty removes to *Borthwick-caſtle* for fear of the Faction,

ever *private* Views they might have for their taking up Arms at this Time, as the Author of the forecited *Memoirs* gives us Ground enough to conclude they had, they were ſurely much fortified in their Intentions by the Letters of the *French* King, mentioned by Sir *James Melvil:* So that had it not been for the Advertiſement of one of the Conſpirators (*a*) to the Earl of *Bothwell*, they had undoubtedly ſurprized her Majeſty and him in *Holy-rood-houſe* before they had been aware of the Deſign; whereupon the Queen and he removed immediately from that Palace to the Caſtle of *Borthwick* (*b*) on the 6th of *June*.

and from thence to the Caſtle of *Dunbar*.

But tho' the aſſociated Lords had miſs'd of this Attempt, they did not therefore throw up their general Enterprize, but reſolved to obtain by Force what they had loſt by Stratagem. Having therefore 2000 Horſe ſecretly in readineſs to march whitherſoever they ſhould find proper, with theſe they intended to beſiege the Caſtle of *Borthwick*; and the Lord *Hume* with a Part of them, to the Number of 800 (*c*), came actually to the Place before that the Queen had got any notice of their being in Arms. But as this Lord had not Men enow in his Company to ſurround all the Avenues of the Caſtle, and that the Earl of *Athole* and other Conſpirators from *Stirling* had not punctually kept Touches to be at the Place, (the Place of Meeting ſhould have been at *Liberton*, two Miles South of *Edinburgh*;) it ſo fell out that both the Queen and *Bothwell* eſcaped from thence to the ſtronger Fortification of *Dunbar*, where they were in abſolute Security from any ſudden Attack.

The factious Lords enter the *Canongate*,

The Lords Aſſociators finding themſelves fruſtrate likewiſe of this ſecond Project for ſeizing the Earl of *Bothwell*, as they commonly gave it out, took the Reſolution to puſh their Fortune and try the City of *Edinburgh*, wherein they knew moſt part of the People were of their Side, and the Caſtle poſſeſt by a Man, who tho' formerly a Creature of the Earl of *Bothwell*, yet now upon ſome Diſguſt, not thinking himſelf perhaps ſufficiently rewarded, was tampering with the adverſe Party for delivering it into their Hands. With the Strength therefore of 3000 Men the Lords drew near to the City, and how ſoon the Earl of *Huntly*, the Lord *Boyd*, Archbiſhop of St. *Andrew*'s, Biſhop of *Roſs* and Abbot of *Kilwinning* (*d*), who had been left in the City by the Queen, heard of the Approach of the confederated Lords, they offered to aſſiſt the Citizens in the Defence of the Town; but they quickly found that the Minds of the People were more turn'd towards the other Lords, and all they could obtain from the Magiſtrates was to have the Ports of the Town ſhut againſt the Confederates: But this prov'd to be, as perhaps it was intended, a very ſlender Reſiſtance; for the aſſociated Lords, without much Difficulty, forced open St. *Mary*'s Port (*e*), and entred the *Canongate*, where they formed themſelves into a ſort of regular Council, and there emitted a Proclamation to this Effect, *viz.*

Canongate 11*th* June, 1567.

and emit a Proclamation,

That whereas the Queen's Majeſty being detained in Captivity, was neither able to govern her Realm, nor try the Murder of her Husband; We of the Nobility and Council, command all the Subjects, ſpecially the Burghers of Edinburgh, *to aſſiſt the ſaid Noblemen and Council, in delivering the*

(*a*) Probably either the Lord *Boyd* or Earl of *Argile*; for *Buchanan* and *Knox* do both take notice that the former ſhifted Sides: And the Earl of *Argile*, theſe Writers obſerve, deſerted the Faction, and came over to the Queen.

(*b*) It is eight Miles South-eaſt of *Edinburgh*, now ruinous. *Calderwood*'s MS. ſays, the King and Queen went thither on the 6th *June*; and *Cecil*'s Diary on the 7th. But this laſt adds, that "the Earl of *Bothwell* rayd againſt the Lord *Howme* and *Ferneherſt*, and ſo paſt to *Melros*; and ſhe to *Borthwick*."

(*c*) Ibid.

(*d*) When theſe noble Perſons perceived the Temper of the Citizens, they retired into the Caſtle, and were ſent away in Safety by Sir *James Balfour* the Deputy under *Bothwell*; for as yet he had not finiſhed his Treachery, and ſo was willing to have Friends which way ſoever the Matter ſhould go.

(*e*) There is at preſent no Port or Gate that goes under this Name: But there was of late Years ſuch a Port, adjoining to and ſtanding at Right Angles with the *Cowgate* Port. This Gate was taken down in the Year 1715, when the Highlanders who had come over the River *Forth*, by Order of the Earl of *Mar*, threatned to enter the City; ſince which Time that Port has not been repaired. The Magiſtrates it ſeems intended at that Time to ſecure the Ports of the City only.

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the Queen and preſerving the Prince, and in trying and puniſhing the King's Murderers. And we command the Lords of Seſſion, Commiſſaries, and all other Judges, to ſit and do Juſtice, according to the Laws of this Realm, notwithſtanding any Tumult that may ariſe in the Time of this Enterprize: With Certification to all who ſhall be found acting contrary to theſe Proceedings, that they ſhall be reputed as Fautors of the foreſaid Murder, and puniſhed as Traitors (a).

and another within the City of *Edinburgh*.

And next Day being admitted within the City of *Edinburgh (b)*, they there gave forth a Proclamation at *Edinburgh*, 12th *June* 1567, to this Purpoſe, *viz.* "That the Earl of *Bothwell* having put violent Hands in the Queen's "Perſon, and ſhut her up in the Caſtle of *Dunbar*, having proceeded to a "diſhoneſt Marriage with her Majeſty after obtaining a Divorce from his "former Wife, having already murdered the late King, and now attempting "by his gathering together of Forces to murder the young Prince alſo: "Therefore they command all the Lieges to be ready on three Hours warning to paſs forward with them, to deliver the Queen's Perſon, and take Revenge on the Earl of *Bothwell* for raviſhing and detaining her Majeſty; and "charge all thoſe who will not aſſiſt them, to depart the Town of *Edinburgh* within four Hours, with Certification, in caſe of Diſobedience, they "ſhall be holden as Enemies, and puniſhed in Body and Goods" *(c)*.

That the firſt of theſe Proclamations is dated at *Canongate*, and the other at *Edinburgh*, is moſt certain; which would therefore ſeem to verify, that the Aſſociators had not received Entrance into the City of *Edinburgh* ſooner than the 12th of the Month; and yet theſe two following Acts of the Town-Council give us ſufficient Ground to affirm, that the confederated Lords had entred the City even on the 10th Day of the Month.

Undecimo Junij, 1567.

The Council of *Edinburgh* ſends a Deputation to the Queen, to excuſe their Admittance of the Lords.

The quhilk Day, the Provoſt, Baillies, Councill and Deacons, names Edward Litel *Baillie*, William Fouller *of the Councill, and* Michaell Gilbert *Goldſmith, to paſs to* Dunbar *to our Soveraine, quha was there for the tyme with* James Hepburn *Duke of* Orkney, *Lord* Bothwell, *Admiral*, &c. *to excuſe the Gude Toun and Councill their Part anent the entering and continuing in this Toun, of my Lords* Athole, Montroſe, Morton, Mar, Glencarn, Home, Lyndeſay, Ruthven, Sanquhar, Semple, Tullibardyn *and* Grange, &c. *quha had convenit thamſelfis in Arms for puneſing King* Hary Stewart's *Murther, putting of our Soverane to* Linlythgow, *diſſolving of the Mariage betwixt our Soverane and the ſaid Duke, and Fortification of* James Stewart *Prince of* Scotland, *and Sone to the ſaid umquhill* Hary.

The ſamen Day, the Baillies and Councill ordainis John Harwood *Theſaurar to content and pay to* Jaques *and his Peple Ten Shillings, quha playit afoir the Toun the 10th Day of* June *inſtant, the Tyme of the Incomeing of the Lords above writen.*

(a) See the Proclamation at length in *Anderſon's* Collections, *Vol.* 1. *p.* 128.

(b) "So the Lords being fruſtrate of that Enterprize [at *Borthwick*,] addreſſed themſelves to *Edinburgh*, intending to fortify "themſelves there. But it was ſuppoſed that neither the Captain of the Caſtle of *Edinburgh* ſhould have ſuffered them to approach the Town, neither ſhould the Provoſt of the Town permit them to enter. [both theſe Officers had been put in by the "Queen and *Bothwell*] But when the Hearts of People are alienated from their lawful Prince, rebellious Perſons have Liberty "to do what they liſt without Contradiction, as became [fell out] in this Purpoſe; for the greateſt Part of the Inhabitants were "ſuborned to make no Reſiſtance, and the Captain of the Caſtle was ſo dealt withal that the Matter came to talking, whereby "he was ſuddenly corrupted with Money, and rendred the Caſtle into their Hands to the Prejudice of the Prince and his Maſter "who placed him there. So that how ſoon Town and Caſtle were in their Poſſeſſion, they divulgated their Pretence to the "People, that they were convened for no other Intent but to ſearch thoſe who murdered King *Henry*; and becauſe they underſtood that ſome of them were quietly kept in *Edinburgh*, they would ſee them puniſhed; whereby the Minds of the moſt Part "were inclined their Way." *Crawford's* MS.

(c) Ibid.

1567. Mean time both Parties make vigorous Preparations for aſſaulting each other, and Forces came very quickly in to the Aſſiſtance of the Queen: But it ſeems to be acknowledged by all, as well the Queen's Enemies as her Friends, that ſhe committed one very great Overſight in not remaining ſome Space longer in the Caſtle of *Dunbar*, a Fort which the Aſſociators could not have taken without Munition and warlike Engines, of which they were not provided; and for want whereof they were upon the Point of giving over the Enterprize, and each Man ſhifting for himſelf; eſpecially ſince the Country did not flock ſo faſt in to them as they had lookt for, whereas the Queen's Army was every Moment on the Increaſe: And had it not been for the Supply of armed Men which was afforded the Lords by the City of *Edinburgh*, they could not have remained together for one Night *(a)*. On the other hand, the Queen and Duke of *Orkney* being ignorant of the bad Situation of the Aſſociators, were afraid of protracting the Time, leſt their own Forces ſhould decreaſe, and thoſe of their Enemies increaſe, and thereupon took the Reſolution of advancing towards *Leith* with thoſe Forces they already had, in hopes that from that Place and from *Edinburgh* their Army might receive a conſiderable Augmentation: Which Reſolution of theirs preſented to the confederated Lords the very Opportunity they could have wiſh'd for. But we Mortals are blind as to future Events; and that which proves unſucceſsful is always branded as a bad Choice.

Her Majeſty marches from *Dunbar* to *Edinburgh*, and by the Way makes a Proclamation againſt the Lords Intentions.

On *Saturday*, 14th of *June*, the Queen and Duke of *Orkney* marched out of *Dunbar*, and came that Night the length of *Seton*, where they lodged, and the Army was quartered in the Town of *Preſton*. When they were at *Gladſmoor*, a Proclamation by the Queen was read at the Head of the Army, bearing, *That a Number of Conſpirators having diſcovered their latent Malice, borne to her and the Duke of* Orkney *her Husband, after they had failed in apprehending their Perſons at* Borthwick, *had made a ſeditious Proclamation, to make People believe that they did ſeek the Revenge of the Murther of the King her late Husband, and the relieving of her ſelf out of Bondage and Captivity, pretending that the Duke her Husband was minded to invade the Prince her Sonne; all which were falſe and forged Inventions, none having better Cauſe to revenge the King's Death than her ſelf, if ſhe could know the Authors thereof. And for the Duke her preſent Husband, he had uſed all Means to clear his Innocency, the ordinary Juſtice had abſolved him, and the Eſtates of Parliament approved their Proceedings, which they themſelves that made the preſent Inſurrection had likewiſe allowed. As alſo he had offered to maintain that Quarrel againſt any Gentleman on Earth undefamed, than which nothing more could be required. And as to her alledged Captivity, the contrary was known to the whole Subjects, her Marriage with him being publickly contracted, and ſolemnized with their own Conſents, as their Hand-writs could teſtify. Albeit to give their Treaſon a fair Shew, they made now a Buckler of the Prince her Sonne, being an Infant and in their Hands; whereas their Intention only was to overthrow her and her Poſterity, that they might rule all Things at their Pleaſure, and without Controlment. Seeing therefore no Wilfulneſſe, nor Particularity, but very Neceſſity has forced her to take Armes for Defence of her Life, as her Hope was to have the Aſſiſtance of all her faithful Subjects againſt thoſe unnatural Rebels, ſo ſhe doubted not but ſuch as were already aſſembled, would with good Hearts ſtand to her Defence, conſidering eſpecially the Goodneſs of her Cauſe, promiſing them, in recompence of their valorous Service, the Lands and Poſſeſſions of the Rebels, which ſhould be diſtributed according to the Merit of every Man (b).*

The

(a) 'Tis reported that the Town of *Edinburgh* not only afforded the Aſſociators plenty of Refreſhments, but likewiſe 200 Harquebuſiers.

(b) This is taken from Abp. *Spottiſwood*, becauſe I ſee no where an authentick Copy of the Proclamation. *Crawford*'s MS ſays only in general, that "the Queen cauſed Proclamations to be made to animate the People on her Side, that if any Man ſhould "ſlay any Earl of the Adverſaries, he ſhould have a Forty Pound Land; for the Slaughter of a Lord, a Twenty Pound Land; "and for Slaughter of a Baron, a Ten Pound Land." And *Calderwood*'s MS. adds, "for the Slaughter of a Zeaman, the Eſcheat of a Zeaman."

1567.

The Lords advance with their Army,

The News of the Queen's March having reached *Edinburgh* about Midnight, the Lords Aſſociators departed from that City early next Morning, being *Sunday*; and both Armies came in View of each other about Mid-day at *Carberry hill*, about ſix Miles Eaſt from *Edinburgh*, which her Majeſty had already poſſeſſed, together with the Trench caſt up by the *Engliſh* Army when it was laſt in theſe Parts: The Queen had alſo brought with her ſome Field-Pieces from the Caſtle of *Dunbar*. *Spottiſwood* ſays, the Queen had very ſoon after her going to the Caſtle of *Dunbar*, an Army of 4000 Men. *Knox* tells, the Queen came forward with an Army between 4 or 5000. And *Calderwood*'s large MS. reckons her Majeſty not to have had above 2500; of this Number, he ſays, were 200 Harquebuſiers under the Command of Captain *Anſtruther:* But he obſerves the whole Army conſiſted of the common Sort only; thoſe of better Rank in that Army being, according to him, the Lords *Seton*, *Yeſter* and *Borthwick*; the Lairds of *Baſs*, *Waughton*, *Ormiſton*, *Wedderburn*, *Langton*, *Blavernie*, *Cumledge*, *Hirſel*, and *Ormiſton* of that Ilk in *Teviotdale*. *Crawford*'s MS. ſays, "the Queen underſtanding credibly of ſuch Convocation [of the Lords] tending to Rebellion, ſhe on the other Part aſſembled as many as ſhe could obtain in ſo ſhort a Time, and deſperately [*i. e.* unluckily or unadviſedly] came from *Dunbar* to *Seaton*; there, after ſhe had ſtaid but a Night, was reſolute [did reſolve] by the unwiſe Advice of thoſe that were with her at that Time, to come forward with that ſmall Company to invade her Adverſaries before her whole Army were aſſembled, and came to a Place called *Carberry-hill*. The Lords, this Author adds, ſorted from *Edinburgh* to Places of Advantage, and to have the Sun in their Backs; for the Day was very hot.——The Party of the Lords was much ſtronger than the Queen's, and many People of *Edinburgh* were come forth to aſſiſt them. Beſides all this, they were ſupported with ſtore of Drink, which was a great Relief in ſuch exceeding Heat of the Year."

and the *French* Ambaſſador endeavours to reconcile Matters; but all in vain.

The *French* Ambaſſador, *Le Croc*, was with the Queen; and that Gentleman perceiving what was like to enſue, wiſely reſolved to interpoſe his good Offices, to bring Matters to an amicable Accommodation. For this purpoſe he went to the Lords, and aſſured them their Sovereign had good Inclinations to Peace, and would be ready to forgive what they might have hitherto done amiſs. As this Meſſage or Declaration by the Ambaſſador conſiſted of two Parts, the Earl of *Morton* made a Reply to the *firſt* after this ſort, *That they had not taken Arms againſt the Queen, but againſt the Murderer of the late King; and if her Majeſty would either give him up to be puniſhed, or remove him from her Company, ſhe ſhould find in them a Continuation of all dutiful Obedience: And that they could admit of Peace on no other Condition.* And next, to the *other* Part of the Meſſage, the Earl of *Glencarne* anſwered, *We are not come here to ask Pardon for any Offence we have done, but rather to give Pardon to thoſe that have offended.* The Ambaſſador obſerving by theſe haughty Replies that his Mediation would prove altogether fruitleſs, took his Leave of the Queen, and rode ſtraight to *Edinburgh*.

And now the Aſſociators finding the Acceſs to her Majeſty's Camp to be very difficult, ſent Sir *William Kirkaldy* of *Grange* with 200 Horſe round the Hill towards the Eaſt-ſide, with a double Purpoſe, namely, both to get between the Queen's Camp and the Caſtle of *Dunbar*, and ſo intercept the Earl of *Bothwell*'s Eſcape thither; and likewiſe to make an Attack from the oppoſite Side which was more level, at the ſame time that the Foot of the Army ſhould advance up the Hill on the Side they then ſtood, and where the Aſcent was more ſteep, and ſo leſs acceſſible by the Horſe. The Queen being informed that *Grange* commanded this Brigade, ſent *Ormiſton* (but which of the *Ormiſtons* I can't ſay) to deſire him to ſpeak with her. *Grange* firſt acquainted the Lords of the Queen's Meſſage; and having obtained their Permiſſion to talk with the Queen, he told her Majeſty how well their Lordſhips were inclined towards

1567. her, provided ſhe would remove from her the Murderer of the King. The Duke of *Orkney* over-hearing this, offered the Combate to any that would maintain he had murdered the King; the Laird of *Grange* firſt, and next the Laird of *Tullibardin*, offered to fight with his Grace; but he rejected them both, as being of Quality inferior to him. Then the Lord *Lindſay* made the ſame Offer; but, as ſome affirm, the Duke's Heart failed him; others, that the Queen interpoſed, and would not allow of any ſuch Trial. And 'tis added, that her Majeſty perceiving that few, even of thoſe in her Army that wiſh'd well to herſelf, ſhewed any Inclination to enter into an Engagement with the other Army, called upon the Laird of *Grange*, and told him ſhe would agree to the Terms propoſed by the Lords: And the Lords on their Part giving Commiſſion to that Gentleman to aſſure her Majeſty of their Willingneſs to perform what had been offered at firſt; *Grange* rode up again to the Queen, and ſaw the Earl of *Bothwell* take his Leave and part from her Majeſty. This having been declared by *Grange* to the Lords, they then deſired him to go up the Hill again, and receive the Queen in their Name; whereupon her Majeſty went towards him, and ſaid, *Laird of* Grange, *I render myſelf unto you upon the Conditions you rehearſed unto me in the Name of the Lords.* Then ſhe gave him her Hand, which he kiſſed, leading her Majeſty's Horſe by the Bridle down the Hill unto the Lords Aſſociators, who came forward and met her *(a)*, and to whom ſhe ſpoke in this manner, *My Lords, I am come to you, not out of any Fear I had of my Life, nor yet doubting of the Victory, if Matters had gone to the worſt; but I abhor the ſhedding of Chriſtian Blood, eſpecially of thoſe that are my own Subjects; and therefore I yield to you, and will be ruled hereafter by your Counſels, truſting you will reſpect me as your born Princeſs and Queen.* The Lords received her at firſt with all due Reſpect; but ſome of the meaner ſort uttered reproachful Words againſt her, which the Laird of *Grange* and ſome others reſented by ſtriking them with their naked Swords, and were well allowed of by the Nobility.

The Queen voluntarily ſurrenders herſelf to the Lords,

and is conducted by them into *Edinburgh*;

About Seven a Clock in the Evening the Queen entred the City of *Edinburgh*; but as her Majeſty went along the Streets to the Provoſt's Houſe, where ſhe was to be lodged, ſhe was inſulted by the common People with many indecent Expreſſions from the Windows and Stairs, ſuch as, Sir *James Melvil* ſays, "it was a Pity to hear: And her Majeſty cried out to all Gentlemen and others who paſſed up and down the Streets, declaring how that ſhe was their native Princeſs, and that ſhe doubted not but all honeſt Subjects would reſpect her as they ought to do, and not ſuffer her to be abuſed. Next Morning ſome People evidenced ſtill their Malice, by ſetting up a white Banner on which was painted the *Effigies* of the late King lying dead at the Root of a green Tree, and the young Prince upon his Knees uttering theſe Words, *Judge and Revenge my Cauſe, O LORD!* At this Sight the Queen was greatly grieved, and burſt forth into many Tears and Exclamations againſt thoſe Lords who detained her a Captive *(b)*, crying to the People, for GOD's Cauſe to relieve her from the Hands of theſe Tyrants! The People of the Town hereupon convened to her in great Numbers, and perceiving her ſo afflicted in Mind, had Pity and Compaſſion upon her Eſtate. Which when the Lords perceived, they came to her with diſſimulate Countenances, with reverend and fair Speeches, and ſaid that their Intentions were nowiſe to thraw her, and therefore would immediately repone her with Freedom to her own Palace of *Holy-rood-houſe* to do as ſhe liſt; whereby

where ſhe is revil'd by the Mob,

and commiſerated by the better ſort.

(a) Mr. *Buchanan*, who wants always to throw ſome Dirt on the Queen, ſays, her Majeſty "came to the Lords clothed with a ſingle Tunicle only, threed-bare, and ſo ſhort that it reached but a little below her Knees." What Probability is in this, I can't diſcern, nor I ſuppoſe can any other Perſon. This Author had conſulted his own Reputation better, had he launched leſs forth into Extravagancies. By ſaying too much he ſhipwracks all his Credit.

(b) "She now conſidering and perceiving to what End theſe Matters tended, moſt pitifully cried and called upon them to remember their late Promiſe; or at the leaſt, that ſhe might be brought before the Council, offering to ſtand to the Order and Direction of the States of the Realm. But, God knoweth, all in vain; for now had they the Prey whereon they intended to whet their bloody Teeth." *Leſlie's Defence.*

The Faction hereupon affect to put the Queen in full Liberty,

“ whereby ſhe was ſo pacified, that the People willingly departed. And ſo the next Evening, to colour their Pretenſions, they conveyed her to the Palace *(a)*, and then aſſembled themſelves to Council to adviſe what was beſt to be done; and immediately it was decerned that ſhe ſhould be tranſported to the Fortalice of *Lochlevin (b)*, there to remain in Captivity during her Life, to the end they might rule as they liſt without any Controulment of lawful Authority” *(c)*. And accordingly the ſame Day, 16th *June*, an Order was ſigned by the Earls of *Morton*, *Athole*, *Mar* and *Glencarne*; the Lords *Ruthven*, *Hume*, *Lindſay*, *Sempil*, and divers others Barons and Gentlemen of the Faction, giving Command to *William Douglas* of *Lochlevin*, to *receive and detain within his Fortalice and Place the Perſon of the Queen, ay and quhile (d)*, &c.

The Queen coming to the Knowledge of this rebellious and moſt treacherous Reſolution, exclaimed bitterly againſt it, as being contrary to the Promiſes given her; which the Rebels *(e)* however (for ſo they may deſervedly now be termed) undertook to juſtify, by an intercepted Letter written by her the Night before to *Bothwell*, wherein they ſaid ſhe declared to that Nobleman her Intention never to abandon him, tho' ſhe was at preſent under a Neceſſity to be abſent from him for a Time. And truly tho' her Majeſty had even written ſuch a Letter, yet the Wonder will ceaſe when the rude Treatment is conſidered which theſe Lords had both given and ſuffered to be given her within ſo ſhort a Space, after ſhe had voluntarily put herſelf into their Hands. And the Laird of *Grange*, who was a Man of more Honour than the reſt, was ſo ſenſible of this bad Uſage, that he expoſtulated the Matter with the Lords, and excuſed the Queen for what ſhe might perhaps have done, “ alledging that it was no Wonder that ſhe gave the Earl of *Bothwell* a few fair Words *yet*; but added, that he doubted not if ſhe were diſcreetly handled and humbly admoniſhed what Inconveniencies that Man had brought upon her, ſhe would by Degrees be brought not only to leave him, but ere long to deteſt him; and therefore his Advice was to deal gently by her.” But to this they anſwered and ſaid, “ That it ſtood them upon their Lives and Lands *(f)*, and that therefore in the mean Time it behoved them to ſecure her; and when that Time came that ſhe ſhould be known to abandon and deteſt the Earl of *Bothwell*, it would be then Time to reaſon upon the Matter.” Yet *Grange* was ſtill ſo angry, that Sir *James Melvil* ſays, had it not been for the Letter, he had inſtantly left the Lords; and therefore this Author adds, that “ for the next beſt he uſed all poſſible Diligence to make her and them both quit of the ſaid Earl. In the mean time the Queen ſent a Letter to the Laird of *Grange*, lamenting her hard Uſage, and ſhewing him that Promiſes had been broken to her: Whereunto he anſwered, That he had already reproached the Lords

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(*a*) It was no doubt much eaſier for the Lords to convey the Queen away privately from the Palace of *Holy-rood-houſe*, than openly from the City of *Edinburgh*, where the People of the beſt Faſhion ſeem'd to commiſerate her: And had her Majeſty been aware of their ſiniſter Deſigns, ſhe would certainly have made Choice to be kept within the City.

(*b*) 'Tis needleſs to obſerve how proper a Place this was for the Deſign of the Rebels, the Houſe being ſurrounded with Water on all Sides for the Space at ſhorteſt of half a Mile; and the Proprietors of it being ſo nearly related to ſome principal Perſons among them, and in whom therefore they could the more ſecurely confide. And indeed it has been ſaid, that the Lady *Lochlevin* anſwered the Expectation of the Lords to the full, having baſely inſulted the captive Queen's Misfortune, and bragged beſides, that ſhe herſelf was King *James* V's. lawful Wife, and her Son the Earl of *Murray* his legitimate Iſſue, and true Heir of the Crown. The Lady *Lochlevin* was not only Mother to the Earl of *Murray*, but likewiſe to the Lord *Lindſay*'s Lady by her Huſband *Robert Douglas* of *Lochlevin*. The Family of *Lochlevin* was moreover Heirs apparent to that of *Morton*; and to that Family they did actually ſucceed ſome time after. The Lord *Ruthven* alſo had to Wife a natural Daughter of the Earl of *Angus*. All which Conſiderations centring together in one, made the Houſe of *Lochlevin*, humanely ſpeaking, a moſt ſure and cloſe Priſon for the Royal Captive. But we will afterwards ſee how uncertain the beſt laid Projects of Men are.

(*c*) *Crawford*'s MS.

(*d*) See printed Acts of Parliament, *December* 1567.

(*e*) Tho' there had been no Promiſes in the Matter, this was ſurely an Action of the higheſt Rebellion that ever can be perpetrated, ſeeing at the ſame time that they made her their Priſoner, they acknowledged her to be their lawful Sovereign; nor had they as yet laid any Crime to her Charge. And how came they, who were but a Handful, to aſſume a Power to diſpoſe of their Sovereign without the Conſent of the other Peers and People of the Land?

(*f*) This was a very fair and plain Confeſſion indeed; and that they were reſolved to add *Iniquity* unto *Iniquity*. They knew that what they had already done was illegal; and they had no Mind to let the Queen be at Freedom to call them to an Account. The Reſolution was ſurely *wiſe enough*, provided it had been *juſt enough*.

1567. “for the ſame, who ſhewed unto him a Letter ſent by her to the Earl of *Bothwell*, promiſing, among many other fair and comfortable Words, never to abandon or forget him, which, he ſaid, had ſtoped his Mouth, marvelling that her Majeſty conſidered not that the ſaid Earl could never be her lawful Huſband, being ſo lately before married with another Woman, whom he had deſerted without any juſt Ground, altho' he had not been ſo hated for the Murder of the King her Husband. And therefore he requeſted her Majeſty to put him clean out of Mind, ſeeing otherwiſe ſhe could never get the Love or Reſpect of her Subjects, nor have that Obedience paid her which otherwiſe ſhe might expect. *Grange*'s Letter contained many other loving and humble Admonitions, which, Sir *James* ſays, made the Queen bitterly to weep; for ſhe could not do *that* ſo haſtily which proceſs of Time might have accompliſhed.” But had the Lords acted ſo diſcreet a Part as the Laird of *Grange* here propoſed to the Queen, it may be reaſonably ſuppoſed ſhe would have followed the good Advice; and, as Sir *James Melvil* very wiſely ſubjoins, proceſs of Time might have wrought in her a better Mind: And no doubt gentle Treatment might have contributed much to the ſame Purpoſe. But this was not the Thing, as the Conſequence will ſhew, that theſe Lords, at leaſt the deſigning Part of them, wanted to fall out; but they had another Point in View: For ſpeedily, without any the ſmalleſt Delay, the Queen was delivered over into the Hands of the Lords *Ruthven* and *Lindſay*, to be by them conducted to *Lochlevin* (a); tho', 'tis ſaid, they very narrowly eſcaped the being intercepted by the Lords *Seton*, *Teſter* and *Borthwick*, the Barons of *Waughton*, *Baſs*, *Ormiſton*, *Wedderburn*, *Blackader* and *Langton* (b), who had gathered ſome Men together on a Sudden to attempt the Queen's Relief.

but ſecretly ſend her away into Priſon,

and draw up a Band of Concurrence.

Beſides the Reſolve of incarcerating her Majeſty in the Fortalice of *Lochlevin*, the Rebels did moreover on the ſame 16th Day of *June* frame a Confederacy, or *Concurrence*, as it was termed by ſome Perſons; the Tenor whereof under the following Title in the Regiſter of Privy-Council, I have thought not amiſs to inſert here.

Firſt Band.

QVhairas the Richt nobill and excellent Prince umquhile King Henrie, *the Quenis Majeſties our Soveran's lait Husband, being in his Ludgeing ſchamefullie and treſſonabillie murtherit, the Fame thairof wes in ſic ſort blawin abrode and diſperſit in all Realmes, and amangis all Chriſtian Nationis, that this Cuntrie wes abhorrit and vilipendit, the Nobilitie and haill People na utherwayis eſtemit bot as thai had bein all participant of ſa unworthie and horribill a Murthour, that nane of ony of the* Scotis *Natioun, thouch he wer nevir ſa innocent, wes abill for Schame in ony forayne Cuntrie, to ſchaw his Face; and that nocht without Occaſioun, ſeing na maner of juſt Tryall tane, nor menit to be tane for the Cryme, albeit, in all this Tyme, the Murthourirs wer weill eneuch knawin: For quha ſuld be ignorant thairof, and not cleirlie ſie it, behalding the proceiding of the Erle* Bothwell *the Tyme of the attempting of that odious Fact, and continewallie ſenſyne; That wer ſufficient, althocht thare were na uther Pruiff. Wes not the Tryall be him impedit and delayit (c)? And the ſpeciall Authoris of the Murthour being requyrit to be wardit quhill the Tryall of thair Cauſe; howbeit the Petitioun wes maiſt reſſonabill, and nocht repugnant to the Lawis,*

(a) “In the Night privily ſhe was conveyed, and with Haſte, in diſguiſed Apparel, to the ſtrong Fort of *Lochlevin*; and after a few Dayes, being ſtripped out and ſpoyled of all her Princely Attirement, was clothed with a coarſe broune Caſſoke.” *Leſlie*'s *Defence*.

(b) The Sirnames of theſe Gentlemen were, *Hepburn*, *Lauder*, *Ormiſton*, *Home*, *Blackader*, *Cockburn*; all of them now extinct, except the laſt.

(c) It does not appear ſo by the Queen's and Earl of *Lenox*'s Letters.

Lawis, zit could na part thairof be grantit, becauſe the chief Martherour, being preſent, maid the Stay. And then quhat an inordinat Proces wes deducit, to cleange and acquite him of that horribill Deid, all Men perſavit, quhen nowther the accuſtumat Circumſtance in Cauſis of Treſſoun, nor the ordinar Forme of Juſtice wes obſervit (a); bot quhatſoevir the Fader and Freindis of the innocent Prince ſakleſlie murtherit, juſtlie deſyrit, the contrair wes alwayis done: The ſaid Erle, the Day that he choiſit to thole [undergo] *Law, being accompanyit with a greit Power, alſweill of waigit Men of Weir as of utheris (b), that nane ſould compeir to purſew him. Quhenſua this cruell Murthour wes committit, and Juſtice ſmorit* [ſmother'd] *and planlie abuſit; nevir ceaſit he of his wickit and inordinat Pretenſes, bot eikand Miſchief to Miſchief, treſſonablie, without Feir of God, or Reverence of his native Prince, quhill on a foirthoucht Conſpiracie, he ambeſet hir Majeſties Way, tuke and reveiſt hir maiſt nobill Perſoun, and led the ſamyne with him to* Dunbar-Caſtell, *thair deteining hir Preſonar and Captive; and in the mean tyme procurit dowbill Sentences of Divorce to be pronuncit betwix him and his lauchfull Wyff, groundit upon the Cauſe of his awin Turpitude: And to mak his pretendit Mariage, quhilk ſchortlie followit, the mair valiabill, uſit the Ordour of Divorce, as weill be the ordinar Commiſſaris, as in Forme and Maner of the* Roman *Kirk, declarand that he was of na kynd of Religioun, as the ſame unlauchfull Mariage, ſuddanlie thairaftir accompliſhit on baith the Faſhionis, did manifeſt and teſtifie; albeit nochttheles of Goddis Law, nor na Law maid be Men, of quhatſumevir Religioun, micht the ſame Mariage leiſumlie have bein contractit. Quhilk being endit, and he ſtill proceiding from a kynd of Iniquitie to ane uthir, his cruell and ambitious Nature being knawin, and how na Nobillman, nor uthir, durſt reſort to hir Majeſtie to ſpeik with hir, or procure thair leſum Buſines, without Suſpitioun, bot be him and in his Audience, hir Chalmer-duris being continewallie watchit with Men of Weir; We (althouch too laite) begouth* [began] *to conſider the Eſtait, and to tak heid to ourſelffis, bot ſpeciallie to the Preſervatioun of the Lyff of the faderles Prince, the onlie Sone and rychteous Air apparent of our Soverane, hir Hienes ſchamefull Thraldome and Bondage with the ſaid Erle, and with that foirſaw the greit Danger quhilk the Prince ſtude in, quhenas the Murtherour of his Fader, the Raviſcher of the Quenis Majeſtie his Moder, wes cled with the principall Strenthis of the Realme, and garniſchit with a Guard of wagit Men of Weir, and how in all Appearance he mycht unprovidittly oppreſs and deſtroy that innocent Infant, as he had done his Fader; and ſwa, by Tyrrannie and cruell Deids, at laſt to uſurp the Royal Crown and ſupreme Government of this Realme. At laſt, in the Feir and Name of God, and in the lauchfull Obedience of our Soverane (c), movit and conſtrenit be the juſt Occaſiounis above writtin, we have takin Armes to revenge the ſaid horribill and cruell Murthour upoun the ſaid Erle* Bothwell, *and utheris Authoris and Devyſaris thairof, to delyver our ſaid Soverane furth of his (d) Handis, and of the Ignominy, Schame and Sklander, quhilk, being in Thraldome with him, ſcho hes ſuſtenit, undir Pretence of the ſaid unlauchfull Mariage (e); to preſerve the Lyff of our native Prince, and finallie to ſie Juſtice equallie miniſtrat to all the Liegis of this Realme QVHAIRFOIR we, the Erlis, Lordis, Baronis, Commiſſionaris of Burrowis, and utheris underſubſcry-* 1567.

(*a*) Neither does any thing of this appear to have been Fact.

(*b*) This, for what we know, may be as far from the Truth as the former Aſſeverations.

(*c*) GOD's great Name has been often taken in vain and blaſphemed by wicked Men: But to what earthly Sovereign they were *now* paying Obedience, is no eaſy Matter to ſee.

(*d*) This is a complete Banter on the common Senſe of Mankind; ſince the poor Queen was not now in *his* but in *their* own Hands. By all this Bond they viſibly declare the Queen innocent of any bad Practices with the Earl of *Bothwell*: It was not *yet* Time to diſcover their whole Purpoſe, it would ſeem.

(*e*) Yet afterwards theſe *good* Men changed their Note, and the Queen was directly guilty of all the bad Things now *only* laid to the Door of the Earl of *Bothwell*.

1567. *vand, be thir Preſentis, bindis and obleiſſis ws, and everie ane of ws to utheris, that we ſall tak plane, trew and upricht Part, togidder with our Kin, Friendis, Servandis, and all that will do for ws, in the Advancement, Furthſetting and Perſute of the ſaid Querrel, with our Lyffis, Landis and Guidis at our uttermaiſt, and ſall nevir ſchrink thairfra, nor leif the ſamyne for ony maner of Occaſioun that can or is abill to occur, quhill the Authouris of the ſaid cruell Murthour and Raviſching be condignlie puniſit, the ſaid unlauchful Mariage diſſolvit and annullit (a), our Soverane relevit of the Thraldome (b), Bondage and Ignominie quhilk ſcho hes ſuſteinit and underlyis be the ſaid Erlis Occaſioun, the Perſoun of the innocent Prince repoſit in full Suirtie, and relevit of the eminent Danger quhilk now he ſtandis in; and finallie, Juſtice reſtorit and uprichtlie miniſtrat to all the Liegis and Subjectis of this Realme. The quhilk to do and faythfullie perform, we promitt, as we will anſwer to Almichtie God, upon our Honour, Trewth and Fidelitie, as we are Nobillmen, and luſis the Honour of our native Cuntrie, quhairin, as God forbid, gif we failzie in ony Point, we are content to ſuſtein the Spott of Perjurie, Infamie and perpetuall Untrewth, and to be comptit culpabill of the above namit Crymes, and Enemeis and Betrayeris of oure native Cuntrie for evir (c). In Witneſs of the quhilk Thing we have ſubſcrivit thir Preſentis with our Handis, as followis, at* Edinburgh *the* 16 *Day of* Junij, *the Yeir of God* 1567 *Yeiris.*———

Some Perſons are ſeized as acceſſory to the King's Murder.

The very ſame Night of the Queen's Tranſportation, we are told *(d)* that the Lords Aſſociators cauſed a diligent Search be made through the City of *Edinburgh* for Perſons ſuſpected of the late King's Murder; and that they had the good Fortune to ſeize only two Perſons, *viz. Sebaſtian* a *Frenchman* who chanced afterwards to make his Eſcape *(e)*, and Captain *William Blackader*. However, by the following Record of Privy-Council, we come to to know that they had, ſoon after, ſome other Perſons in Cuſtody upon the ſame Account.

Edinburgh 27. *June*, 1567.

SEDERUNT

Jacobus *Comes de* Mortoun, Joannes *Comes de* Athole, Alexander *Comes de* Glencarne, Joannes *Comes de* Mar, Alexander *Dominus* Hume, Willielmus *Dominus* Ruthven, Robertus *Dominus* Sempil, Eduardus *Dominus* Sanquhair, Andreas *Dominus* Ochiltrie *(f)*.

For

(*a*) What Sincerity was in this ſolemn Profeſſion, the Readers will have occaſion to perceive ſome two Years after. And why did they not proceed juſt now to diſſolve it by Law, as well as to diſſolve it by taking the Earl of *Bothwell*'s Life? For they had it in their Power to do any thing.

(*b*) Her immediate Thraldom was ſurely owing to themſelves. 'Tis eaſy to give *Names*, when Men want to confound *Things*.

(*c*) See the ſame or worſe Imprecations in the End of their Bond in favour of the Earl of *Bothwell* 19th or 20th *April* laſt, already ſet down. With what Face could the principal Perſon here concerned, *viz.* Earl of *Morton*, ſubſcribe or frame this ſolemn Oath and Obligation, ſeeing he himſelf was in Knowledge at leaſt of the intended Murder of the King? But the true Anſwer is, he was a Man of no Conſcience: And there might have been others here in his Condemnation.

(*d*) *Crawford*'s MS.

(*e*) This being one of the Perſons named in the Tickets that were ſet on the Tolbooth, and whom the Earl of *Lenox* deſired ſhould be put in Priſon; May we not ſuſpect that he has even been allowed to ſlip out of their Fingers, leſt his Depoſition ſhould not prove agreeable enough to ſome of the Lords? A Stranger lyes under many Diſadvantages either to make an Eſcape, or to conceal himſelf when eſcaped; he muſt take Wing and fly. There is Art we ſay in the ſmalleſt Matters.

(*f*) The ſame *Sederunt* is marked on the 21ſt of *June*, which is the firſt Time the Rebels aſſume to themſelves the Title of *Lords of Secret-Council*; tho' by whoſe Authority they convened as a Council be a difficult Point to reſolve. Their Act of that Day commands all the Lords of Seſſion, Advocates, Writers, and all other Perſons pertaining to the Court of Seſſion, to repair to *Edinburgh*, and proceed in the Adminiſtration of Juſtice to the Lieges, with Aſſurance of Safety to them; and Certification, that if they abſent themſelves, they ſhall be eſteemed as Partakers with the Authors of the King's Murder, and puniſhed accordingly. And likewiſe Intimation to be made to all the Lieges, that they may repair to *Edinburgh* in all Safety, for the Proſecution of their Affairs before the Court of Seſſion. Probably the Rebels have taken this Step, in order to obtain to themſelves Credit, and the Appearance of Authority from the People. Abp. *Spottiſwood*'s MS. in mentioning the *Rebels*, adds, *for ſo they were ſtiled till they prevailed.* So we ſee *Succeſs* confers *Right*.

1567.

An Act for putting them to the Torture.

FOrſamekill as William Blackater, James Edmondſtoun, Johne Blackater, **and** Mynart Fraſer, **all ſuſpectit of the King's Murthour, are takin and apprehendit; The Lordis of Secreit-Counſall thairfoir ordanis the ſaidis Perſonis to be put in the Irins and Tormentis, for furthering of the Tryall of the Veritie; providing that this Cauſe, being for the trying of a Princes Murthour, induce na Preparative to utheris Perſonis ſuſpectit of utheris Crymes.**

All theſe Perſons it ſeems were put to Death (*a*), and probably denied their Acceſſion to the King's Murder as well as Captain *Blackater* (*b*); otherwiſe no doubt we ſhould have ſeen their Trial and Confeſſion in Print before this time of Day, in Conjunction with ſome others.

The Faction intromets with the Queen's Jewels, Plate, *&c.*

Shortly after the Queen's Commitment, the Lords took up an Inventary of all the Plate, Jewels and other Moveables within the Palace of *Holy-rood-houſe* (*c*). And yet this was not all; for we are likewiſe informed "that they "ſpared not to put violent Hands on her Majeſty's Cup-board, melted the Species thereof, and converted all into Coin, thereby to forge a Staff to break her "own Head of the weight of ſixteen Stones (*d*)." And much about the ſame Time the Earl of *Glencairn* went to the Palace, accompanied with his own Servants only, and demoliſhed the Chapel, with all its Ornaments and Furniture: Which Action was highly extolled by Mr. *Knox* and other hot Men; but the other Nobles his own Partiſans were not a little offended, becauſe he had done this Thing of his own Accord, without their Direction and Concurrence. But he could the more eaſily obtain their Forgiveneſs for that piece of Forwardneſs, that tho' the Faction had now entertained Hopes that no farther Let was likely to thwart their Deſigns; yet to their Mortification they began to find an Alteration in the Minds even in the meaner ſort of the People, and that moſt part of the Nobles of the Kingdom, and theſe too of greateſt Power, did by no means favour their late Actions. "Various and profound (ſays Mr. "*Buchanan*) were the Speculations of the Nobles; thoſe who were revenging "the bloody Deed hoped, that aſſoon as ever their Intentions ſhould take "Air, and be publickly known, the greater Part, if not all, would yield them "their Approbation, and even concur with them in ſo famous and glorious an "Undertaking: But it fell out far otherwiſe; for popular Envy being abated, "partly by Space of Time, and partly by the Conſideration of the Uncer-"tainty of humane Affairs, was turned into Commiſeration: Nay, ſome of "the Nobility did then no leſs bewail the Queen's Calamity, than they had "before execrated her Cruelty.——Their Faction was thought to be ſtrong-"eſt who either conſented to the Murder, or elſe in Obſequiouſneſs to the "Queen ſubſcribed to the impious Deed after it was committed."

but are not ſupported by the Country, as they expected.

A great many of the Nobles that favoured the Queen, and condemned her Impriſonment as a Crime of the higheſt Treaſon that could be committed, had convened at *Hamilton* to concert what Meaſures ſhould be deem'd proper in the preſent Occurrence; and the Aſſociators being ſenſible of their own decaying Applauſe, and how needful it would be to bring over the other Nobles, if poſſible, to take part with them, determined to ſend Letters to them entreating their Concurrence for eſtabliſhing the State by a common Harmony: But the Nobles at *Hamilton* would neither admit the Meſſenger, nor receive the Letters. The Aſſociators hereupon willing to leave no Stone unturned to compaſs what ſo nearly concerned them, employed Mr. *John Knox* and three of his Brethren to carry Letters from the Aſſembly of the Kirk, which then was ſitting, to the other Lords who were either Neuters or Oppoſers of their late

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(*a*) *Calderwood*'s MS.
(*b*) *Crawford*'s MS.
(*c*) *Calderwood*'s MS.
(*d*) *i. e.* The Queen's Cup board amounted to Sixteen Stone-weight. *Crawford*'s MS.

1567. Proceedings, inviting them to come to *Edinburgh* the 20th of *July* next, in order to regulate what might be needful and wanting in the Polity of the Church; hoping no doubt by that means, if they could once draw them to *Edinburgh*, either to perſwade them to join Iſſue with their late Proceedings in the State, or intending to force them into a Compliance with their Meaſures. But theſe other Lords (*a*) were not ſo eaſily decoyed as the former imagined; for they all excuſed themſelves from coming to the Aſſembly, alledging that they could not repair to *Edinburgh* with Freedom and Security of their Lives, where there were ſo many Men gathered together in Arms (*b*).

They emit a Charge for apprehending the Earl of *Bothwell*, &c.

On the 26th of *June* the pretended Lords of Council ordain "Letters to be directed in the Queen's Name (*c*) to Heraulds, &c. to paſs and charge the Keeper of the Caſtle of *Dunbar*, to ſurrender the ſame to the Executer of the ſaids Letters within ſix Hours, becauſe the Earl of *Bothwell* was reſet and received within the ſaid Caſtle." And the ſame Day (*d*) a Proclamation was likewiſe emitted for "apprehending the Earl of *Bothwell*, with the Promiſe of 1000 Crowns to whoſoever ſhall bring him to *Edinburgh*, to be puniſhed for the late Murder of the King, &c." Now ſince theſe People were fully convinced in their Minds that the Earl of *Bothwell* was really the Perſon principally concerned in the Murder of the King, and for which Reaſon eſpecially they juſtified their taking up of Arms; May not their Delay to make ſome publick Act againſt him for no leſs than ten Days after he left the Army at *Carberry-hill*, afford too much Suſpicion that the Aſſociators had ſomething elſe in View, and which lay nearer their Hearts in their late Proceedings, than the bringing that Nobleman to Juſtice? Several Authors who wrote in the Times theſe Things were adoing, have not only taken notice that the Earl of *Bothwell* was by Conſent allowed to depart from *Carberry-hill*, but have likewiſe objected this dilatory Management with reſpect to the Earl; and theſe Acts ſeem to confirm their Complaints not a little. For it may be ſaid that the Charge to the Keepers of the Caſtle of *Dunbar* might have been much more ſpeedy, unleſs the Aſſociators were willing that the Earl of *Bothwell* ſhould firſt be gone before they ſent ſuch a Charge, leſt the Keepers within had diſagreed among themſelves, and condeſcended to deliver up the principal Keeper the Earl of *Bothwell*, whoſe Eſcape the Aſſociators perhaps were as well pleaſed with as the Earl himſelf.

At what preciſe Time the Earl of *Bothwell* left the Caſtle of *Dunbar*, is no where ſaid; but I perceive in the Records a Charge dated 9th *July*, "prohibiting any Perſon in the Iſles of *Orkney* to reſpect or be aſſiſting to him." And on the 21ſt of the ſame Month there is an Act, "prohibiting the Biſhop of *Murray*'s (*e*) Tenants, either belonging to the Biſhoprick, or to the Abbacy of *Scone* (whereof he was Commendator) to make Payment of his Rents, becauſe he had received and entertained that Earl within his Houſe of *Spynie*, and divers other Parts of *Murray*: And this Prohibition to continue until the ſaid Biſhop be tried for the ſaid Crime, and the Arreſt duly looſed" (*f*).

The Aſſociators now finding that they were not able to induce the better Part of the Nobility of the Realm to come and take part with them in their preſent Enterprizes, but perceiving nevertheleſs that it might contribute much to their Advantage

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(*a*) Theſe Nobles were the Earls of *Huntly*, *Argile*, *Caithneſs*, *Rothes*, *Crawford* and *Menteith*; the Lords *Boyd*, *Drummond*, *Herries*, *Cathcart*, *Yeſter*, *Fleming*, *Levingſton*, *Seton*, *Glamis*, *Ogilvie*, [ſo it is right in *Spottiſwood*'s MS. inſtead of *Ochiltree* in *Knox*, &c.] *Gray*, *Oliphant*, *Methven*, *Innermeth* and *Somervil*; the Commendators of *Arbroath*, *Kilwinning*, *Dunſermling*, *New-Bottle*, *Holy-rood-houſe* and *St. Colm*.

(*b*) The Readers ſhall get a larger Account of this Meſſage in our Eccleſiaſtick Part.

(*c*) What a ſtrange Jumble of Authority is here! Rebels erect themſelves into a Council of State; and yet they ſend forth their Orders in the Name of their Sovereign whom they detain Priſoner!

(*d*) *Robert Miln* has put the 27th of *June* to theſe ſeveral Acts, *viz.* Charge againſt *Dunbar-caſtle*; againſt reſetting the Earl of *Bothwell*; and for torturing the Priſoners, *Blackater*, &c. But the Abſtracts of Council and *Anderſon*'s Collections fix theſe to the 26th of *June*.

(*e*) He was *Patrick Hepburn* a Relation of the Earl's.

(*f*) See the Act at full length in *Anderſon*'s Collections, *Vol.* 1. *p.* 142.

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and make Application to the Citizens of *Edinburgh* to take part with them.

Advantage to have the Town of *Edinburgh* join with them, in a more ſolemn Manner than hitherto they had done by a tacite Conſent only and Connivance; they deputed two principal Lords of their Faction to repair to the Town-Council, and therein propoſe to obtain their Approbation of and Subſcription to the Bond drawn up by the Aſſociators on the 16th *June*; the Iſſue of which Deputation the Readers will beſt ſee by the following Act of the Council of *Edinburgh.*

2. *Julij*, 1567.

An authentick Account of that Procedure.

The quhilk Day, Sir Symone Preſtoun *of* Craigmillar, *Knicht, Proveſt*, Edward Lytill, Alexander Uddarte *and* Alexander Clerk, *Baillies of the Burgh of* Edinburgh; *Mr.* John Preſtoun *Dean of Gild*, John Harwood *Theſaurer*, Alexander Park, David Forreſter, James Nicholl, Andro Stivenſon, William Fowller, James Oliphant, Nicholl Uddarte, Thomas Redpeth *Skinner*, Robert Abercrombie *Saidler, of the Councill*; James Young *Deacon of the Hammermen*, Thomas Jackſon *of the Maſons*, Patrick Shang *of the Wrights*, George Heriot *of the Goldſmiths*, Alexander Sauchie *of the Taylors*, Alexander Davidſon *of the Cordiners*, Thomas Aikenhead *of the Skinners*, Thomas Dickſon *of the Furriours*, James Wood *of the Baxters*, John Blythman *of the Fleſhers*, Alexander Bruce *of the Barbours*, Leonard Thompſon *of the Wobſters*, James Johnſtone *of the Bonetmakers*, Thomas Andrew *of the Walkers: Being convenit in the Councill-houſe of the ſamen, Compearit nobil and michtie Lordis, my Lordis Erles of* Mortoun *and* Atholl——*having with thame the maiſt honourabil and godlie Band laitlie maid and ſubſcrivit be ane greit Partie of the Nobilitie of this Realme, bering in Effect that thai the ſaids Lordis altogither binds and obleiſſes thame, ilk ane to utheris, upon the Reſpect of thair Dutie towart thair Soveraine, the Common-weill of this thair native Countrey, and Honour of the ſamen; That thai altogither, with thair haill Force, Power and Friendis, ſall perſew the cruall Murtherours of the King our ſaid Soverain's Husband to the uttermaiſt, ſeik the Diſſolution of the ungodlie Mariage maid betwix hir Hienes and the Erle of* Bothwell; *our ſaid Soveraine to be relevit of the Thraledome, Bondage, Ignominie and Schame quhilk ſcho hes ſuſtenit and underlies through the ſaid Erle's Occaſion; the Perſon of our undoubtit and innocent Prince repoſit to full Suirtie, and relevit of imminent Danger quhilk now he ſtands in; and finallie, Juſtice reſtorit and uprichtlie miniſtrat to all the Liegis and Subjectis of this Realme. The quhilk maiſt godlie and honourabil Band, in Preſence of the Proveſt, Baillies, Councill and Deacons, being read and conſiderit, Thai all in one Voce APPROVES the ſamen; And grantis, conſentis and promittis thair Aſſiſtance and Fortificatioun to the ſaid Lordis in furthſetting, perſewing and advanceing of the Premiſſes to thair utir Power; and for Aſſurance heirof hes requeſtit and deſyrit the Richt honorabil Sir* Symone Preſtoun *of that Ilk, Knicht, thair Proveſt, for thame, and in thair Namis, with the ſaids Lordis, to ſubſcrive the ſaid Band, quhilk ſall be als ſufficient as gif thai had ſubſcryvit the ſamen with thair awin proper Handis. And for obſerving heirof, ordanis this preſent Ordonance to be inſert and regiſtrat in thair Council-booke, for the mair ſuir Teſtificatioun of thair Conſent, as ſaid is.* Here followis the Copy of the Band and Obleiſſing above ſpecifiet *(a)*, &c.

(*a*) The Bond is almoſt Word for Word as already ſet down in *p.* 404, *&c.* There is ſome little Difference in the Beginning of it, thus, "King *Henrie* Stewart, the Quenis Majeſtie oure Soverainis lait Husband, being in his Loging, *ſumtyme callit the* "*Loging of the Proveſt of* Kirkfield, *beſyde the ſamen, within this Burgh, wes* ſchamefullie and treſſonablie murtherit, *&c.*" But in an atteſted Copy of the Act of the Town-Council, inſerted in the Regiſter of the Privy-Council of the ſame Date 2d *July*, there is ſome greater Variation. I ſay not however, that there is any great Alteration as to the Senſe and Meaning of the Act; but ſince the Copy thereof as it ſtands in the Privy-Council Regiſter, is ſaid to be extracted from the Regiſter of the Town-Council by the Town-Clerk, and to be atteſted by his manual Subſcription, I am ſuſpicious that that Liberty of Variation aſſumed by the Clerk, may ſerve to invalidate any other pretended atteſted Copies by theſe Aſſociators. I have for this Reaſon judged it not amiſs to put into the Appendix, Numb. 20. the Act as it is in the Privy-Council Regiſter: And perhaps this following Variation may even appear ſomewhat too bold, *viz.* " maiſt honourabill and godlie Bande laitlie maid and ſubſcribit *be thair Lord-* " *ſchips*

1567. The Community of *Edinburgh* being thus become a Branch of the Aſſociators, they applied themſelves in good earneſt to defend and maintain the common Cauſe; and ſo we have theſe other two following Acts of their Council upon Record.

9. *Julij*, 1567.

The quhilk Day, Sir Symoun Preſtoun *of* Craigmillar, *Knicht, Proveſt,* Alexander Uddarte, Alexander Clerk *and* Edward Lytill, *Baillies*; *Mr.* John Preſtoun *Dean of Gild,* Andro Stivinſon, David Forreſter, James Oliphant, William Fowller, Alexander Park, Thomas Redpeth *and* Robert Abercrombie, *of the Councill, Ordanis* John Harwood *Theſaurer to cauſe ſtock, band and mount the Toun's Artiliarie now preſentlie lyand in the End of the Kirk, and to buy and cauſe furniſch all Thingis neceſſar thairto, to the Effect the ſamen may be in reddines preparit and reparit, in cais ony forane Enemies wald come and perſew this Burgh, or Nichbouris thairof, to do thame Harme in thair Bodies or Gudis: And quhat Expenſis he makis thairupon, ſall be allowit to him in his Accompts be the Auditoris thairof.*

23. *Julij*, 1567.

The quhilk Day, the Proveſt, Baillies, Councill and Deacons foirſaid, underſtanding the greit and apparent Danger quhilk is lyke to ryſe within this Realme, be Diviſion of the Nobilitie thairof, for the Cauſis laitlie occurit; And als conſidering that the Inhabitantis of this Burgh, thair Houſehaldis, Families and Gudis, in ſic Tumultis, are evir ſubject to large greiter Danger nor ony Burgh of this Realme, be reſſoun that with certain wickit Perſonis awaiting upon the Spulzie of the ſamen, gif Occaſion ſerve. THAIRFOIR *thai all in one Vote, and with Avyis and Conſent of Sir* James Balfour *of* Pittendreich, *Knicht, Clerk of our Soveranis Regiſter, and Captain of the Caſtell of* Edinburgh, *hes thought and thinkis it expedient, That for Defence not onlie of the ſaid Burgh, bot alſwa of the ſaid Caſtell, that ane Band and Lege be maid in Writ, betwix the ſaid Captain on the ane Pairt, and the Proveſt, Baillies, Councill, Deacons, and Communitie of the ſaid Burgh, on the uther Pairt, for mutuall Defence and Support to be maid be aither of thame to utheris, againſt quhatſumevir that wald or will perſew the ſaid Caſtell, Burgh, or Inhabitantis thairof, in thair Perſonis or Gudis; the Authorite onlie except. And ordanis* Alexander Guthrie *thair common Clerk to mak the ſamen again* Fraday *nixt to come, and thair that Day to perſew it afoir the Councill, that it may be read and conſiderit be the ſaid Captain and thame, and thairin finallie endit, concludit and ſubſcribit be and upon baith the ſaid Parties, quha are preſentlie appointit to compeir the ſaid* Fraday *at Ten Houris afoir Noon in the Councillhouſe, to the Effect foirſaid.*

As the Aſſociators had already laid their Hands on all the Queen's Plate, Money, and other Moveables, to ſupport them in carrying on their wicked Devices againſt her own Perſon and Authority; ſo now on the 7th Day of *July* they made an Act of their Council, diſcharging all the Lieges to anſwer or make Payment of any of the Queen's Property, Thirds of Benefices, or of any thing elſe belonging to the Crown, to her Majeſty's Comptroller *James Cockburn* of *Scraling*, under the Pain of repaying the ſame, and of being purſued

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“ *ſchips and utheris of the Nobilitie of this Realme,* bearand in Effect, *&c.*” This is plainly a ſoftning of the Expreſſion in the Act of the Town Council, which ſays that the Band was “ ſubſcribit *be ane greit Partie of the Nobilitie* of this Realme, bearand “ in Effect, *&c.*” The Town-Clerk has been aware that the Town-Council have been highly impoſed upon, and made believe that the Band was ſubſcribed *by a great Part of the Nobility*; upon which Account he has not had Confidence to inſert the ſame Words in his atteſted Copy which was to be put into the Privy-Council Regiſter, leſt the ſame might have been challenged as a falſe Allegation by ſome Perſons that might afterwards come to inſpect that Regiſter; whereas the Thing might eaſily ly buried in the Town-Council Books. The Town-Clerk was himſelf a mighty Man for the Aſſociators; and he could the more willingly ſuffer the Council of *Edinburgh* to be dup'd by that Party.

1567.

ſued as Art and Part of the King's Murder and the Queen's Raviſhment. Which Act howſoever indeed bears, that the ſaid *James Cockburn* was called to underly the Law, for being himſelf Art and Part of the ſaid Murder; and that his Commiſſion of Comptrollery had been granted to him *the Tyme of hir Hienes Bondage and ſchameful Thraldome in the Erle of* Bothwell's *Company*.

A Miniſter arrives from the Court of *France*, and immediately returns home.

The Court of *France* having by this Time received Intelligence of the bad Situation of the Queen's Affairs here in *Scotland*, diſpatched hither to her Majeſty a Gentleman named *Villeroy*, with their beſt Advice as may be ſuppoſed, how ſhe ought to extricate herſelf from the preſent Calamity, wherein ſhe had in a great meaſure involved herſelf. But as that Gentleman got no Acceſs to the Queen, he returned again immediately into his own Country *(a)*.

The Queen of *England* ſends hither a publick Miniſter,

The Queen of *England* alſo after ſhe had heard of our Troubles, ſent into *Scotland* Sir *Nicholas Throckmorton* with a Meſſage and Inſtructions full of Friendſhip and Diſcretion, and every way becoming the good Senſe and high Station of that neighbouring Princeſs and near Relation. I know it has been too confidently ſaid by ſome Writers, that Sir *Nicholas* was ordered hither on a very villanous Deſign at this Time, namely, to endeavour ſeemingly at a Reconciliation betwixt our Queen and the Faction oppoſite to her Majeſty, but really and underhand to foſter a Diviſion; and that he acted his Part herein to his Miſtreſs's Contentation. Men, and eſpecially Hiſtorians, ſhould methinks be very well aſſured, before they proceed to throw Reproach and Infamy upon any Perſon, much more on the Perſons of Princes and their publick Miniſters. We have already ſeen that Sir *Nicholas Throckmorton* did on a former Occaſion behave himſelf in a very friendly Manner towards our Queen; and how diſguſted he was, when he found that he had indirectly trepan'd ſome of her diſquiet Subjects into over haſty Meaſures: And from thence we might aver, tho' there was no other Proof, that his Integrity would never allow him to act now ſo diſhoneſt a Part as theſe Writers roundly affirm without any proper Credential. But the Queen of *England*'s Inſtructions to him, and his Letters to her Majeſty, being for the moſt part preſerved entire, theſe will ſerve better to diſcover to the World the Mind of that great Princeſs, and her Miniſter's Negotiation at this Time, than the blunt Affirmation of any Hiſtorian whatſoever. As I could not afford my Readers ſo good an Account of our Affairs in the preſent Interval, as what is to be had from theſe and other publick Papers; therefore I chuſe here to ſubjoin them, without the leaſt Curtailing or Addition, as I find them in the publick Repoſitories.

with double Inſtructions, *viz.*

Inſtructions by the Queen of England *given to Sir* Nicholas Throckmorton, *ſent into* Scotland *to the Queen* [*of* Scotland,] *30th* June 1567 *(b)*.

1mo, To our Queen.

‘YOU ſhall in the Beginning declare to Her, how much we have been of long Time troubled and grieved in our Mind, to behold ſuch evil Accidents as of late from time to time have happened to her, wherein her Fame and Honour have been in all Parts of Chriſtendom much impaired and decayed; and ſpecially upon the Death of her Huſband, being ſo apparently and horribly murdered ſo near to herſelf, yea and within ſo few Hours after ſhe parted with him in the Night, and nothing done by her effectual for the Search of the Malefactors, and due Puniſhment thereof. *Next*, her favouring and maintaining the Earl of *Bothwell* and his Aſſociates, being Men of notorious evil Name, whom the World charge alſo moſt of all with this deteſtable Murder. And *Thirdly*, with the Maintenance of the ſame Earl

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(a) *Cecil*, in his Letter to *Norris*, 26th *June* 1567, mentions the *French* Ambaſſador and *Villeroy* to be in *Scotland*; by the firſt of whom he means, I ſhould think, *Monſ. le Croc. Cabala.* And *Crawford*'s MS. ſays, “In that Month [*viz.* when the Queen was put into *Lochlevin*] came an Ambaſſador from *France*, called *Monſ. de Villeroy*, to know the Eſtate of Queen and Country, with Letters patent to her Majeſty, in caſe ſhe were at Liberty; otherwiſe not to divulgate them, but to diſpoſe of them as he liſt. And becauſe he found ſuch a troubled Eſtate without the Majeſty of a Prince, he departed the Country patiently through *England*.”

(b) Calig. C. 1. a Copy.

1567 being ſo charged to procure ſuch a ſtrange Divorce from his Wife, a good Lady, as never was heard, that a Man guilty ſhould for his Offences put away his innocent Wife, and that to be coloured by Form of Law; but that which followed, ſay they, hath added to the ſame an immortal Reproof to her, that is, ſuddenly, haſtily and raſhly to take ſuch a defamed Perſon to her Husband. All which Things, truly you may ſay, have pierced our very Heart with daily Thoughts for many Reſpects, as by ſundry our Letters to her we have friendly and plainly declared. In all which we have felt our Sorrows mixed alſo with Offence and Diſpleaſure to her, in ſuch ſort as we thought never more to have dealt with her by way of Advice, taking her by her Acts a Perſon deſperate to recover her Honour; and ſo do we know other Princes her Friends and near Kinſfolk to be of the like Judgment: Yet nevertheleſs now at the laſt, this Miſchief that hath followed in the End, after all theſe, hath ſtirred up in us a new Alteration and Paſſion of our Mind, and hath ſo increaſed and doubled our former Sorrow and Grief of Mind. Behold ſuddenly the raiſing an inteſtine Trouble, in manner of War, betwixt her and her Nobility and Subjects, wherein finding her to have light into ſuch hard Terms, that ſhe is reſtrained by her Nobility and Subjects, as we hear, from her Liberty; our Stomach ſo provoked, we have changed our former Intention of Silence and forbearing to deal in her Cauſes, *firſt*, to an inward Commiſeration of her, our Siſter, for this laſt Calamity; and *next*, to a Determination to aid and relieve her by all poſſible Means for the recovering of her to her Liberty, and not to ſuffer her, being by God's Ordinance the Prince and Sovereign, to be in Subjection to them that by Nature and Law are ſubjected to her. For which very Purpoſe, you ſhall ſay, We have ſent you at this Time to underſtand truly her Eſtate, and the whole Manner how the ſame has happened; and to confer with her what may be thought meet for us, as her Siſter and next Neighbour, to do for her, be it by Counſel, Force or otherwiſe: And therefore you ſhall require her to impart to you that which indeed ſhe can require of us in Honour to be done for her, to bring her to Liberty, and her Realm to Concord and inward Peace; and ſo doing you ſhall aſſure her we will do as much for her (the Circumſtances of her Caſe conſidered) as ſhe were our very natural Siſter, or only Daughter. And at the hearing of her Declaration, you ſhall require her to bear with you, if according to our Direction you do declare alſo unto her wherewith her Nobility and Subjects charge her; and ſo you ſhall orderly make full Declaration thereof, adding therewith, that your Meaning is not to increaſe her Calamities, but to the End, upon the Truth known, her Subjects may be duly reprehended and corrected for Things unduly laid to her Charge: And in other Things wherein her Fault and Overſight cannot be avoided, or well covered, the Dealing therein and Order thereof may be with Wiſdom and Policy ſo uſed and tempered, as her Honour may be ſtayed from utter Ruin, and her State recovered with ſome better Accord to follow betwixt her and her Subjects. And after ſhe ſhall have fully declared to you her Anſwer, or Requeſt, or her other Defences; if ſhe ſhall require our Aid by Force to recover her Liberty, and be revenged; you ſhall ſay, That you have Commiſſion directly to charge and reprove her Subjects with this their reſtraining of her their Sovereign Lady, and to procure her Liberty; or otherwiſe to aſſure them plainly, That ſhe ſhall not lack our Aid to compel them thereto; whereunto if they ſhall not yield, you may tell her, You will ſpeedily advertiſe us, who you doubt not will perform our Promiſe.

‘ In the Dealing herein alſo it ſhall behove you to know before hand, the Diſpoſition in the Nobility, whom you ſhall aſſure we neither can nor will endure, for any reſpect, to have her, being a Queen and their Sovereign, to be by them, being Subjects, impriſoned, or deprived of her State, or put in any Peril of her Perſon.

‘ And you ſhall alſo do your beſt, in reaſoning with the Queen, to move her by all good Perſwaſions to uſe Wiſdom and not Paſſion in this her Adverſity, as the Time requireth; whereunto you ſhall add, that all the World ſeeth her own Defaults and Overſights to have brought her: Altho' on the other Side we confeſs, that her Subjects ought not to be allowed to take from her and to themſelves any Sword or Juriſdiction to puniſh or reform her Faults, but ought to ſeek the Amendment of any of her Faults by Counſel and humble Requeſts. And *finally*, (not finding that they would deſire to remit themſelves to Almighty God, in whoſe Hands only Princes Hearts remain) you ſhall add, that to bring the Calamity to ſome ſpeedy and quiet End, you ſhall move her to remit and pardon ſuch Things as by Rigour of Law ſhe, as their Sovereign, may extend againſt them; and to yield alſo to ſuch Requeſts, which ſhall be made to her, and ſhall tend directly for Advancement of Juſtice, and ſpecially for the Puniſhment of the Murder of her Husband, upon any Subject whoſoever the ſame be, being found guilty. And further alſo, to yield to her Nobility and People ſuch other reaſonable Requeſts as may ſeem convenient and neceſſary for the Security of their Lives and Lands, living hereafter obediently. In which laſt Matter you ſhall ſay, if any ſuch thing ſhall be by them demanded, as ſhe cannot nor ought not to like of, nor can be induced to; if ſhe will commit the Judgment thereof to us, being a Queen as ſhe is, we will frankly deal therein (as far as poſſibly we can with our Honour) moſt to her Satisfaction: And in Things unmeet to be granted by her, we will aſſiſt her in the plain Denial thereof. And to bring this manner of End the better to paſs, you may labour to perſwade her, that ſeeing Things done and paſt, as well of her Part as on theirs, cannot now be undone, it is altogether vain to contend much hereupon: But Wiſdom muſt be uſed in theſe, and ſuch Extremities as theſe be, to aboliſh the Memory of both, and yet to have principal Regard of her being the Prince and Head.

‘ In your Diſcourſe with her you muſt remember to her, that we have determined and reſolved to reſt upon theſe three Heads. The *Firſt* is, to recover her to her Liberty with good Accord of her Subjects, either by Perſwaſion, or Treaty, or by Force. *Next*, to procure a due Puniſhment of the Murder of her Husband; whereunto alſo we have by Nature good Title to be a Party purſuant, conſidering the Party murdered was both our Subject born and neareſt Kinſman of the Blood Royal both of *England* and *Scotland*. The *Third* (which alſo Nature moveth unto) is to have the Royal Prince preſerved from all ſuch Danger, as manifeſtly he ſeemeth to be in, if the Murderers of his Father be juſtified. And concerning the *Firſt* of theſe, which is her Liberty, your Coming is at this Time ſpecially; and therein we have principally charged you to labour and travel to the uttermoſt. For the *Second*, which is the Proſecution of the Murderer, you may plainly ſay, tho' we cannot affirm any ordinary Power in her Subjects by Force to compel her thereto, yet we would be very ſorry to find her unwilling to conſent thereto; for then we muſt needs hold her ſo condemned, as we would not think her free from ſuch other Compulſion as one Prince and Neighbour may uſe towards another, for Puniſhment of ſuch horrible and abominable Facts. Neither may ſhe think it ſtrange, tho' therein we do ſhew our ſelf a Party againſt the Murderers, as a Thing more properly pertaining to us for many Reſpects, than to any other Prince of Chriſtendom. For the *Laſt*, you may uſe ſome good Reaſons to her to accord, that the young Prince her Son may be brought out of Danger there, and kept and nouriſhed in our Realm, whereof, beſide the good Surety of his Perſon, many other good Things may enſue to him of no ſmall Moment, hereafter to be by her well allowed; and for the more Surety of his Perſon, whereof percaſe ſome buſy Heads may make Argument, he may be ſo well provided for by Hoſtages or Pledges, as no doubt can be made: Which Matter we would have you, according to your Wiſdom, warily and alſo earneſtly proſecute, wherein we mean truly

1567. and well to the Child. And of all other Things by you to be compaſſed, we ſhall moſt eſteem thereof.

‘ You ſhall alſo do well to learn of her what the *French* have therein dealt with her, or any other: And becauſe in ſuch Times and Matters as theſe are, Changes of Proceedings may daily alter the Judgment of proceeding, we remit to your Diſcretion to order, as you ſhall ſee Cauſe, this Charge, which we commit to you in any other Form of Proceeding; ſo as always it may appear that we do not allow of her Impriſonment, and yet do allow of the juſtifying of any her Subjects for the Murder. And *Secondly*, We do not miſlike to have her ſo delivered, as the Security of them be provided which have ſincerely herein dealt to puniſh the Murder. And the *Laſt*, which we alſo moſt regard, That the Prince might be brought in to our Realm, to be in the Cuſtody of his Perſon with his Grandmother, and that with all Security that can be deviſed. Of which Things, if you have Regard to direct your Negotiation, we ſhall very well allow you.’

Together with theſe *Inſtructions*, which the Reader ſees were to be imparted only to our Queen, Sir *Nicholas* received likewiſe another Set of Inſtructions of the ſame Date, which he was to communicate apart to the Lords Aſſociators, and are as follow here.

Copy of Inſtructions for Sir Nicholas Throckmorton, *for Matters to be imparted to the Lords of* Scotland, *30th* June 1567 *(a)*.

And 2*do*, To the Lords Aſſociators.

‘ YOU ſhall let the Lords underſtand, That we hearing of theſe Troubles lately happened, could not forbear but to ſend you thither, and to underſtand the Certainty thereof, and ſpeak both with the Queen and with them. And thereupon you ſhall require them to allow you to relate to her, aſſuring them that you have nothing to deal in with her but for the Weal of that Realm, and principally for the ſame Matters they have publiſhed to be the Cauſe of their Aſſembly; that is, for to further the Proſecution of the Murderers of their King, and the Preſervation of the Child their Prince *(b)*. In which *Two* you ſhall aſſure them, there is no honourable and reaſonable Demand that can be made by them, but we will allow and further the ſame as ſhall appertain unto us. The *Third* Matter is, which you are charged ſpecially to ſolicite upon theſe late Accidents, That ſome final good Accord might be made betwixt the Queen their Sovereign and them, and that we might have the Truſt on both Parts to be a Mean herein, wherein they ſhall have no juſt Cauſe to miſlike our Doings.

‘ And becauſe we know not how the Matters do ſtand on both Sides, but hearing of the Queen's Impriſonment, we have ſent you thither in our Name to declare unto them what we think of that Matter. Requiring them not to find it ſtrange, that we being a Queen, and a Prince ſovereign, as their Queen is, do in this Part intermedle and notify our Opinion and Requeſt, which is, That in nowiſe ſhe, being a Queen and Sovereign, be detained as a Priſoner, or deprived of her Princely Eſtate. And ſo as ſhe may be by them uſed and regarded as a Queen ought to be by her Subjects, we can be very well content to uſe all good Means to induce her to all other Things that may tend to a quiet Accord with them, and that in ſuch good ſort as may be with good and honourable Order, for their Security hereafter to come, and for Quietneſs to the Realm.

‘ In this ſort you may deal generally with them as you ſhall ſee Cauſe; alſo by earneſt Speeches to ſhew them how incredible we took it at the firſt, when we heard of her Impriſonment, thinking ſurely that Perſons of ſuch Honour

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(a) Calig. C. 1. a Copy.

(b) Theſe two Things were indeed the revealed Will of the Rebels; but they had another *ſecret* Will which they reſerved *in petto*, not to be made known until a proper Seaſon ſhould caſt up.

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'Honour as they be (being the principal of the Nobility of that Realm) could never be induced to offer ſuch Violence to her their Sovereign, as to commit her to any manner of Priſon: For tho' we will not deny but ſhe may be charged with ſome Defaults or Overſights, yet we take it not to be appertaining to Subjects in ſuch manner to reform their Prince, but otherwiſe to deal by Advice and Counſel; and failing thereof, to recommend the reſt to Almighty God. And this you may ſay, we do not think as a Prince that would partially regard the Privilege of another Prince, becauſe we our ſelves are called by God's Order to that Eſtate; but that we think it ſo ordained by God, and received for a Truth in Doctrine in all good Chriſtian Government. And tho' we thus think of the Order of their Preceedings, yet you ſhall aſſure them, we hereby mean not to allow of ſuch Faults as we hear by Report are imputed to her, but therein have given you ſtraitly in Charge to lay before, and to reprove her in our Name for the ſame; which we think not unlawful or inconvenient for us to do, being a Queen as ſhe is, and her next Couſin and Neighbour. And in the End alſo, we mean not with any ſuch Partiality to deal for her, but that her Princely State being preſerved, ſhe ſhould conform herſelf to all reaſonable Devices that may bring a good Accord betwixt her and her Nobility and People, and that may reſtore her Realm to Quietneſs, and purge it of the Slander which lately it hath received by the abominable Murder of the King, and by the Lack of due Purſuit of Offenders. And in this doing, we truſt they ſhall have Cauſe to think us a good Neighbour; and whoſoever ſhall move them to take any other way, ſhall in the End be proved to ſeek their own private Commodity, with the Ruin both of the Queen and the Realm. And in this ſort you ſhall deal with them in Generality to deliver our Opinion to be, according as at your Departure from us upon ſuch Intelligence as we had, we could of our Honour and in our Conſcience think meet. You ſhall alſo, with ſome other, ſuch as you ſhall make Choice of for the Purpoſe, deal as followeth.

'Where they have diſcloſed to us the Means uſed to them to be directed at this Time by *France*, and to renew their old Alliance with them; you may well remember to them by former Experience both of old and late, what notable Diſcommodities have followed thereupon, whereof both their Hiſtories and their own ſelves are good Witneſſes: And as Things ſtand at this Day in the World, it may be eaſily ſeen what Perils may fall to them by putting themſelves and the Realm into the Governance of *France*; wherein you may enlarge more boldly to them which be of the Religion, the manifeſt Peril for the Overthrow of Religion, as a Thing at this Day much practiſed and intended in all Parts of Chriſtendom, and meet to be well foreſeen. And as for Aid required of us, you may let them know how ſtrange we found it, that until they had aſſembled themſelves in Force, and until their Queen and they had both their Forces gathered and in Field, we never heard from them in any ſort to us credible, or as was convenient for us to truſt unto, nor indeed hitherto have heard any Perſon authorized from them, until———— ————who could ſhew us no Letter nor Writing from them whereunto we might give Truſt; nor yet at his coming from thence ſpoken with the Lords himſelf, but had by———— ————And therefore we have ſent you, whom we know beſt acquainted with the Affairs of that Realm, by whom we may be advertiſed of their full Intentions and Meaning in theſe their Requeſts, and what Surety we may have reciprocally at their Hands for any Benefit that we ſhall beſtow upon them; and thereupon we may certainly reſolve what we will grant or leave, which, before better Knowledge had from them, we cannot do. And aſſoon as poſſible we may have Knowledge from you, we ſhall give them herein a reſolute and reaſonable Anſwer.'

Beſides theſe two ſeparate *Inſtructions* to be delivered to our Queen and the aſſociated Rebel-Lords, we find alſo upon Record ſome Terms of Accom-

1567. modation propoſed by the Queen of *England* to both Parties here in *Scotland*; which Terms, conſidering how Matters were now poſted, I ſuppoſe few Perſons will reckon to have been extravagant, but rather conducible to our Queen's Peace and Security.

PROPOSALS delivered to Sir *Nicholas Throckmorton* at his going into *Scotland* in *July* 1567 *(a)*.

Terms of Agreement propoſed likewiſe by the Queen of *England*.

THe Queen to be at Liberty, with theſe Priſoners following.

The Truth of Bothwell's *Fact to be duly proved before her; and that ſhe may, for her Satisfaction herein, be induced to believe the ſame by all probable Means.*

That thereupon a Divorce be effectually made.

That ſhe give Commiſſion to certain Noblemen to proceed againſt Bothwell *and his Complices.*

That a Parliament be aſſembled with Speed.

That a general Peace be proclaimed through the Realm.

That the Caſtles of Dunbar *and* Dunbarton *be in Cuſtody of ſuch of the Nobility, as be not Partakers with* Bothwell, *as the Queen ſhall name; they giving Pledges to the Lords which keep the Prince, that neither* Bothwell *nor any Foreigners ſhall be therein maintained.*

That for the Government of the Realm and the Prince, the Queen, with the Advice of the Parliament, do conſtitute certain Wardens of the Marches, and of Edinburgh, Stirling, Dunbar, Dunbarton, Inch-keith, *&c.*

That all Offices of Wardens, Chaſtelans, Provoſtings, Judicatures, and the principal Officers of the Realm, and all Eccleſiaſtical Promotions, be given by the Queen, by the Advice and Conſent of the more Part of the Great Council.

That upon the Death of any of the Great Council, the Queen name others with the Conſent of the reſt.

That the eſtabliſhing of the Succeſſion of the Crown be renovated and confirmed according to the laſt Act of Parliament.

That the Cauſe of Religion be eſtabliſhed, excepting none but the Queen's Perſon and ſome competent Number for her Attendance, not exceeding——.

That a general Pardon be granted by Parliament.

That all Bothwell's *Lands be annexed to the Crown, and be employed upon the Education of the Prince.*

That the Grand Council conſiſt upon ſuch a Number, as always there may be attending monthly at the leaſt Five or Six. And

That Orders be accorded upon for their ſitting in Councils, and ſoliciting of Cauſes to the Queen.

That no Strangers born bear any Office in the Queen's Houſhold.

That all the Articles above ſaid, and all other thereupon depending, be eſtabliſhed by Parliament; and that it be made for the firſt time puniſhable by loſs of Goods and Impriſonment; the ſecond time Treaſon, whoever ſhall contrary it; and that it ſhall be lawful to all manner of Perſons to purſue him that ſhall break the ſame as a Traitor.

That the Queen of England *may be moved to become a Maintainer of the ſame Parliament.*

But her Ambaſſador is not allowed to ſee our Queen.

When Sir *Nieholas Throckmorton* arrived in *Scotland*, he found to his great Surprize that tho' he came with a publick Character from ſo worthy a Friend as the Queen of *England*, yet the aſſociated Lords would not allow him any Acceſs to the impriſoned Queen; ſo that he found himſelf under a Neceſſity to deliver only the Inſtructions which the Queen his Miſtreſs had given him to be communicated to theſe Lords. And by the ſhifting and uncandid Anſwer which theſe Lords returned to that Miniſter, the Readers will eaſily diſcern that theſe deſigning Men had ſmall, or rather no Intentions at all to ſettle the Peace of the Kingdom even on ſuch Terms as they themſelves had fraudulently pretended.

The

(a) Calig. C. 1. a Copy.

The Anſwer of the Lords of Scotland *to Sir* Nicholas Throckmorton *Ambaſſador there,* 11*th* July 1567 *(a).*

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Some Lords return an Interim-Anſwer to that Miniſter.

"WE cannot conveniently at this Time give you a reſolute Anſwer to the firſt Part of your Meſſage, declared unto us on the Queen's Majeſty your Sovereign's Behalf, being here but a ſmall Part of that Number for the preſent aſſembled to whom you are directed; the others being before your Coming diſperſed in ſeveral Corners of the Realm upon good Occaſions, tending to the Maintenance of the juſt Quarrel we have in hand, and for ſuppreſſing dangerous Enterprizes that might be attempted for the Overthrow thereof: In Abſence of whom (their Conſents not obtained) we may not reſolve any Matter of Conſequence, leſt the ſame might breed in them occaſion of Miſliking, and conſequently Breach of the Aſſociation whereby we are joined together; wherein we pray you to bear with us. Nevertheleſs acknowledging how far we are bounden to the Queen your Sovereign, in that it hath pleaſed her Highneſs thus lovingly to deal with us, and to allow of the Grounds whereupon our Enterprize is founded, adding alſo hereunto a ſpecial Care of our Safe-guard; we mean to drive no more Time with you towards the anſwering of your Demands, than the Caſe itſelf doth of Neceſſity require: For which Purpoſe we have written out of hand for the remanent Noblemen now abſent to be here with all Speed; at whoſe Coming we doubt not you ſhall well perceive by our and their Proceedings with you, what Reſpect we bear to the Queen your Miſtreſs as in a Princeſs in whom we have repoſed our ſpecial Truſt, as well in Conſideration of the Juſtice of our Cauſe, as that the Murder which we go about to revenge was perpetrated in the Perſon of him who had that Honour to be near of her Majeſty's Blood; and that the Prince, for whoſe Preſervation we have put our ſelves in Hazard, is her Highneſs's next Couſin. Altho' we can preſently ſay no further for ſatisfying of your Demands till the coming of the remanent Noblemen; yet perceiving by that you have propounded to us, that the Queen's Majeſty your Miſtreſs finds ſtrange our Behaviour towards the Queen's Majeſty our Sovereign, and her Highneſs Impriſonment; whereupon you have made us a great and large Remonſtrance, putting us in Mind of the Duties of Subjects towards their natural Princes: We will, for your better Satisfaction herein, declare ſome Part of our Intents and Proceedings, which we will deſire you to impart to the Queen your Miſtreſs; not doubting but when her Highneſs ſhall have underſtood the ſame, ſhe ſhall not ſo far diſallow of our Doings in that Behalf.

"And firſt, We pray her Highneſs to conceive of us, that we take no Pleaſure to deal with our Sovereign after this ſort, as we are preſently enforced to do, being the Perſon in the World (whom according to our bounden Duty) we have in our Hearts moſt revered and honoured, whoſe Grandeur we have moſt earneſtly wiſhed, and with the Hazard of our Lives would have endeavoured our ſelves to have procured it. We never went about in any ways to reſtrain her Liberty, nor never entred in Deliberation at the Beginning of this Cauſe of any Thing might touch her Perſon. The Grounds of our Intents are too well known to the World, and better a great deal than we wiſh they were, for as much as they impart the Ignominy of this whole Nation, and touch in Honour as well the Queen herſelf as us all. How horribly the King her Huſband was murdered, is the common Fable of the Vulgar throughout Chriſtendom: What Form of Juſtice hath been kept for Puniſhment thereof, or rather how ſcornfully a diſguiſed Maſk was ſet up in place of Juſtice; if our Teſtimony be ſuſpect, we truſt the Queen your Miſtreſs's own Conſcience is ſufficiently informed by other Means. How ſhamefully

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(*a*) Calig. C. 1. a Copy.

1567. the Queen our Sovereign was led captive, and by Fear, Force, and (as by many Conjectures may be well ſuſpected) other extraordinary and more unlawful Means, compelled to become Bed-fellow to another Wife's Husband, and to him who not three Months before had in his Bed moſt cruelly murdered her Husband, as is manifeſt to the World, to the great Diſhonour of her Majeſty, us all, and this whole Nation. In what Caſe the innocent Babe, our native Prince, then ſtood, is eaſily to be conſidered, when the Murderer by ſuch ungodly Means had attained the Place of him whom before to the ſame End he had murdered. What End think ye could we have lookt for of the Earl of *Bothwell*'s Proceedings with proceſs of Time? Or in what Bounds could his immoderate Ambition have been concluded, who not content with his own Eſtate, had in three Months found ſuch Hap in an unhapy Enterprize, that by the Murder of the Babe's Father he had purchaſed a pretended Marriage of the Mother, ſeized her Perſon in his Hands environed with a continual Guard of 200 Harquebuziers, as well Day as Night where ever ſhe went, beſides a Number of his Servants, and other naughty Perſons Murderers and Pirates, who to impetrate Impunity of their wicked Lives and Liberty to do Ill, made their Dependence on him, and by theſe Means brought the Nobility to that miſerable Point, that if any Man had to do with the Prince, it behoved him before he could come to her Preſence, to go through the Ranks of Harquebuziers under the Mercy of a notorious Tyrant, as it were to paſs the Pikes: A new Example, and wherewith this Nation had never been acquainted, and yet few or none admitted to her Speech; for that his ſuſpicious Heart brought in Fear by the Teſtimony of an evil Conſcience, might not ſuffer her Subjects to have Acceſs to her Majeſty as they were wont to do. Beſides all this, the principal Strengths, Fortreſſes, with the whole Artillery and Munition, the whole Government and Direction of all the Affairs of the Realm. What reſted to finiſh the Work begun, and to accompliſh the whole Deſire of his ambitious Heart, but to ſend the Son after the Father; and, as might be ſuſpected, ſeeing him keep another Wife in Store, to make the Queen alſo to drink of the ſame Cup, to the End he might inveſt himſelf with the Crown of the Realm? Which behoved to be the Mark he ſhot at; for that which by wicked Means is purchaſed, muſt be by the like maintained. When this was the Condition and Eſtate of the Realm, what was the Office of the Nobility, or what became it them to do whom God had called to honourable Place in this Common-weal? Should they have winked at it? Alas! that was too long done, and that we may ſore repent. Should they have contented themſelves to deal by way of Advice or Counſel, when no Counſellors of the Realm had the Liberty of free Speech, nor Surety of their own Life, if they ſhould in Counſel reſiſt the inordinate Affections of that bloody Tyrant: Yea when a few Number, or in a manner none durſt reſort to Court. When ye have ſpoken that failing thereof we ſhould have recommended the reſt to Almighty God, the Advice may be good for the Soul, but not ſafe for the Body, and hard to be followed: For therewithall it behoved us aſſuredly to have recommended the Soul of our Prince and of the moſt part of our ſelves to God's Hands, and, as we may firmly believe, the Soul alſo of our Sovereign the Queen, who ſhould not have lived with him half a Year to an End, as may be conjectured by the ſhort Time they lived together, and the maintaing of his other Wife at home at his Houſe.

" The Reſpects aforeſaid, with many others, and very Neceſſity, moved us to enterprize the Quarrel we have in hand, which was only intended againſt the Earl of *Bothwell*'s Perſon, to diſſolve the diſhonourable and unlawful Conjunction under the Name of Marriage, which neither by God's Law nor Man's Law could be vailable or allowed by either Religion, Papiſt or Proteſtant, but was deteſtable in the Eyes of the whole World. To remove the ſhameful Slander which among all Nations was ſpread of this poor Realm,

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" by revenging that cruel Murder, and to preſerve the moſt noble Perſon of that innocent Babe; theſe Effects could not be otherwiſe brought to paſs, than by Puniſhment of the Earl of *Bothwell* in his Perſon, which could not be apprehended unleſs we had put our ſelves in Arms to that Effect.

" It appeared well when at firſt we came about *Borthwick* we meant nothing to the Queen's Perſon, in ſo far that hearing he was eſcaped out of the Houſe, we inſiſted no farther to purſue the ſame, it being moſt eaſy to have been taken, but came back to *Edinburgh (a)*, here to conſult how we ſhould further proceed for his Apprehenſion; during which Time, for avoiding of the Danger hung over his Head, covering himſelf with the Shadow of the Queen's Authority, carrying alſo with him her moſt noble Perſon, he put a great Number of her Subjects in Arms, of mind to invade us in *Edinburgh*, and to diſturb our Conſultation, which he knew to be ſo dangerous to him. What did enſue thereon, we think ye ſufficiently underſtand, and how caring little or nothing for her, he ſaved himſelf; and ſhe came in our Company to *Edinburgh*. As our Enterprize was directly intended againſt him, ſo we began to deal with her Majeſty, and to perſwade her, that for her own Honour, the Safety of her Son, the Diſcharging of her Conſcience, and the publick Tranquillity of the whole State, ſhe would be content to ſeparate herſelf from that wicked Man, to whom ſhe was never lawfully joined, and with whom ſhe could not remain, without manifeſt Loſs of Honour, and Hazard of her whole Eſtate; with all the good Remonſtrances that to good Subjects did appertain to ſpeak to their Prince in ſuch a Caſe: But all in vain; for plat contrary to our Expectations, we found her Paſſion ſo prevail in Maintenance of him and his Cauſe, that ſhe would not with Patience hear ſpeak any thing to his Reproof, or ſuffer his Doings to be called in queſtion; but by the contrary, offered to give over the Realm and All, ſo ſhe might be ſuffered to enjoy him; with many Threatnings to be revenged on every Man had dealt in the Matter *(b)*.

" The Sharpneſs of her Words were good Witneſſes of her Vehemency of her Paſſion, whereupon we had juſt Occaſion to conceive that ſhe would not fail (enduring that Paſſion) ſo long as any Man in *Scotland* would take Arms at her Commandment, to put them to the Fields for Maintenance of the Murderer; and ſo ſhould it behove us every Day. What Inconveniencies might have followed thereupon to herſelf, to her Son, to us and the whole Realm, we leave to your Judgment: And yet we thought, as we ſtill do think, knowing the great Wiſdom wherewith God hath endued her, that within a ſhort Time her Mind being a little ſettled, and the Eyes of her Underſtanding opened, ſhe would better conſider of herſelf and the ſtate of every thing, and ſo far eſchewing the preſent Inconveniencies, being ſuch as of Neceſſity would have brought on the Decay of her own Honour and Overthrow of the whole State, it behoved us of two Evils to chuſe the leaſt, which was to ſequeſtrate her Perſon for a Seaſon from his Company, and from having Intelligence with him, or ſuch others as were of his Faction, to the end we might have a breathing Time and Leiſure to go forward in the Proſecution of the Murder *(c)*, not doubting but ſo ſoon as by a juſt Trial we might make the Truth appear, and that he had received the Recompenſe due to that moſt abominable Fact, ſhe would conform herſelf to allow of our Doings, tending more to her own Honour than any particular Intereſt that any of us hath in the Matter. Of this Opinion we are, that when all our

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(*a*) We ſee there are more Ways than one of telling a Story.

(*b*) No Mention here at all of a Letter wrote by her Majeſty to the Earl of *Bothwell*, and intercepted by her Detainers; which may afford a ſtrong Suſpicion, that there never was any ſuch Letter. If theſe *good* Men were not the Parties concerned to make the Repreſentation as here laid out, we might reaſonably give better Credit to them than to all thoſe Hiſtorians, who have given it in a different Light: But as this may be ſuſpected to be a *Friendly Teſtimony*, ſo of Conſequence it cannot claim to be credited much. Conſider likewiſe the after Behaviour of theſe Men; otherwiſe indeed their Story is pretty plauſible.

(*c*) 'Tis ſtrange to ſee what Deceit Men are capable of! Theſe People would now only pretend that they had ſequeſtred the Queen until, *&c.* but we ſhall ſoon ſee another Scene laid open.

1567. “ Proceedings from the Beginning of this Action to the End ſhall be examined and rightly weighed, it ſhall appear manifeſtly that no Chriſtian Prince ſhall have Occaſion to miſlike of us, but rather by the contrary think that her Honour hath been of us ſo reſpected, that we have not cared for the Regard thereof, what became of our ſelves, or what Judgment might be taken in the World of our Doings. And of one Point you may well aſſure the Queen's Majeſty your Miſtreſs, that in the Proſecution of this Matter we have always kept ſuch Moderation, that we have not gone, nor ſhall any ways proceed further than Juſtice and the Neceſſity *(a)* of the Cauſe ſhall lead us. Thus far only for Diſcharge, leaving the Anſwer of your Demands to the coming of the reſt.”

By the above *Anſwer* I make no Doubt but the Readers will be ready enough to prognoſticate what ſhall be the Upſhot of Sir *Nicholas Throckmorton*'s Negotiation with the Rebels in favours of our Queen: But whatever Apprehenſions we may form thereof in our Minds, we can't pretend at this diſtance of Time to have ſo juſt a Notion and thorow Knowledge of the different Intentions and Speculations of the Men then upon the Stage, as this Gentleman had by his perſonal Conferences with them, and the juſt Informations he gathered among them. And this excellent Piece of Intelligence is communicated to us in the following Letters by that Miniſter.

A Letter from Sir Nicholas Throckmorton, *To the Queen's Majeſty of* England, *19th* July 1567 *(b)*.

Whereupon he writes to his Miſtreſs the Queen of *England*.

‘ PLeaſeth it your Majeſty: Your Letters of the 13th of *July* dated at *Richmond* I received the 19th of the ſame at *Edinburgh*, containing your Majeſty's Pleaſure for my Proceedings with the Queen of *Scotland*, to induce her by Perſwaſions to accord unto your Majeſty the Poſſeſſion of her Son the young Prince. I would to God ſhe were in Caſe to be negotiated with. It appeareth none of my Letters ſince my Conference with the Lord *Hume* and Lord of *Lidington* at *Faſt-Caſtle*, that is to ſay, of the 12th, 14th, 16th and 18th, were come to your Majeſty's Hands, at the writing of yours; for by them is manifeſted ſucceſſively by Degrees, that it is very unlike this Queen ſhall be in Caſe to diſpoſe of any thing regally; and every Day I ſee more and more to move me to think, that this People will leave her little Authority to diſpoſe of any thing whatſoever ſhe could be perſwaded to. The Repair to this Town doth begin to be great, and Men which kept no Place of Counſellors, and yet of good Regard, do boldly and overtly by their Speech utter great Rigour and Extremity againſt their Sovereign, ſaying, It ſhall not ly in the Power of any *within* this Realm neither *without*, to keep her from condign Puniſhment for her notorious Crimes. I know not whether the Lords and Counſellors do concur in Affection with thoſe which be no Counſellors, and ſpeak ſo boldly; I muſt needs confeſs in all their Conferences either together or apart with me, they ſhew no ſuch Extremity: Notwithſtanding by the beſt Means that I can procure Intelligence to decypher all their Humours, and by mine own Collections upon Conferences with them, I find the Matter likely to be brought to one of theſe four Iſſues; of which to chuſe I ſee great Variety among them. The *Firſt* and beſt is, to reſtore their Queen and Sovereign to her Liberty and Royal Eſtate, with Conditions and Capitulations for their Sureties; for the puniſhing the Murder in all Perſons; for the Preſervation of the Prince; for an effectual Divorce to paſs between the Queen and *Bothwell*; and for the Eſtabliſhment of Religion. Which Degree and End-making I find the Lord of *Lidington (c)* only (amongſt all the ‘ reſt

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(*a*) *Neceſſity* may be extended far enough; but the Queen of *England* did not *now*, nor for ſome time hereafter, ſee the Neceſſity they lay under to act the ſhameful Part which they did. This ſeems to be a very cover'd Expreſſion.

(*b*) Calig. C. 1. an Original.

(*c*) For the Satisfaction of the Readers, and to make publick as many original Papers as conveniently may be, I have put in the Appendix, Numb. 21. a certain Scheme of Accommodation projected by this Gentleman, bearing Date 10th *Auguſt* 1567.

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reſt of Counſellors which be here) affected unto, who (as God knoweth) is fortified with a very ſlender Company in this Opinion.

‘The next and *Second* Degree is, that the Queen ſhall abandon this Realm, and remain either in *France* or in *England*, with Aſſurance of the Prince where ſhe remaineth, to perform the Conditions enſuing; that is to ſay, To reſign all Government and Regal Authority to the Prince her Son, and to appoint under his Authority a Council of the Nobility and others to govern this Realm, and ſhe never to return hither again, nor to moleſt or impeach the Authority of her Son, nor the Government in his Name. To this Opinion I find the Earl of *Athole* and his Followers only inclined; albeit the Earl of *Morton* doth not ſeem to impugn it.

‘The *Third* End and Degree is, to proſecute Juſtice againſt the Queen, to make her Proceſs, to condemn her, to crown the Prince, and to keep her in Priſon all the Days of her Life within this Realm. To this Opinion there doth lean (as far as I can underſtand) both the moſt part of the Counſellors and a great many others.

‘The *Laſt* and worſt Degree of all is, not only to have the Queen's Proceſs made, and her Condemnation publick, but alſo the Deprivation of her Eſtate and Life to enſue. A great Number do prefer this before the other next going before, becauſe they fear they ſhall want ſure Means to keep her alive in Priſon; doubting Mutation amongſt themſelves; doubting alſo Commiſeration of your Majeſty and other Princes; and likewiſe in proceſs of Time that her own People may have Compaſſion.

‘I have inſiſted by the beſt Means I can to have the *Firſt* Degree take Place, aſſuring them that for their own Securities, Performance of Conditions and Capitulations, your Majeſty would give them good Aſſurance, and cauſe to be performed effectually what ſhall be contracted.

‘I have ſaid alſo, That I think the *French* King and the King of *Spain* will beſt allow of this End, and likewiſe all the Princes of Chriſtendom. Notwithſtanding I find Perſwaſions will move them nothing; and as for the Counſellors, they ſhake their Heads. And to tell your Majeſty the Truth, I ſee no manner of Likelihood that any of the *Two* firſt Degrees will take Place with theſe Men: And becauſe they do ſo much lean to the *Two* laſt Extremes, I have thus reaſoned with ſome of the Council and ſome of the learned Men *(a)*.

‘It ſhall be convenient for them ſo to proceed, as that by their Doings they do not wipe away the Queen's Infamy, the Lord *Bothwell*'s deteſtable Murder, and by their outragious and inordinate Dealings, bring all the Slander upon themſelves, bring the Indignation of all the Princes of Chriſtendom upon them, and cancel the ill Speech that other Folks were charged withall for Doings paſt, with the turning the whole by their ill Doings upon their own Heads.

‘I ſaid further, There was no ordinary Magiſtrate, no competent Judge nor Judges, no ſufficient Aſſembly nor Tribunal before whom their Queen and Sovereign ſhould have her Proceſs made and her Cauſe adjudged; for there was no ordinary Juſtice but they had their Authority derived from the Authority of the Queen; and it was to be thought ſhe would not give Commiſſion againſt herſelf. And to abuſe the Great Seal, to make any Commiſſion, to borrow her Name without her Conſent and Warrant, to make any Proceſs, and to abuſe her Title, was inſufficient and High Treaſon. I was anſwered, In extraordinary Enormities and monſtrous Doings, there hath been and muſt be extraordinary Proceedings *(b)*. It was ſaid the States of the Realm and People aſſembled might in this Caſe be competent Judges, whereof they had in their own Country ſundry Experiences in criminal Offences committed by their Princes: And there was recited unto me ſundry

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(*a*) Of which ſort no doubt *Buchanan* and *Knox* were principal Leaders.

(*b*) The ſame kind of Argumentation may be ſeen in *Buchanan*'s ſatyrical *Detection*.

1567. ‘ Examples forth of their own Hiſtories, grounded (as they ſaid) upon their own Laws *(a)*; but I believe it was but Practices *(b)*. They ſaid, if there were no Law written for new Offences, and for ſuch Perſons as the good World paſt could not think would be ſo evil, and therefore provided no penal Proviſion; they ſaid, new Offences did in all States occaſion new Laws and new Puniſhments. All this as yet taketh little Place, nor moveth them any thing at all to change their Opinions.

‘ As yet by no means it will not be accorded unto, that I ſhall have Acceſs to the Queen: Neither hath *Nicholas Elphinſton*, who was ſent from my Lord of *Murray*, Liberty to repair unto her.

‘ This Day being at Mr. *Knox*'s Sermon, who took a piece of the Scripture forth of the Books of the *Kings*, and did invéigh vehemently againſt the Queen, and perſwaded Extremities towards her by Application of his Text. I did after the Sermon move ſuch of the Council as were preſent, to perſwade the Lords to adviſe the Preachers not to intermedle with the End of theſe Matters, until they were reſolved among themſelves what they were minded to do; for otherwiſe, the Miniſters going on ſo rigorouſly (as they did in their daily Preachings) might ſo draw the Multitude from them and their Reſolutions, that though among themſelves they would make Choice of ſome reaſonable End, yet they ſhould not be able to bring it to paſs, the People being once by the Preachers Arguments and Perſwaſions ſettled another way *(c)*.

‘ It is fit that your Majeſty know and be perſwaded, that the Power to diſpoſe of the Prince doth reſt and is like to reſt in theſe Lords Hands, ſo as the Bargain that your Majeſty is to make for him muſt be compaſſed by theſe Mens Favours and Capitulations.

‘ And whereas your Majeſty might perceive by ſome of my former Advertiſements, that the Opinion of the Lord of *Lidington* was, that I ſhould in no means ſpeak on your Majeſty's Behalf publickly, neither privately to any Man but himſelf, of having the Prince into *England*; I do find he is of the ſame Mind ſtill, and yet he hath yeſterday had ſome private Conference thereof with the Earl of *Athole*, whom he hath found (as the L. of *Lidington* telleth me) better inclined to conſent thereunto upon honourable Conditions, than he either looked for or did believe. This much the L. of *Lidington* ſaid further unto me, That ſurely your Majeſty had taken a very ill way to have theſe Men at your Devotion, ſpecially becauſe the Earl of *Murray* and others in their Troubles, and ſince, had found cold Relief and ſmall Favour at your Majeſty's Hands. And now to impair the Caſe, your Majeſty hath ſent me hither ſpecially to procure the Queen's Liberty, which Matter was moſt odious and dangerous to them which had dealt in this Action, conſidering that the other Things which your Majeſty deſired could not be performed, if this went before; concluding that it was a Device to entrap them, and to leave them to the Mercy of the Queen and *Bothwell*.

‘ He ſaid alſo, That your Majeſty might conſider how unable they were, without ſome Aid of Money, either to maintain their Proceedings, to defend the Prince, to preſerve themſelves, and be in caſe to gratify your Majeſty and your Realm with any thing; which they had declared both by Writing and Meſſage, and yet your Majeſty would not give Ear thereunto.

‘ He ſaid further, For the good Will I bear the Queen and the Realm of *England*, I would I had been baniſhed my Country for ſeven Years with

‘ ſmall

(*a*) Defiance may be given to any Man for producing one Inſtance of this kind through any Part of the *Scottiſh* Hiſtory. If an Inſtance be adduced during the Reign of the Kings preceeding *Fergus* II. it muſt reſt upon the Adducer of ſuch Inſtances to anſwer, in the firſt place, the Difficulties thrown in the way concerning thoſe Kings by the Author of the *Critical Eſſay on the ancient Inhabitants of Scotland*; as likewiſe his *Obſervation* concerning the Act of Parliament 1491-2, in the Caſe of K. *James* III.

(*b*) A very juſt and neceſſary Diſtinction. *Practice* is one thing; but *Law* is quite different. No Nation perhaps can free themſelves from treaſonable Conſpiracies; but no Nation did ever enact a Law for putting Hands into the Perſons of their Sovereigns. To infer *Right* from *Fact*, is a plain way to prove any thing whatſoever to be both right and wrong.

(*c*) 'Tis more than probable that a great many of this Queen's Miſfortunes took Riſe from that Quarter.

1567. ‘ ſmall Relief, on the Condition the Queen your Miſtreſs had dealt liberally and friendly with theſe Lords; for now they do conclude amongſt themſelves, that howſoever the Caſe falleth out, they ſhall find little Support or Favour at your Majeſty's Hands more than fair Words. And yet they think you are rather diſpoſed to beſtow them to their Prejudice than to their Advantage. I do aſſure you (ſaid he) with the beſtowing of ten or twelve thouſand Crowns now at the Beginning, her Majeſty might have brought to paſs thoſe Things which the *French* could not do with the ſpending of a hundred thouſand Crowns, nor peradventure will not be eaſily brought to paſs hereafter by your ſelves. And to the End your Majeſty may ſee what Courſe theſe People do take, and how they be bent, I have ſent you herewith a Dialogue made in Metre, publiſhed and ſent abroad into all Parts, and regiſtred as it were in every Man's Heart, and uttered by every Man's Mouth, reſerving the Counſellors which ſpeak with Reſpect. This Ballad was printed two Days paſt, which I did omit of purpoſe to ſend by my laſt; but now finding they be ſo univerſally publiſhed, even as it were to work a Concurrence in all Mens Minds, I have thought meet to ſend your Majeſty one of them, that thereby your Majeſty may perceive what End they tend unto.

‘ I do find there is like to be ſomewhat ado about the Satisfaction of the *Hamiltons* and their Friends, both for the Succeſſion of this Crown and the Tutleſhip of the Prince, and Governance of the Realm; about which Matters the Lawyers and Noblemen according to their Partialities be divided. Some do hold Opinion by Law (and do deſire to have it ſo) that the Earl of *Lenox*'s Son living ſhall inherit this Crown, if the young Prince die without Iſſue, the ſaid Crown being inveſted in the Prince, and in his real Poſſeſſion.

‘ *Durus eſt hic ſermo* to the *Hamiltons*; for they cannot ſuffer this by any means.

‘ Touching the Tutor to the Prince and Governor of the Realm in his Minority, this is taken to be the Opinion of the beſt learned in the Law, that this Charge and Prerogative doth duly appertain to the Earl of *Lenox*: The Reaſon is this, He the ſaid Earl is next *agnatus* to the Prince capable of ſuch Charge, becauſe of the maſculine Line, which is preferred in theſe Reſpects before the Duke of *Chaſtelherault*'s which is *cognatus*, and excluded becauſe of the intermarrying of two Women whereof he is deſcended. Theſe Matters have been in Deliberation one Day among the Counſellors, and, as I learn, therewith they be greatly perplexed: But I am much deceived, in caſe the Queen be either deprived or do miſcarry, neither the Duke of *Chaſtelherault* nor the Earl of *Lenox* ſhall have either the Governance of the Prince or of the Realm, but the ſame ſhall be committed to the Perſons named in my laſt Advertiſements.

‘ Since the writing of the Premiſſes, the Lords have accorded to Mr. *Nicholas Elphinſton* Leave to repair to *Lochlevin*, to the Queen, from my Lord of *Murray*, and to declare unto her his Commiſſion.

‘ Theſe Lords have ſent unto me, ſince the writing of the Premiſſes, by *Robert Melvil*, ſaying, That the L. of *Lidington* ſhould have come unto me, had it not been that he is occupied about this great Aſſembly, to confer with the wiſeſt and beſt choſen of them upon what Heads they ſhall intreat. The ſaid *Robert Melvil* ſaid unto me, on Behalf of the Lords, That your Majeſty had ſent them Word by him in the Preſence of ſome of your Council (*a*), That I ſhould have Commiſſion to aid them in their Action with Money, and alſo Power to conclude with them in maintaining of ſuch their Proceedings as tended to the Preſervation of the Prince, to the Puniſhment of the Murderers, and for their own Surety; wherewith your Majeſty conjoined the Liberty of the Queen.

(*a*) Mr. *Melvil* was in *England* at the Time of the Queen's Misfortune, ſent thither by her Majeſty with Inſtructions to notify her Marriage with the Duke of *Orkney*, as hath been obſerved already.

‘ I anſwered, Such Commiſſion as your Majeſty had given me I had uttered unto them, the 15th of this Month, whereunto as yet they had given me no Anſwer, but had delayed me upon the Repair of their Aſſociates. *Robert Melvil* ſaid, Such a Sum of Money as the Lords deſired would have preſently ſtand them in great Stead, and ſhould have done the Queen's Majeſty little Harm; and ſure I am in the End her Majeſty ſhould have received the beſt Commodity. He ſaid further unto me, I will ſpeak to you as of my ſelf. I would be ſorry theſe Lords ſhould be ſo much at any other Prince's Devotion, as at the Queen your Sovereign's; but I ſee they are determined to make very hard Shifts rather than they will preſs her Majeſty again for Money, ſeeing that of herſelf ſhe will not conſider their Caſe. It is (ſaid he) a great Charge unto them to live here in this Town, to entertain ſo many Men of War, both here and in other Places, and to have ſo little Means to defray the Expences as they have. I anſwered unto him, That I had proponed amongſt divers Things, to know what Pleaſure and Benefit reciprocally your Majeſty might have at their Hands for any Charge you ſhould beſtow upon them, whereunto they had made me no Anſwer. *Robert Melvil* ſaid, I will ſhew them what you ſay; but I think the L. of *Lidington* will come and confer with you this Night.

‘ Now that your Majeſty ſeeth the State of the World here, it may pleaſe you to give me Direction with convenient Speed, how I may proceed in all Things upon all Events. Thus Almighty God preſerve your Majeſty in perfect Health, Increaſe of Honour and happy Felicity. At *Edinburgh* the 19th of *July* 1567.

Your Majeſty's moſt humble, faithful,
obedient Servant and Subject,

N. Throckmorton.

Another Letter from Sir Nicholas Throckmorton, *To the Queen of* England, *25th* July *1567 (a).*

A ſecond Letter to the Queen of *England* by her Miniſter here.

‘ It may pleaſe your Majeſty: The Earls of *Glencairn* and *Mar*, the Lords *Sempil*, *Ochiltree*, and the Maſter of *Graham*, accompanied with many Gentlemen of the Weſt of this Realm to the Number of two hundred Horſes, arrived in this Town the 23d of this Month; ſo did the Lord *Lindſay* alſo, being ſent for by theſe Lords from *Lochlevin*.

‘ The ſame Day all the Lords and others of beſt Quality had Conference together concerning their Proceedings with the Queen their Sovereign; and, as I can learn by aſſured Intelligence, this was among them reſolved, That the Lord *Lindſay* ſhould this Day, being the 24th, accompanied with *Robert Melvil*, repair to the Queen, and have in Charge to declare unto her, That the Lords here aſſembled conſidering her former Miſbehaviours, as well in the Government of the Realm as in her own Perſon (the Particularities of both which Miſgovernments they would forbear to touch, for Reſpect they had to her Honour) could not permit her any longer to put the Realm in Peril by her Diſorders, which were ſuch and ſo many as they could not think meet that ſhe ſhould any more ſtand charged with the Governance of the Realm; and therefore they did require and adviſe her to accord quietly, and thereto to give her Conſent, that her Son the Prince might be crowned their King and Sovereign; and alſo by her Aſſignment, that a Council might be appointed and eſtabliſhed to govern the Realm in his Name: And thus doing, they would endeavour themſelves to ſave both her Life and Honour, both which otherwiſe ſtood in great Danger.

‘ And further, it was reſolved, That in caſe this Queen would not be conformable to their Motions, then her Liberty ſhould be reſtrained to more

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(a) Calig. C. I. an Original.

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Straitneſs, and the Ladies, Gentlewomen and Gentlemen which be about her to be ſequeſtred from her. And as far as I can underſtand in this Caſe of the Queen's Refuſal to theſe their Demands, they mind to proceed both with Violence and Force, as well for the Coronation of the Prince, as for the Overthrow of the Queen.

‘ At this preſent, the Counteſs of *Murray*, Wife to the Earl of *Murray*, is with the Queen at *Lochlevin*.

‘ Your Majeſty might by my former Diſpatches perceive how I had preſſed theſe Lords to have Acceſs to the Queen, and likewiſe to have their Anſwer to all ſuch Matters as on your Majeſty's Behalf I had propounded unto them. So have I again ſince the Repair of theſe other Lords to this Town, moved to have Audience.

‘ The Lord *Lindſay* departed this Morning from this Town to *Lochlevin*, accompanied with *Robert Melvil:* He carrieth with him three Inſtruments to be ſigned by the Queen. The *One* containing her Conſent to have her Son crowned, and to relinquiſh the Government of the Realm (*a*). The *Other* is a Commiſſion of Regency of the Realm to be granted to the Earl of *Murray* during the King's Minority. The *Third* is a like Commiſſion to be granted to certain of the Nobility and others for the Governance of the Realm during the King's Minority, in caſe the Earl of *Murray* will not accept the Regency alone (*b*).

‘ The Earl of *Argile* hath an Aſſembly of the principalleſt of his Country at this preſent, to take Advice of them for his Behaviour in theſe Actions. Theſe Lords have ſent a ſpecial Meſſenger unto him, to require him either to repair to this Town unto them, or to his Houſe named *Caſtle-Campbell* in the *Fiſe* (*c*). The *Hamiltons*, as I learn, be quiet, and ſeem to impugn nothing of theſe Lords Doings. The Earl of *Huntly* in the North is quiet alſo. So as theſe Men may go on with what pleaſes them.

‘ In this Convention of the Shires and Churches, this hath been as yet proponed amongſt them, To eſtabliſh the Religion by ſome effectual Decree; To reſtore the Miniſters to the Thirds, which the Queen did reſume into her own Hands; To aboliſh Papiſtry and Maſs-ſaying through the whole Realm without reſpect of Perſons; which Article to put in Ure, they mind or it be

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(*a*) In the firſt Reſolve concerning the Queen, *Crawford*'s MS. ſays, it was “ decerned that ſhe ſhould remain in Captivity during her Life, and tranſport her Authority to the young Prince, to the end that they might rule as they liſt without any Controulment of lawful Authority, which [Anarchy] continued many Years.”

(*b*) Sir *James Melvil*, *Mem. p.* 85. ſays, that “ after his Brother Sir *Robert* had refuſed flatly to medle in that Matter, the Lords were minded to ſend the Lord *Lindſay* firſt to uſe fair Perſwaſions; and in caſe he could not ſpeed that way, they were reſolved to enter in harder Terms. The Earl of *Athole*, *Mar*, Secretary *Maitland* and *Grange*, who loved her Majeſty, adviſed my Brother to tell her the Verity, and how that any thing ſhe did in Priſon could not prejudge her, being once again at Liberty. He anſwered, he would give no ſuch Advice as coming from himſelf, but he ſhould tell it as the Opinion of thoſe he knew to be her true Friends. But ſhe refuſed utterly to follow that Advice, till ſhe heard that the Lord *Lindſay* was at the new Houſe at the Shore, coming in, and in a very boaſting Manner; and then ſhe yielded to the Neceſſity of the Time, and told my Brother, that ſhe would not ſtrive with them, ſeeing it could do her no Harm when ſhe was at Liberty: So at my Lord *Lindſay*'s coming ſhe ſubſcribed the Signature of Renunciation and Dimiſſion of the Government.” Bp. *Leſlie* in his Negotiations narrates much the ſame Things with Sir *James*; and adds, “ The like Advertiſement was made to her by Sir *Nicholas Throckmorton* Ambaſſador for the Queen of *England*, then Reſident at *Edinburgh*, by his Letters by the ſame Meſſenger [*Robert Melvil*] and conveyed in the Scabbard of his Sword, adviſing her to ſatisfy their Deſire, affirming the ſame would never hurt her, being done in Priſon and for fear of her Life, which he would teſtify and avow to the Queen his Miſtreſs and all other Princes, in reſpect of the Determination taken againſt her, to the which he was privy. And therefore ſhe being moved with theſe Cauſes of juſt Fear, with many Tears and weeping ſet her Hand to all Letters that was preſented by the Lord *Lindſay*, never reading what was written or contained within them; and farther ſaid at the ſame Time, that whenſoever God ſhould put her to Liberty, ſhe would not abide thereat, for it was done againſt her Will.” The Abp. *Spottiſwood* mentions likewiſe a Letter from Sir *Nicholas Throckmorton*, declaring expreſly that *no Reſignation made in the Time of her Captivity would be of Force, but was null in Law becauſe done out of a juſt Fear.* “ Which (this Prelate ſays) the Queen having conſidered with herſelf a while, without reading any one of the Writs preſented, ſhe ſet her Hand to the ſame, the Tears running down in abundance from her Eyes.” And *Crawford*'s MS. ſays, “ They went to eſtabliſh a Prince of blood Royal, under the ſhadow of whoſe Wings in Minority they ſhould convey all to their own Purpoſe ——— And to the Effect it ſhould ſeem to have the better Succeſs, and that the Subjects of all Degrees ſhould make no Obſtacle of the contrary, they directed their Meſſage to their captive Princeſs, deſiring her to allow of that their Purpoſe; which ſhe, being in that Caſe, neither could nor durſt refuſe. For the Meſſenger was commanded (in caſe ſhe ſhould refuſe it) to denounce Puniſhment and Death unto her for the Murder of her lawful Husband King *Henry*. She therefore conſidering with herſelf that her Refuſal could profit nothing, deliberated to yield to their Purpoſe, and ſubſcribed her Aſſent thereunto, not of any Free-will, but as I have ſaid.” Mr. *Knox* and ſome others take notice, that the Lord *Ruthven* went likewiſe to the Queen, in order to preſs her ſubſcribing theſe Writs: And it has been ſaid, that both theſe Lords made uſe of moſt barbarous Menaces, to induce her Majeſty to a Compliance.

(*c*) It does not appear his Lordſhip obeyed either of theſe Demands.

1567. long to proceed firſt againſt the Biſhop of St. *Andrew's*, and then conſequently againſt all other Biſhops and Men of his Faction.

'The Aſſembly *(a)* alſo hath made Requeſt, that the Murder of the late King may be ſeverely puniſhed, according to the Laws of God, according to the Practices of their own Realm, and according to the Laws which they call *Jus Gentium*, without reſpect of any Perſon.

'I do perceive if theſe Men cannot by fair Means induce the Queen to their Purpoſe, they mean to charge her with theſe three Crimes, that is to ſay, *Tyranny*, for Breach and Violation of their Laws and Decrees of the Realm, as well that which they call *Common Laws* as their *Statute Laws*; and namely, the Breach of thoſe Statutes which were enacted in her Abſence, and confirmed by *Monſ. de Randam* and *Monſ. d'Oſell* in the *French* King her Husband's Name and hers.

'*Secondly*, They mean to charge her with *Incontinency*, as well with the Earl *Bothwell* as with others, having (as they ſay) ſufficient Proof againſt her for this Crime *(b)*.

'*Thirdly*, They mean to charge her with the *Murder* of her Husband, whereof (they ſay) they have as apparent Proof againſt her as may be, as well by the Teſtimony of her own Hand-writing, which they have recovered, as alſo by ſufficient Witneſſes.

'It may pleaſe your Majeſty, upon my Requeſt made in the Morning the 24th of this Month, to have Conference with the Lords, the ſame Day about Four of the Clock in the Afternoon, the Lord *Graham* Heir to the Earl of *Montroſe*, the Lord *Ruthven (c)*, and the L. of *Lidington*, came unto me from the Lords, and deſired me to repair to the Tolbooth, where being aſſembled, they deſired to have Conference with me.

'Whereupon, accompanied with the foreſaid Lords, I went thither; there I found theſe Lords (whoſe Names I ſend your Majeſty in a Schedule) ſet about a long Table, and round about them a great Number of Barons and Gentlemen (whoſe Names I do omit to make Mention of) to the Number of Forty, beſtow'd upon Seats. At my coming in they did all riſe; and after I had ſaluted and embraced ſuch as I had not ſeen before, we ſat down. Then the L. of *Lidington* and the Earl *Morton* required me to declare unto that Aſſembly ſuch Matters as I had to open on your Majeſty's Behalf unto them, and ſuch as I had declared unto ſome of them at my laſt Conference. Then I did deliver unto them all the Points of your Majeſty's Inſtructions, which you gave me in Charge to open unto the ſaid Lords, preſſing earneſtly the Enlargement of the Queen, and their Permiſſion to let me have Acceſs unto her.

'I was anſwered by the L. of *Lidington*, who (after ſecret Conference had with the Earl of *Morton* at the Board's End) ſaid thus unto me, My Lord Ambaſſador, To Part of theſe Matters which you have opened on your Sovereign's Behalf, the Lords have already three Days paſt anſwered you; and for the reſt, the Lords do pray you to have Patience, that they may conſult upon them, moſt of this Aſſembly not having heard till now what you had in Charge to ſay unto them. Whereupon I retired my ſelf accompanied with the ſame Lords which brought me thither.

'It may pleaſe your Majeſty, betwixt Ten and Eleven in the Night, the L. of *Lidington* came to my Lodging, and declared unto me ſummarly on Behalf of the Lords ſuch Matter as the Writing herein cloſed doth contain, and after delivered me the ſaid Writing for the Help (he ſaid) of my Memory. So as your Majeſty may perceive, ſay I what I can, theſe Men are determined to ſee an Iſſue of their Reſolutions. Thus Almighty God preſerve your Ma-

' jeſty

(a) The Proceedings of this Aſſembly of the Kirk ſhall be narrated in their proper Place.

(b) I don't remember that ever any Charge was exhibited againſt her, except with the Earl of *Bothwell*.

(c) From this 'tis clear that the Lord *Ruthven* went not to the Queen at this Time, when the Inſtruments were preſented to be ſigned by her.

jeſty in Health, Honour and all Felicity. At *Edinburgh* the 25th of *July* 1567.

Your Majeſty's moſt humble, faithful,
obedient Servant and Subject,

N. Throckmorton.

The Paper here mentioned by Sir *Nicholas* to have been delivered to him by the Laird of *Lethington*, containing the Anſwer of the Lords Aſſociators to the Declaration made by him to them in Name of the Queen of *England*, is this that followeth.

The Lords ſecond Anſwer to Sir Nicholas Throckmorton, July *24th* 1567 *(a)*.

The *Scottiſh* Aſſociators give in a formal Anſwer to the *Engliſh* Ambaſſador.

“WE underſtand by that brief Declaration it has pleaſed you to make unto us upon the Queen's Majeſty your Maiſtreſs's Behalf, in general, of the Heads whereupon you have Commandment to confer with the Queen's Highneſs our Soverain, that the Sum of the whole conſiſteth in two Points. The *Firſt* is to lay out plainly before her the Defaults of her Marriage, and other her Doings, whereof your Maiſtriſs has a miſliking. Whilk Head as it mon on Force be grievous unto her, ſo the other bearing with it a Commiſeration of her preſent Trouble, and a ſpecial Care to ſee the ſame redreſs'd, will be to her, as the Caſe now ſtands, comfortable. We are not ſo inhumane that we would wiſh her Majeſty to lack Comfort, yet does the preſent Eſtate require that good Conſideration be had, how, after what ſort, and by whom ſhe be comforted; otherwiſe that Office whilk ſhall be uſed for her Commodity, may hurt her and us all. We are about to give her Majeſty good Advice, and ſome are already in hand with it; whereunto if ſhe will give good Ear, it ſhall be to the great Commodity of herſelf, her Son the Prince, and this haill Realm. Albeit we are fully aſſured, that ye being the Queen's Miniſter, and admitted to her Preſence, will do na Office but that whilk is honourable for your Maiſtreſs, and according to your Charge ſhall appear unto you ſafe for us; yet we have good Cauſe, upon reaſonable Conſiderations worthy to be foreſeen of us, to doubt, that if ſhe ſhould ſuddenly receive any Comfort at your Hands, or conceive of your Speech any thing tending to that End, by conſtruing the leaſt of your Words to her Advantage, whilk otherwiſe we have good Hope ſhe wald altogether follow; whereby, contrary to the Queen your Maiſtreſs's Deſire, ye ſhould do her Highneſs Harm *(b)*, Prejudice to our Cauſe, and bring no Part of that to paſs wherefore we underſtand you chiefly to be ſent. And therefore we mon pray you, not only your ſelf to take in Patience, but alſo deſire the Queen your Maiſtreſs to bear with us the Delay of a ſhort Time, whilk mon be ſpent in treating with her Majeſty, to ſee if by good Advices we may bring her to ſome Conformity, whereunto we truſt God ſhall incline her Heart. And if the ſame may take good Succeſs (as we hope,) it ſhall be ſafeſt for her Highneſs and us all, and we doubt not beſt content the Queen your Maiſtreſs” *(c)*.

(*a*) Calig. C. I. a Copy.

(*b*) Theſe are *kindly* People: They look much to the Advantage of their Sovereign. But the great Misfortune is, all their Care of her is to keep her deſtitute of all Help, and to force her into a Compliance with their Impoſitions. The World will be now able to judge of the Sincerity of theſe Mens Declarations, at and after the Time they firſt began to take up Arms. If we could *then* have given Credit to them, it was only *Bothwell* they ſought after, and to deliver her Majeſty from his Thraldom. Alas that Men ſhould have ſo little Ingenuity!

(*c*) The following Liſt, I ſuppoſe, is made of thoſe that gave in this Anſwer, or whom *Throckmorton* found met in the Tolbooth. See his foregoing Letter. Barons of the Parliament, The Earl of *Athol*, Earl of *Morton*, Earl of *Glencairn*, Earl of *Marre*, Maſter of *Montroſe*, called Lord *Grahame*, Heir to the Earl of *Montroſe*; Lord *Hume*, Lord *Ruthven*, Lord *Creighton* of *Sanquhar*, Lord *Sempill*, Lord *Enermeith*, Lord *Ochiltree*, L. *Craigmillar* Proveſt of *Edinburgh*; the Commendator of *Driburgh*, the Commendator of *Cambuskenneth*, Mr. *James Macgill*. This Liſt is alſo taken from the *Cotton* Library.

1567. As 'tis very much to be hoped that my Readers have not taken in bad Part the preceeding circumſtantiated Accounts of the *Engliſh* Ambaſſador's Negotiation and Behaviour hitherto with the Lords Aſſociators; ſo may I preſume that they'll receive with no leſs Satisfaction the following Letter by the Queen of *England* to her ſaid Ambaſſador.

Queen's Majeſty's Letter to Sir Nicholas Throckmorton *in* Scotland, *27th* July 1567 *(a)*.

Letter from the Queen of *England* to her Ambaſſador.

'TRuſty and well-beloved, we greet you well: Be your Letters of the 21ſt of this Month we have at good length perceived what Anſwer you have at length received in Writing at the Hands of the Lord of *Lidington* from ſuch of the Lords as be there aſſembled at *Edinburgh*; by which well conſidered, we are very ſorry to ſee the Matters growing into ſuch Extremity, as we cannot well bear without plain Reprehenſion of that which we find therein amiſs. And therefore our further Pleaſure is, you ſhall continue in Proſecution of your firſt Charge, to procure the Liberty of the Queen, and to have Licence to ſpeak with her, to the Intent ſhe may underſtand how much we miſlike her Doings, and thereby to induce her for to accord to that which ſhall be moſt to the Safety of her Honour and Quietneſs of her Realm; for ſo we have from the Beginning (as you know) reſolved to proceed honourably betwixt her and her People. And now conſidering theſe Lords have ſo long delayed you from Anſwer, and the ſame being given, containeth nothing but colourable Defences of their own Doings, and that they have not licenſed you to deal with the Queen; we are moved to miſlike their whole Actions. And ſo we will have you declare it unto them in this Manner following:

'*Firſt*, Howſoever good Words and Thanks they give us in their Writings, we do not think our ſelves well uſed, in that they have ſo long delayed to give you Anſwer, being ſent thither, as our Ambaſſador, to be a Mediator betwixt the Queen their Sovereign and them, as well for their Weal as hers; and to procure reaſonable Means for the Puniſhment of the Murder and Preſervation of their Prince, as any of them can in good Order and Duty require. And we take it for no reaſonable Excuſe, that the Abſence of ſome who for ſmaller Cauſes might reſort and uſually do reſort to that Place, you have been hitherto deferred, and yet is delayed to reſort to the Queen: A Matter, you may ſay in our Name, that breedeth in us ſome Suſpicion *(b)* in their Actions; for otherwiſe they need to ſtay your Repair unto her, conſidering that you have plainly affirmed unto them, that our Intention is to allow and aſſiſt the Proſecution of the Murder and Preſervation of the Prince, which be the two principal Foundations (as they profeſs and publiſh) of their whole Actions *(c)*. Wherefore you ſhall require them, as they will regard their Duties to God, and their Eſtimations to the World, that they be better adviſed how to proceed any further in this ſort as they ſeem to continue: For you ſhall plainly declare unto them, That if they ſhall determine any thing to the Deprivation of the Queen their Sovereign Lady of her Royal Eſtate, we are well aſſured of our own Determination, and we have ſome juſt and probable Cauſe to think the like of other Princes of Chriſtendom, that we will make our ſelves a plain Party againſt them, to the Revenge of their Sovereign, for Example to all Poſterity *(d)*. And therein we doubt not but God will aſſiſt us, and confound them and their Devices, conſidering they have no Warrant nor Authority by the Law of God or Man to be as Superiors, Judges or Vindicators over their Prince and Sovereign, howſoever they do

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(*a*) Calig. C. 1. a Copy.

(*b*) The Suſpicion was indeed very flagrant in every Step of their Conduct.

(*c*) But *Profeſſion* is one Thing, and *Practice* another; whereof the wiſe Queen of *England* could not be ignorant.

(*d*) Perhaps the Aſſociators might have had ſome Inkling of the *Engliſh* Queen's Determination, and that has made them ſo deſirous of obtaining what they called a *voluntary* Demiſſion from their own Sovereign.

1567. ‘gather or conceive Matter of Diſorder againſt her. And therein we require them to appeal to their own Conſciences, what Warrant they have in Scripture, being Subjects, to depoſe their Prince; but contrary, and that with expreſs Words in St. *Paul*, who to the *Romans*, commanded them to obey *Poteſtatibus ſupereminentioribus gladium geſtantibus (a)*, although it is well known that Rulers in *Rome* were then Infidels? Or what Law they find written in any Monarchy chriſtian, how and what ſort Subjects ſhall take and arreſt the Perſon of their Princes, commit and detain them in Captivity, proceed againſt them by Proceſs and Judgment, as we are well aſſured no ſuch Order is to be found in the whole Civil Law? And if they have no Warrant by Scripture or Law, and yet can find out for their Purpoſe ſome Examples, as we hear be ſeditious Ballads they put in Print, they would pretend; we muſt juſtly account thoſe Examples to be unlawful, and Acts of Rebellion: And ſo if the Stories be well weighed, the Succeſs will prove them *(b)*. You ſhall ſay, that this may ſuffice to ſuch as do pretend to be carried in their Actions by Authority either of Religion or of Juſtice. And as to others that for particular Reſpect look only to their own Surety, it were well done, before they proceeded any further, they did well conſider how to ſtay where they be, and to deviſe how to make Surety of their Doings already paſt, than to increaſe their Peril by more dangerous Doings to follow. And yet generally we do yield unto them, that for Things already paſt which cannot be revoked, we will be the Means to appeaſe all Controverſies, and doubt not but, if they will give you Acceſs to her, to induce her to accord hereto. In this ſort our Meaning is you ſhould anſwer them, and by the way, for ſatisfying their Objections which be amplified in their Anſwer, you may aſſure them, we ſo deteſt and abhor the Murder committed upon our Couſin their King, and miſlike as much as any of them the Marriage of the Queen our Siſter with *Bothwell*. But herein we diſſent from them, that we think it not lawful nor tolerable for them, being by God's Ordinance Subjects, to call her, who alſo by God's Ordinance is their Superior and Prince, to anſwer to their Accuſations by way of Force; for we do not think it conſonant in Nature the Head ſhould be ſubject to the Foot. And becauſe we have found by ſome of your Letters heretofore, that ſome of theſe Lords that now concur in theſe Actions, do note us to have been ſomewhat cold in our Amity towards them in their Diſtreſs, amongſt which we note the Earl of *Morton* one, and that ſome others of them pretend that our Favours heretofore ſhewed, were for particular Reſpects of our own, or at leaſt did concern them: We think it good that as ye ſee Time and Occaſion, both the one and the other may be herein anſwered. *Firſt*, The Earl of *Morton* had Refuge in our Realm when we might have delivered him to Death, as his Father alſo and Uncle had before with no ſmall Favour at our Father's Hands, and he himſelf was reſtored to his Pardon for gratifying us, upon Inſtance made by our Order at the Earl of *Bedford*'s being with the Queen. And as to others which pretend to have had no Intereſt in our former Favours, for delivering of that Realm from the Tyranny of the *French*; You may well anſwer them, That the Fruit of our Charges therein ſhewed, we think they do find and have found unto this Day to concern them as much as others which did then ſolicite us. And becauſe we ſee a general Courſe taken in debating with you, that this our manner of ſeeking the Queen's Liberty, and our not aiding of them at this preſent with Money whilſt ſhe is in Captivity, is likely to draw them to link themſelves after their old manner with *France*; You ſhall ſay, We doubt not but if they do conſider of Things heretofore paſt which have followed upon their partial Band, they themſelves for their Country ſhall have as great Cauſe to miſlike thereof as we

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(a) *i. e.* Obey ſovereign and ſuperior Powers that bear the Sword.

(b) The Queen of *England* ſpeaks here both like a wiſe Woman and great Princeſs: The Stories they pretended for Examples were certainly nothing elſe but Acts of Rebellion, for which theſe, nor no other Men, could ever produce any Law whatſoever.

1567. for ours: And yet if it were otherwiſe for us to think thereof, we cannot, nor will, for reſpect of our particular Profit at this Time, be induced to conſent to that which we cannot in Conſcience like or allow; but ſhall remit the Conſequence thereof (as we have done many ſuch like Things touching our Eſtate) to the good Will and Favour of Almighty God, at whoſe Hands we have found no Lack in the doing or omitting of any thing whereunto our Conſcience hath induced us.

‘ *Laſtly*, For Anſwer to your Letter, requiring to know our Pleaſure what you ſhall do if you be required to be preſent at the Coronation of the Prince *(a)*: We think, knowing our Mind in all this Action as you do, that you will not by any ſuch Act affirm their Doings. And for your better Satisfaction, we do prohibite you to aſſent thereto by any means.”

By Sir *Nicholas Throckmorton*'s preceeding Letter of the 25th *July*, we come to know that the Lord *Lindſay* had gone to *Lochlevin* and carried along with him *three* Inſtruments, already drawn up by the aſſociated Rebels, in order to procure the Queen's Aſſent and Subſcription. And now before we proceed farther in that Gentleman's Negotiation, the Thread of our Hiſtory and the Series of Affairs will require that theſe ſeveral *Inſtruments* be laid before the Readers, together with ſuch other Things as have a natural and neceſſary Dependence on that great Occurrence: They were as follow;

Inſtrument by the Queen conſtituting eventual Regents to the Prince her Son.

MARIE *be the Grace of* GOD *Quene of* Scottis, *To all and ſindrie our Jugeis and Miniſteris of Law, Liegis and Subjectis quhome it effeiris, to quhais Knawlege thir our Letteris ſall cum, Greting;* FORSAMEKLE *as be lang, irkſum and tedious Travell takin be us in the Governement of this our Realme, and Liegis thairof, we ar ſa vexit and weryit that our Body, Spirite and Sencis ar altogidder becum unhabill langer to travell in that Rowme. And thairfore we have dimittit and renuncit the Office of Governement of this our Realme, and Liegis thairof, in favouris of our onlie maiſt deir Sone, native Prince of this our Realme. And becauſe of his tender Zouth, and Inhabilitie to uſe the ſaid Governement in his awin Perſoun, during his Minoritie, we have conſtitute our derreſt Brother* James *Erle of* Murray, *Lord* Abirnethie, *&c. Regent to our ſaid Sone, Realme and Liegis foirſaidis. And in reſpect that our ſaid derreſt Brother is actuallie furth of our Realme, and cannot inſtantlie be preſent to accept the ſaid Office of Regentrie upon him, and uſe and exerce the ſamin during our ſaidis derreſt Sonis Minoritie: We quhill his returning within our Realme, or in cais of his Deceis, have maid, conſtitute, namit, appointit and ordanit, and be thir our Letteris makis, conſtitutis, namis, appointis and ordanis our traiſt Couſingis and Counſallouris,* James *Duke of* Chattellerault, *Erle of* Arrane, *Lord* Hammiltoun; Matho *Erle of* Levinax, *Lord* Dernley, *&c.* Archibald *Erle of* Argyle, *Lord* Campbell *and* Lorne, *&c.* Johne *Erle of* Athole, James *Erle of* Mortoun, Alexander *Erle of* Glencarne, *and* Johne *Erle of* Mar, *Regentis to our ſaid derreſt Sone, Realme and Liegis. And in cais our ſaid Brother* James *Erle of* Murray, *cum within our Realme, and refuſis to accept the ſaid Office of Regentrie upon his ſingulare Perſoun; We mak, conſtitute, name, appoint and ordeine our traiſt Couſingis and Counſallouris foirſaidis, and our ſaid Brother, Regentis of our ſaid deir Sone, Realme and Liegis. Gevand, grantand and committand to thame, or ony Fyve of thame, conjunctlie, full Powar for our ſaid Sone, and in his Name to reſſave Reſignatiounis of Landis, mak Diſpoſitiounis of Wairdis, Nonentreſſis, Relevis, Mariageis, Beneficeis, Eſhetis, Officis, and utheris Caſualiteis and Privilegeis quhatſumever concerning the ſaid Office, Signatouris thairupoun to mak, ſubſcrive, and cauſe be paſt throuch the Seillis.*

And

(a) By this 'tis apparent the Aſſociators had talked to the *Engliſh* Miniſter concerning the ſetting up the Prince for King, as a Thing they intended to perform.

1567.

And to uſe and exerce the ſaid Office of Regentrie in all Thingis, Privilegeis and Commoditeis, ſiclyke as frelie, and with als greit Libertie, as ony Regent or Governour to us, or our Predeceſſouris, uſit the ſamin in ony tymes bygane. Promittand to hald firme and ſtabill, in the Word and Faith of ane Prince, to quhatſumever Thingis our ſaidis traiſt Couſingis dois in the Premiſſis. Chargeing heirfore zow all and ſindrie our Jugeis and Miniſteris of Law, Liegis and Subjectis foirſaidis, to anſwer and obey to our ſaidis traiſt Couſingis, Regentis foirſaidis, in all and ſindrie Thingis concerning the ſaid Office of Regentrie, during our ſaid derreſt Sonis Minoritie, and ay and quhil he be of the Age of Sevintene Zeiris compleit. As ze and ilk ane of zow will declair zow luifing Subjectis to our ſaid maiſt deir Sone, zour native Prince, and under all Paine, Charge and Offence that ze and ilk ane of zow may commit and inrin againis his Majeſtie in that Pairt. Subſcrivit with our Hand, and gevin under our Previe-Seill at Lochlevin *the* xxiv. *Day of* Julij, *and of our Regne the Twentie fyve Zeir.*

Inſtrument of the Queen's Demiſſion in favours of the Prince.

MARIE *be the Grace of GOD Quene of* Scottis, *To all and ſindrie our Jugeis and Miniſteris of Law, Liegis and Subjectis quhome it effeiris, to quhais Knawlege thir our Letteris ſall cum, Greting; FORSAMEKLE as ſen our Arrivall and Returning within our Realme, we willing the commoun Commoditie, Welth, Profeit and Quyetnes thairof, Liegis and Subjectis of the ſamin, have employit our Body, Spirite, haill Sencis and Forcis to governe the ſame, in ſic ſort that our Royall and honorabill Eſtate mycht ſtand and continew with us and our Poſteritie, and our luifing and kynde Liegis mycht enjoy the Quyetnes of trew Subjectis. In travelling quhairin, not onlie is our Body, Spirite and Sencis ſa vexit, brokin and unquyetit, that langer we ar not of Habilitie be ony meane to indure ſa greit and intolerabill Panis and Travellis, quhairwith we ar altogidder weryit, bot als greit Commotiounis and Troublis, be ſindrie Occaſiounis, in the mein tyme hes enſewit thairin, to our greit Greif. And ſeing it hes bene the Pleſour of the eternall God, of his kyndlie Lufe, Mercie and Gudnes, to grant unto us, of our awin Perſoun, ane Sone, quha in cais be the Hand of God we be veſeit, will, and of Rycht and of Equitie man and aucht to ſucceid to us and to the Governement of our Realme: And knawing that all Creaturis ar ſubject to that immutabill Decreit of the Eternall, anis to rander and gif up this Lyfe temporall, (the Hour and Tyme quhairof is maiſt uncertane) and in cais be Deceis we be takin fra this Lyfe, during the Tyme of his Minoritie, it may be dowtit greitlie that Reſiſtance and Troubill may be maid to our ſaid Sone, now native Prince of this our Realme, in his tender Zeiris (being ſwa deſtitute of us) to ſucceid to that Rowme and Kingdome quhilk maiſt juſtlie of all Lawis appertenis to him. Quhilk Inconvenient, be Godis Help and gude Providence, we mene to prevent, in ſic maner, that it ſall not ly in the Power of ony unnaturall Subjectis to reſiſt Godis Ordinance in that Behalf. And underſtanding that nathing * eirdlie is mair joyous and happy to us † nor to ſe our ſaid derreſt Sone, in our awin Lyfetyme, peciablie placit in that Rowme and honorabill Eſtate quhairto he juſtlie aucht and man ſucceid to; We of the motherlie Affectioun we beir toward our ſaid onlie Sone, have renuncit and dimittit, and be thir our Letteris, frelie, of our awin motive Will, renuncis and dimittis the Governement, Gyding and Governing of this oure Realme of* Scotland, *Liegis and Subjectis thairof, and all Intromiſſioun and Diſpoſitioun of ony Caſualiteis, Propertie, Benefices, Offices, and all Thingis appertening, or heirtofoir is knawin, or heirefter ſall happin to appertene thairto, in favouris of our ſaid derreſt Sone, to that Effect, that he may be plantit, placit and poſſeſſit thairin, uſe and exerce all Thingis belangand thairto, as native King and Prince of the ſamin, and ſiclyke as we or ony our Predeceſſouris, Kingis of* Scottis, *hes done in ony Tymes bypaſt. Attoure, that this our Dimiſſioun may tak the mair*

* *earthly.*

† *than.*

1567. *ſolempne Effect, and that nane pretend Ignorance thairof, we have gevin, grantit and committit, and be thir our Letteris gevis, grantis and committis our Commiſſioun, full, frie and plane Power, generall and ſpeciall Command, to our traiſt Couſingis,* Patrik *Lord* Lindeſay *of the* Byris, *and* Williame *Lord* Ruthven, *and to ilk ane of thame conjunctlie and ſeverallie, to compeir before ſa mony of the Nobilitie, Clergie, Burgeſſis, and uther Pepill of our Realme, as ſall happin to be aſſemblit to that Effect in our Burgh of* Striviling, *or ony uther Place or Placis quhair it ſalbe thocht maiſt convenient, at ony Day or Dayis, and thair publictlie in thair Preſence, for us, in our Name, and upoun our Behalf, dimit and renunce the Governement, Gyding and Reuling of this our Realme, Liegis and Subjectis thairof, all Intromiſſioun with the Propertie, Caſualitie, or utheris Thingis appertening to us thairby, and all Rycht and Tytle that we had, hes or may have be ony maner of way thairto, in favouris of our ſaid Sone, to that Effect, that he may be inaugurat, placit and rowmit thairin, and the Crowne Royall deliverit to him, and be obeyit in all Thingis concerning the ſamin, as we or our Predeceſſouris hes bene in tymes bypaſt. And in lykewiſe be thir Preſentis, gevis, grantis and committis our full, frie and plane Power, to our rycht traiſt Couſingis,* James *Erle of* Mortoun, *Lord of* Dalkeith; Johne *Erle of* Athole, *&c.* Johne *Erle of* Mar, *&c.* Alexander *Erle of* Glencarne, Williame *Erle of* Menteith, Johne *Maiſter of* Grahame, Alexander *Lord* Hume, Adam *Biſchop of* Orknay; *the Proveſtis of* Dundie, Montrois, *or ony of thame, to reſſave the ſaid Renunciatioun and Dimiſſioun in favouris of our ſaid Sone, and thairefter the reſſaving thairof, to plant, place and inaugurat him in the Kingdome, and with all Ceremonies requyſit to put the Crowne Royall upon his Heid, in Signe and Takin of the eſtableſing of him thairin, and in his Name to mak and gif to the ſaidis Nobilitie, Clergy, Burgeſſis, and utheris our Liegis, his Princely and Kingly Aith, detfully and lauchfully as effeiris; and to reſſave thair Aithis, for dew and lauchfull Homage to be maid be thame to him, in all tymes cuming, as becumis Subjectis to thair native King and Prince. And generally all and ſindrie uther Thingis to do, exerce and uſe, that for ſure Performance and Accompliſhment heirof, may or can be done, firme and ſtable haldand, and for to hald all and quhatſumever Thingis in our Name, in the Premiſſis leidis to be done, in the Word and faithfull Promis of ane Prince. And ordanis thir our Letteris (gif neid beis) to be publiſt at all Places neidfull. Subſcrivit with our Hand, and gevin under our Previe-Seill at* Lochlevin *the* xxiv. *Day of* Julij, *and of our Regne the Twentie fyve Zeir.* 1567.

Inſtrument conſtituting the Earl of *Murray* Regent to the King during his Non-age.

MARIE *be the Grace of GOD Quene of* Scottis, *To all and ſindrie our Jugeis and Miniſteris of our Lawis, Liegis and Subjectis quhome it effeiris, to quhais Knawlege thir our Letteris ſall cum, Greting; FORSAMEKLE as efter lang, greit and intollerabill Panis and Labouris takin be us ſen our Arrivall within our Realme, for Governement thairof, and keiping of the Liegis of the ſamin in Quyetnes, we have not onelie bene vexit in our Spirite, Body and Sencis thairby, bot als at lenth ar altogidder ſa vexit thairof, that our Habilitie and Strenth of Body is not habill langer to indure the ſamin. Thairfoir, and becauſe nathing eirdlie can be mair confortabill and happy to us in this Eird, nor in our Lyfetyme to ſe our deir Sone the native Prince of this our Realme placit in the Kingdome thairof, and the Crowne Royall ſet on his Heid, we of our awin fre Will, and ſpeciall Motive, have dimittit and renuncit the Governement, Gyding and Governing of this our Realme of* Scotland, *Liegis and Subjectis thairof, in favouris of our ſaid Sone, to that Effect that in all Tymes heirefter he may be peciablie and quyetlie enjoy the ſamin without Troubill, and be obeyit as native King and Prince of the ſamin be the Liegis thairof. And underſtanding that be reſſoun of his tender Zouth, he is not of Habilitie in*

his

his awin Perſoun to adminiſtrate in his Kinglie Rowme and Governement, as Equytie requyris, quhill that heirefter he cum to the Zeiris of Diſcretioun; And als knawing the Proximitie of Blude ſtandand betwix us, our ſaid Sone, and our derreſt Brother James *Erle of* Murray, *Lord* Abirnethie, *&c. And havand Experience of the naturall Affectioun and tenderly Luſe he hes in all Tymes borne, and preſentlie beiris towardis us, Honour and Eſtate of our ſaid Sone, of quhais Luſe and Favour towardis him we can not bot aſſure our ſelf; to quhome na greter Honour, Joy, nor Felicitie in Eird can cum, nor to ſe our ſaid Sone inaugurat in his Kingdome, feirit, reverencit and obeyit be his Liegis thairof: In reſpect quhairof, and of the Certanetie and Notoritie of the Honeſtie, Habilitie, Qualificatioun and Sufficiencie of our ſaid derreſt Brother, to have the Cure and Regiment of our ſaid Sone, Realme and Liegis foirſaidis, during our ſaid Sonis Minoritie; We have maid, namit, appointit, conſtitute and ordanit, and be thir our Letteris, namis, appointis, makis, conſtitutis and ordanis our ſaid derreſt Brother* James *Erle of* Murray, *Regent to our ſaid derreſt Sone, Realme and Liegis foirſaidis, during his Minoritie and les age, and ay and quhill he be of the Age of Sevintene Zeiris compleit; And that our ſaid Brother be callit during the ſaid Space,* Regent *to our ſaid Sone, his Realme and Liegis. Swa that our ſaid Sone efter the completing of the Zeiris foirſaidis, in his awin Perſoun may tak upon him the ſaid Governement, and uſe and exerce all and ſindrie Privilegis, Honouris, and utheris Immuniteis that appertenis to the Office of ane King, alſweill in governing his Realme and Pepill according to the Lawis, as in repreſſing the Violence of ſic as wald invaid, or injuſtlie reſiſt him or thame, or his Authoritie Royall. With Power to our ſaid derreſt Brother* James *Erle of* Murray, *in Name, Authoritie and Behalf of our ſaid maiſt deir Sone, to reſſave Reſignatiounis of quhatſumever Landis haldin of him, or zit of Offices, Caſtellis, Towris, Fortalices, Mylnis, Fiſchingis, Woddis, Benefices, or Pertinentis quhatſumever, the ſamin againe in our ſaid Sonis Name to gif, and deliver Signaturis thairupon, and upon the Giftis of Wairdis, Nonentreſſis and Relevis of Landis, and Mariageis of Airis falland, or that ſall happin to fall in our ſaid Sonis Handis as Superiour thairof. And als upon Preſentatioun of Landis, Benefices, Eſchetis of Gudis movabil and unmovabil, Dettis and Takkis, Reſpittis, Remiſſiounis, Superſedereis, and upon the Diſpoſitioun of Offices vacand, or quhen thay ſall happin to vaik, to ſubſcrive, and cauſe be paſt the Seillis. The ſaid Office of Regentrie to uſe and exerce in all Thingis, Privilegis and Commoditeis, ſiclyke as frelie, and with als greit Libertie, as ony Regent or Governour to uſe, or our Predeceſſouris uſit in ony tymes bygane, and ſiclyke as gif everie Heid, Privilege and Article concerning the ſaid Office wer at lenth expreſſit and amplifyit in thir our Letteris. Promiſand to hald firme and ſtabill in the Word and Faith of ane Prince, to quhatſumever Thingis our ſaid derreſt Brother in the Premiſſis happinnis to do. Chargeing heirfoir zow all and ſindrie our Jugeis and Miniſteris of Law, Liegis and Subjectis foirſaidis, to anſwer and obey to our ſaid derreſt Brother, in all and ſindrie Thingis concerning the ſaid Office of Regentrie, as ze and ilk ane of zow will declair zow luiſing Subjectis to our ſaid maiſt deir Sone, and under all Paine, Charge and Offence that ze and ilk ane of zow may commit and inrin aganis his Majeſtie in that Pairt. Subſcrivit with our Hand, and gevin under our Previe-Seill at* Lochlevin *the* xxiv. *Day of* Julij, *and of our Regne the Twentie fyve Zeir (a).* 1567.

The foregoing *three* Inſtruments having been all ſigned by the Queen on the 24th of *July*, the very next Day the Lord *Lindſay* returned with them to *Edinburgh*, where meeting with the other Aſſociators, he notified to them the Suc-

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(a) Black Acts of Parliament, and *R. M.*

1567. ceſs of his Errand; and thereupon we find the following Record of Privy-Council, *viz.*

Apud Edinburgh 25. Julij, Anno Dom. 1567.

SEDERUNT

Jacobus *Comes de* Mortoun, Joannes *Comes de* Athole, Alexander *Dominus* Hume, Eduardus *Dominus* Sanquhair, Willielmus *Dominus* Ruthven.

Preſenting of the Quenis Majeſties Commiſſionis.

The foregoing Inſtruments are read in Council;

The quhilk Day, in Preſens of the Lordis of Secreit-Counſale, and utheris of the Nobilitie, Prelatis, Baronnis, and Commiſſionaris of Burrowis, convenit within the Tolbuyth of Edinburgh, **comperit** Patrick **Lord** Lyndeſay **of the** Byris, **and preſentit this Commiſſioun under-writtin ſubſcryvit be the Quenis Majeſtie, our Soverane Ladie, and under hir Prieve-Seill, deſyrand the ſame to be opinlie red; of the quhilk the Tenour followis,** MARIE *be the Grace of GOD*, &c. as in *p.* 431. which contains the Queen's Demiſſion of the Government in favour of the Prince her Son; for no other Paper was read at this Time. Then follows in the Record, *Quhilkis being opinlie red, the ſaidis Lordis of Secreit-Counſale, and utheris of the Nobilitie, Prelatis, Baronnis, and Commiſſionaris of Burrowis, convenit as ſaid is, glaidlie aggreit thairto, allowit and apprevit the ſamyn; and in Verificatioun and Teſtificatioun thairof, ſubſcryvit the Obligatioun following.*

Second Band (a).

and thereupon a new Aſſociation is formed.

We quhilkis hes ſubſcryvit this under-writtin Band, underſtanding that the Quenis Majeſtie willing nathing mair eyrniſtlie nor that in hir Liftyme hir maiſt deir Sone, our native Prince, be placeit and inaugurat in the Kyngdome of this his native Countreye and Realme, and be obeyit as King be ws and utheris his Subjectis: And being weryit of the greit Panis and Travillis taken be hir in hir Governament thairof, hes be hir Letteris dimittit and renuncit, and geuin Power thairby to dimitt and renunce the ſaid Governament of this Realme, Liegis and Subjectis thairof, in favouris of hir ſaid Sone our native Prince, to the Effect he may be inaugurat thairin, the Crowne Royall put upon his Heid, and be obeyit in all Thingis as King and native Prince thairof, as hir Hienes Letteris paſt thairupoun beris. Thairfoir, and becaus it is ane of the maiſt happy Thingis that can

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(a) It is ſo ſtiled in the Regiſter of Privy-Council; and tho' the Date in the End be left blank, yet it has probably been made on the 25th of *July*, as appears here by the Time of preſenting the *Queen's Commiſſion*, as likewiſe by another Paper entitled, *Articles of the Kirk*, immediately following this Bond in the Regiſter, of the Date the 25th *July* alſo. Bp. *Burnet* in his 3d Vol. of the Reformation, and Mr. *Anderſon* in his Collections, Vol. 2d, have both given Copies of this Band from an Original in the Library of *Glaſgow*, to which are adjected a great many Subſcriptions. The Copies of the Bond are indeed word for word the ſame with that in the Regiſter; but the Subſcriptions in the Biſhop's Copy come far ſhort of Mr. *Anderſon*'s; neither are they in the ſame Order, ſo far as they proceed together. Mr. *Anderſon* obſerves that the Subſcribents began to ſign upon the 25th of *July* 1567, and continued to ſign as they came in, till the *December* following that the Parliament met; and he likewiſe obſerves in his *general Preface*, that "moſt of the Perſons Subſcribers of this Bond, and of thoſe who were preſent at the Parliament in *December* 1567, are the ſame with theſe who attended the Parliament or Convention in *Auguſt* 1560." If it was ſo, it follows that Faction had gained but few Proſelytes in theſe ſeven Years bygone. But tho' the Regiſter of Privy-Council mentions that the Queen's Demiſſion was read in Preſence of the Lords of Secret-Council, and others of the Nobility, Prelates, Barons, and Commiſſioners of Burrows, who did all gladly agree thereunto; yet we may juſtly ſuſpect, that few, if any at all, have been preſent that Day in Council beſides the five Lords marked in the *Sederunt:* And this, becauſe the Regiſter affirms that all theſe preſent did in Verification of their Approbation of her Majeſty's Demiſſion ſubſcribe the following Bond; and yet we are told, that the Subſcriptions to this Bond were purchaſed up and down the Kingdom from this Date until the Month of *December* next. The whole Truth then of this Record has been, that the few Lords who ſate in Council this 25th of *July* have approved the Queen's Demiſſion, and drawn up this Bond with Intention to procure Subſcribers afterwards to it by all their Means and Induſtry.

can cum to ony Pepill or Cuntre, to be governit and rewlit be thair awin native King, We and ilk ane of ws quhilkis hes ſubſcryvit thir Preſentis, be the Tenour heirof, promittis, bindis and obliſſis ws faithfullie to convein and aſſembill our ſelfis at the Burgh of Striviling, *or ony uthir Place to be appointit to the Effect foirſaid, and thair concurr, aſſiſt and fortifie our ſaid native King and Prince, to the eſtabliſſing, planting and placing of him in his Kingdome, and putting the Crowne Royall thairof upoun his Heid: And in the Feir of our God, being inſtructit and techeit be his and all uthir Lawis, ſall gif our Ayth of Fidelitie for Homage and detfull Obedience to be maid be ws to him during his Grace's Lyftyme, as it becumis faithfull Chriſtianis and trew Subjectis to do to thair native King and Prince. And fardir, that we ſall with all our Strenth and Forceis promote, concurr, fortifye and aſſiſt to the Promotioun and eſtabliſſing of him in his Kingdome and Governament, as becumis faithfull and trew Subjectis to do to thair Prince, and to reſiſt all ſic as wald oppone thame thairin, or mak ony Troubill or Impediment to him thairin; and ſall do* (a) *all uthir Thingis that becumis faithfull and Chriſtiane Subjectis to do to thair native King and Prince. In witneſs of the quhilk Thing, we haif ſubſcryvit* (b) *thir Preſentis with our Handis at* Edinburt *the Day of the Zeir of God Ane thouſand fyve hunder threſcoir ſevin Zeris.* R. M.

Matters being thus far prepared, the Aſſociators reſolved immediately to proceed to the Coronation of the Infant-King, which Solemnity they appointed to be on *Tueſday* the 29th of the ſame Month of *July* at *Stirling*: But foraſmuch as ſeveral Noblemen were met together at *Hamilton*, who were, not without Ground, deemed to favour the ſequeſter'd Queen; the Lords Aſſociators propoſed to ſend Sir *James Melvill* to acquaint them with their Intention to ſet the Crown upon the Head of the Infant-Prince, conformable to the Queen's Commiſſion, &c. and to require their Concurrence. Sir *James Melvil* ſays he made ſome Difficulty at firſt to go, but that however he went to *Hamilton*, chiefly by the Advice of Secretary *Lethington*, the Laird of *Grange*, and ſome others, who ſecretly favoured the Queen; but he adds, that after he had delivered his Meſſage, ſome of the younger Lords at *Hamilton* made Anſwer, That they did not believe that the Queen had demitted the Government; and that if ſhe had done ſo, it had been merely to ſave her Life. But, he ſays, the Archbiſhop of St. *Andrew*'s, who had more Experience, reproved the younger Lords, and acknowledged that the Lords Aſſociators had dealt diſcreetly by them; and that he went aſide with the Lords that were with him, and then returned and gave Sir *James* the following Anſwer, *We are beholden to the Noblemen who have ſent you with that friendly and diſcreet Commiſſion; and following their Deſire, we are ready to concur with them, if they give us ſufficient Security of that which you have ſaid in their Name: And in ſo doing, they give us occaſion to conſtruct the Beſt of all their Proceedings paſt, and to come. So that if they had acquainted us with their firſt Enterpriſe of puniſhing the Murder, we ſhould heartily have taken part with them. And whereas now we are here convened, it is not to purſue or offend any of them, but to be upon our own Guards, underſtanding of ſo great a Concourſe of Noblemen, Barons, Burroughs, and other Subjects. For not being made privy to their Enterpriſe, we thought fit to draw our ſelves together, till we ſhould ſee whereto Things would turn.*

Several Lords withdraw, and keep together at *Hamilton*;

which is the Occaſion of Counter-Meſſages.

Sir *James* being returned to *Stirling* with this Anſwer, he tells us the wiſe and honeſt-hearted of the Aſſociators judged the ſame to be ſatisfactory enough, (as no doubt it was, and ought to have been) but others, not being able to diſcommend or find any Fault with it, pretended that Sir *James* had painted out a

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(a) We do theſe Men no Injuſtice to ſuppoſe that *all theſe uthir Thingis that becumis*, &c. might be reſtricted within very narrow Bounds. 'Tis an eaſy Matter to talk of the Fear of God, *&c.* but Actions are the beſt Indications of that and every other Virtue and Grace.

(b) See the Names of the Subſcribents in the Appendix, Numb. 22.

1567. fine Story of his own making, for them and in their favours: By which ſort of Dealing, that Gentleman ſays, he began to perceive that there were different Opinions and Intereſts among them. Such as were entirely devoted to favour the Crown of *England* [upon account of the gilded Favours they received from thence] deſired no Peace and Tranquillity to be in the Country; and ſuch as bare Ill-will to any of the other Lords at *Hamilton*, laboured to keep the Difference with them open, in hopes afterward to reap Profit by their Fines and Forfeitures. Thus that Author obſerves, that theſe Noblemen were but ill uſed, and laid under a plain Neceſſity of betaking themſelves to contrary Courſes, their Friendſhip and Society being rejected at this Time, and they neither permitted to be preſent at the Coronation, nor yet allowed to take Inſtruments, that their Abſence ſhould not prejudge them in any ſort (a). Thus far Sir *James*.

The Queen's Lords, as they were ſtiled, retire from *Hamilton* to *Dumbarton*,

From this Time the Lords at *Hamilton* endeavoured to draw over as many Noblemen and Barons as they poſſibly could, to ſtand up for the Queen's Right and Authority; and theſe began now to obtain the Name of the *Queen's Lords*, as the others had the Denomination of the *King's Lords*. The former Claſs of Lords perceiving that they were rejected from being taken into Friendſhip, withdrew to the ſtrong Fortreſs of *Dumbarton* (of which the Lord *Fleming* was Keeper) and there entred into a Combination againſt the King's Lords, which the ſame Author obſerves, they would not have done, if they could have been accepted in Society with the reſt. The Tenor of the Bond which they drew up at *Dumbarton* was this that followeth;

and enter into a Bond of Defence, *&c.*

Foraſmuchas conſidering the Queen's Majeſty our Sovereign to be detained at preſent at Lockleven *in Captivity, wherefore the moſt part of her Majeſty's Lieges cannot have free Acceſs to her Highneſs, and ſeeing it becomes us of our Duty to ſeek her Liberty and Freedom; We Earls, Lords and Barons underſubſcribing, promiſe faithfully to uſe the utmoſt of our Endeavours, by all reaſonable Means, to procure her Majeſty's Liberty and Freedom, upon ſuch honeſt Conditions as may ſtand with her Majeſty's Honour, the common Weal of the whole Realm, and Security of the whole Nobility who at preſent have her Majeſty in keeping: Whereby this our native Realm may be governed, ruled and guided by her Majeſty and her Nobility, for the common Quietneſs, the Adminiſtration of Juſtice, and Weal of the Country. And in caſe the Noblemen who have her Mayeſty at preſent in their Hands, refuſe to ſet her at Liberty upon ſuch reaſonable Conditions as ſaid is; in that Caſe we ſhall employ our ſelves, our Kindred, Friends, Servants and Partakers, our Bodies and Lives, to ſet her Highneſs at Liberty, as ſaid is; and alſo to concur to the Puniſhment of the Murther of the King her Majeſty's Husband, and for ſure Preſervation of the Perſon of the Prince, as we ſhall anſwer to God, and on our Honours and Credit: And to that Effect ſhall concur every one with other at our utmoſt Power. And if any ſhall ſet upon us, or any of us, for the doing as aforeſaid; in that Caſe we promiſe faithfully to eſpouſe one anothers Intereſt, under Pain of Perjury and Infamy, as we ſhall anſwer to God. In witneſs whereof, we have ſubſcribed theſe Preſents with our Hand at* Dumbarton, *the Day of* St. Andrews, Arguile, Huntly, Arbroth, Gallway, Roſs, Fleeming, Herris, Skirling, Kilwonning, Will. Hamilton *of* Sanchir, *Knight* (b).

The 29th of *July* being come, the Lords Aſſociators, and their Fautors, repaired to *Stirling*, for performing the Ceremony of the Coronation; the Particulars whereof, taken from the authentick Records of Privy-Council, 'tis not only proper but neceſſary to have ſubjoined here, by reaſon of ſome Remarks that may naturally occur to be made thereupon.

Apud

(a) Yet there was a publick Proteſtation made immediately before the Coronation, in Name of the Duke of *Chaſtelherault* and the remanent Perſons of the Royal Blood, that the ſaid Coronation ſhould in nowiſe prejudge their Right of Succeſſion.

(b) Mr. *Crawford* of *Drumſoy* has ſet down this Bond, *p. 60.* of his *Memoirs*, tho' there be not the leaſt Notice of it in the MS. from which he ſays he publiſhed theſe *Memoirs*. He likewiſe delays this Bond until the Time of the Parliament in *December* following, and inſerts the Date to have been on the 25th of that Month, and the Place to have been *Hamilton*: It were to be wiſhed this Gentleman had given us ſome Voucher for one or both theſe Inſertions.

Apud Striviling 29. *Julij, Anno Dom.* 1567.

1567.

An authentick Account of the whole Progreſs of the King's Coronation.

“THe quhilk Day, in Preſens of nobill and michtie Lordis, *James* Erle of *Mortoun*, Lord of *Dalkeyth*; *Johne* Erle of *Atholl*, Lord of *Balvany*; *Alexander* Erle of *Glencairne*, Lord of *Kilmawris*; *Johne* Erle of *Mar*, Lord *Erskine*; *Williame* Erle of *Menteith*, *Johne* Maiſter of *Grahame*, *Alexander* Lord *Hume*, *Patrick* Lord *Lindſay* of the *Byris*, *Edward* Lord *Sanquhair*, *Robert* Lord *Sempill*, *Johne* Lord *Innermeyth*, *Andro* Lord *Vchiltrie*, *James* Lord of *Sanct Johnes*, *Adame* Biſchope of *Orknay*, *Robert* Comendature of *Dumfermline*, Mr. *Robert Richartſoun* Comendature of *Sanct Marie Iſle*, Theſaurare, *Williame Murray* of *Tullibardin* Knycht, Comptrollar, *Williame Maitland* of *Ledingtoun* zoungar, Secretare, Sr *Johne Bellenden* of *Auchnowle* Knycht, Clerk of Juſticiarie, *Johne Erskine* of *Dun* Proveſt of *Montrois*, Maiſter *James Halyburtoun* Proveſt of *Dundie*, and diverſe of the Nobilitie, Spiritualitie, and Commiſſionaris of Burrowis, conveint for Coronatioun of the Richt Excellent Prince, *JAMES*, be the Grace of GOD, Prince and Stewart of *Scotland*: Comperit *Arthur Hamiltoun* of *Muretoun*, Procuratour ſpeciallie conſtitute be *Johne* Archbiſchope of *Sanct Androis*, and *Gawin* Comendature of *Kilwyning*, Commiſſionaris lauchfullie conſtitute be ane nobill and michtie Prince, *James* Duke of *Cheſtellarault*, in all his honeſt and lauchfull Beſines during his remaning furth of this Realme, as at lenth is conteint in his Commiſſioun under his Seill and Subſcriptioun-manuall, of the Date the ferd Day of *Auguſt*, the Zeir of God 1566 Zeiris, and in the ſaids Letteris of Procuratorie, of the Dait at *Hamiltoun* the xxviii. Day of *July* inſtant, ſubſcryvit, as appeirit, with the Handis of the ſaids Archbiſchope and Comendature; And thair the ſaid *Arthur*, Procurator foirſaid, in Name and Behalfe of the ſaid Duke of *Cheſtellarault*, proteſtit, That quhatſumevir Thing is done, or to be done, towart the Coronatioun of the ſaid maiſt excellent Prince, quhat Actis, Conſentis, Conſtitutionis beis maid thairupoun, ſould on nawayis prejuge or be hurtfull to the ſaid nobill and michtie Duke of *Cheſtellarault*, and the remanent of the Quenis Majeſtie of *Scotlandis* Royall Blude, lauchfullie deſcendit, in thair Titill and Succeſſioun of the ſaid Crowne, quhen evir it ſall pleis God, be ony juſt Rycht, to call thame thairto, mair nor the ſaid Coronatioun had nevir bene done; and thairupoun askit Inſtrumentis and Documentis of us Connotaris publict under-ſubſcryvand. This wes done in the Counſall-hale within the Caſtell of *Striviling*, Day, Zeir and Place above-writtin.

“The ſame Day, within the Paroch-kirk of *Striviling*, conveint the nobill and michtie Lordis under-writtin; thay are to ſay, *James* Erle of *Mortoun*, Lord *Dalkeyth*; *Johne* Erle of *Atholl*, Lord of *Balvany*; *Alexander* Earl of *Glencairne*, Lord of *Kilmawris*; *Johne* Erle of *Mar*, Lord *Erſkine*; *Williame* Erle of *Menteith*, *Johne* Maiſter of *Grahame*, *Alexander* Lord *Hume*, *Patrick* Lord *Lindſay* of the *Byris*, *Williame* Lord *Ruthven*, *Edward* Lord *Creichtoun* of *Sanquhair*, *Robert* Lord *Sempill*, *Johne* Lord *Innermeyth*, *Andro* Lord *Vchiltrie*, *James* Lord *Sanct Johnes* of *Trophechin*, *Adame* Biſchope of *Orknay*, *Robert* Comendature of *Dumfermline*, *James* Comendature of *St. Colmes Inche*, *Adame* Comendature of *Cambuskynneth*, *Johne* Comendature of *Dryburgh* and *Inchmahome*, *Alexander* Comendature of *Culroſs*, *Robert* Miniſter of *Failfurd*, Mr. *Robert Richartſoun* Comendature of *Sanct Marie Iſle*, Theſaurare, Sr *William Murray* of *Tullibardin* Knycht, Comptrollar, *Williame Maitland* of *Lethingtoun* zoungar, Secretare, Sr *Johne Bellenden* of *Auchnowle* Knycht, Clerk of Juſticiarie, Maiſter *Johne Preſtoun* and *Nicholl Vdart* Commiſſionaris of the Burgh of *Edinburgh*, *Johne Erskine* of *Dun* Proveſt of *Montrois*, Maiſter *James Halyburtoun* Proveſt of *Dundie*, *Johne Stewart* of *Mynto* Knycht Proveſt of *Glaſgow*, *Johne Craigingalt* of that Ilk Proveſt of *Striviling*, *Charles Drummond* Proveſt of *Linlythgow*; the Commiſ-

1567. “ ſionaris alſwa of *Air*, *Irving*, and diverſe utheris of the Nobilitie, Spiritualitie, Commiſſionaris of Burrowis and Baronnis: Quhair the Rycht heich and illuſter Prince, *JAMES*, be the Grace of GOD, Prince and Stewart of *Scotland*, being preſentit in Preſence of his Grace, and of the Lordis of the Nobilitie, Spiritualitie, Commiſſionaris of Burrowis, and Baronnis foirſaids, eſtir Invocatioun of the Name of GOD, the ſaids *Patrick* Lord *Lindſay* of the *Byris* and *Williame* Lord *Ruthven*, at Command and be Vertew of the Quenis Majeſtie our Soverane Ladies Letteris, ſubſcryvit with hir Hand and under hir Previe-Seill, comperit, and in hir Majeſties Name, and upoun hir Behalfe, dimittit and renuncit the Governament, Gyding and Rewling of this Realme, Liegis and Subjectis thairof, all Intromiſſioun with the Propertie, Caſualitie, or utheris Thingis apperteining to hir Hienes thairby, and all Richt and Titill that ſcho had, hes or may haif, be ony maner of way thairto, in favouris of the ſaid maiſt excellent Prince, hir derreſt Sone, to the effect that he micht be inaugurat and placeit in this Kingdome, the Crowne Royall delyverit to him, and be obeyit in all Thingis concerning the ſame, as hir Majeſtie, or hir Predeceſſouris, hes bene in Tymes bypaſt: And in Signe and Takin thairof, the ſaids Lordis *Lindſay* and *Ruthven* preſentit, befoir the ſaids Lordis of the Nobilitie, Spiritualitie, Commiſſionaris of Burrowis, Baronnis and Peopill conveint, the Sword, Sceptour, and Royall Crowne of this Realme, requireing the ſaids Letteris and Commiſſioun to be red and inſert in the Buikis of Secreit-Counſale, *ad perpetuam rei memoriam.* As alſwa, the uthir twa Commiſſiounis following, concerning the Regiment of this Realme during the Minoritie of the ſaid maiſt excellent Prince; of the quhilkis the Tenouris followis, MARIE, &c. as in *p.* 430.

“ Quhilkis being opinlie red, the ſaids Erlis of *Mortoun*, *Atholl*, *Glencairne*, *Mar*, *Menteith*, Maiſter of *Grahame*, Lord *Hume*, Biſchope of *Orknay*, in Name of the Thre Eſtaittis preſentlie conveint and aſſemblit, according to the Command and Tenour of the ſaid firſt Commiſſioun, reſſavit the ſaid Renunciatioun and Dimiſſioun in favouris of the ſaid maiſt excellent Prince; and eſtir the reſſaving thairof, the ſaid *James* Erle of *Mortoun* inclynand his Bodie, and layand his Hand on the Buik of God, in Name and upoun the Behalfe of his Grace, ſolempnlie maid the Ayth and Promeiſs following, *to wit*,

“ I JAMES, *Prince and Stewart of* Scotland, *promeiſs faythfullie, in the Preſence of the Eternall, my God, that I induring the haill Cours of my Lyff ſall ſerve the ſame Eternall, my God, to the uttermeſt of my Power, according as he requirit in his maiſt holy Word, revelit and contenit in the new and auld Teſtamentis; and, according to the ſame Word, ſall mentaine the trew Religioun of* Jeſus Chriſt, *the preaching of his holy Word, and dew and rycht Miniſtratioun of his Sacramentis, now reſſavit and practizit within this Realme, and ſall abolyſche and gaineſtand all falſe Religioun contrair to the ſame: And ſall rewle the Peopill committit to my Charge, according to the Will and Command of God revelit in his foirſaid Word, and according to the lovabill Lawis and Conſtitutiounis reſavit in this Realme, nawayis repugnant to the ſaid Word of the Eternall, my God; and ſall procure to my uttermeſt, to the Kirk of God and haill Criſtiane Peopill, trew and perfyte Peace, in all Tyme cuming. The Rychtis and Rentis, with all juſt Privilegeis of the Crowne of* Scotland, *I ſall preſerve and keip unviolat, nather ſall I transferr nor alienat the ſame. I ſall forbid and repreſs, in all Eſtaittis and all Degreis, Reiff, Oppreſſioun, and all kynd of Wrang. In all Jugementis I ſall command and procure that Juſtice and Equitie be keipit to all Creaturis without Exceptioun, as he be merciefull to me and zow, that is the Lord and Fader of all Mercies: And out of all my Landis and Impyre I ſall be cairfull to ruite out all Heretickis and Enemeis to the trew Worſchip of God, that ſall be convict be the trew Kirk of God of the foirſaid Crymes. And thir Thingis above-writtin I faythfullie affirme be my ſolempnit Ayth.*

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“ Eſtit the quhilk ſolempnit Ayth and Promeiſs, the ſaids Lordis of the Nobilitie, Spiritualitie, and Commiſſionaris of Burrowis, as the Eſtaittis of the Realme, be the Miniſtratioun of the ſaid Reverend Fader *Adame* Biſchope of *Orknay*, Anointit (a) the ſaid maiſt excellent Prince, in King of this Realme, and Dominiounis thairof, inveſtit and inaugurat his Grace thairin, deliverit in his Handis the Sword and Sceptour, and put the Crowne Royall upoun his Heid, with all due Reverence, Ceremoneis and Circumſtanceis requiſite and accuſtomat; and gaif thair Ayths for dew and lauchfull Homage and Obedience to be maid be thame to him in all Tymes cuming, as becumis Subjectis to do to thair native King and Prince: Quhairupoun the ſaid Sr *Johne Bellenden* Juſtice-Clerk, in Name of the ſaids Eſtaittis, and alſe *Johne Knox* Miniſter and *Robert Campbell* of *Kinzeancleuch*, askit Actis, Inſtrumentis and Documentis.” R. M.

Some Remarks thereupon.

With reſpect to the preceeding Management, of the Queen's Reſignation, &c. it may not be amiſs to remark, that one Part of her Majeſty's Procuratory runs in thoſe preciſe Terms, *And in lykewiſe be thir Preſentis gevis, grantis and committis our full, frie and plane Power to our Richt traiſt Couſingis,* * * * * * * * *to reſſave the ſaid Renunciatioun and Dimiſſioun in favouris of our ſaid Sone; and thaireftir the reſſaving thairof, to plant, place and inaugurat him,* &c. But at the Time of performing this Part of the Procuratory at *Stirling*, the Words of it are in this Strain, *viz.* “ Quhilkis being opinlie red, the ſaids Erlis of *Mortoun*, *Atholl*, &c. *in Name of the thre Eſtaittis preſentlie conveint and aſſemblit, according to the Command and Tenour of the ſaid firſt Commiſſioun*, reſſaved the ſaid Renunciatioun and Dimiſſioun in favouris of the ſaid maiſt excellent Prince.” Here is a moſt manifeſt Falſhood, to aver that it was *according to the Command and Tenor of the firſt Commiſſion*; and a plain contravening of the Queen's Procuratory likewiſe, who granted Warrant to the Lords, and others named in her Procuratory, to receive her Renunciation and Demiſſion in favour of the Prince her Son *only*, without one Word conceived relating to the Three Eſtates; whereas the Earls of *Morton*, *Athole*, &c. received the Queen's Demiſſion in Name of *the Three Eſtates*: And therefore all and every Thing that followed thereupon, was both in Law and Equity void, and of no Effect; the Procurators having not only exceeded the Limits of the Power entruſted to them, but having acted in expreſs Contradiction to it. True indeed it is that the Parliament in the Month of *December* following did find, that *the Quenis Dimiſſioun and Procuratioun ſall be haldin, repute, and eſtemit lauchfull and perfyte according,* &c.——— *And als, that the Coronatioun and Inauguratioun of our ſaid Soverane Lord, maid and ſolemnizat conforme to the ſaid Commiſſioun*——— *wes dewlie, rychtlie, and ordourlie done and execute, and als lauchfull and vailzeabill*——— *notwithſtanding ony maner of Tytil, Actioun or Entres,* [Intereſt] *or ony uther Thing that preſentlie may or can heireftir be objectit in the contrare,* &c. But as it is not the Weight of an Act of Parliament, but the Truth of Facts that muſt determine the Juſtneſs of our Enquiries and Obſervations, we ſhall leave the Readers to form a Judgment, whether the Inauguration of the Prince was performed according to the Queen's Commiſſion for that Effect? or, whether a conſtrained Demiſſion, for fear of immediate Death, could be eſteemed lawful and perfect?

There is no body needs to be at a loſs to perceive the Intentions of this Meeting at *Stirling*: The Members of it had already acted as if the ſupreme Authority of this Nation had been lodged in the People, and that the Kings or Queens of *Scotland* derived their Right *ſolely* from them; and now they wanted

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(a) “ About the Anointing there was ſharp Diſpute; but in end he was anointed, notwithſtanding. Mr. *Knox*, and other Preachers, repined at this *Jewiſh* Ceremony,” *Calderwood*'s large MS. “ In the very Pariſh-Kirk of *Stirling* the Prince was anointed *King* by . . . . At the which Aſſembly, paſſing from the Pariſh-Kirk to the Caſtle again, the Earl of *Athole* bare the Crown of Honour, the Earl of *Morton* the Sceptre, the Earl of *Glencairn* the Sword of Honour, the Earl of *Mar* carried the new inaugurate King to his own Chamber in the Caſtle,” *Crawford*'s MS.

1567. ed to engroſs their Syſtem into this ſolemn Settlement of the Crown upon the Head of an Infant-King, who could make no Remonſtrances againſt their Innovation: And in Conſequence of this Model, we find theſe Words contained in the above Ceremony of the Coronation, *Eſtir the quhilk ſolempnit Ayth and Promeiſs, the ſaids Lordis of the Nobilitie, Spiritualitie, and Commiſſionaris of Burrowis, as the Eſtaittis of the Realme, be the Miniſtratioun of the ſaid Reverend Fader* Adame *Biſchope of* Orknay, *Anointit the ſaid maiſt excellent Prince, in King of this Realme——inveſtit and inaugurat his Grace thairin, deliverit in his Handis the Sword and Sceptour, and put the Crowne Royall upoun his Heid*; Where 'tis obvious that the Anointing, Crowning, &c. tho' performed by the Biſhop of *Orkney*, are recounted as Deeds done by the People, and in their Right of Diſpoſal. All which is in complete Agreement with the Book of Politicks written and publiſhed ſome time after by Mr. *Buchanan*, and entituled, *De jure Regni apud Scotos*, i. e. *the juſt Principles of the Scottiſh Government*; tho' it be certain that nothing can be more oppoſite to the *Scottiſh* Laws than that Book is *(a)*.

One would be ready to think there had been no Repreſentatives of the Gentry preſent at this Meeting in *Stirling*, ſince there is no Mention of them at all, in the firſt and laſt Part of the Solemnity; and even in the middle Part, after the Words, *Commiſſionaris alſwa of Air, Irwing*, they are only ſeemingly included in theſe general Terms, *and diverſe utheris of the Nobilitie, Spiritualitie, Commiſſionaris of Burrowis, and Baronis*. If any of the *Barons* were preſent, why were not their particular Names and Deſignations ſpecified, as well as the Burrows? or, why are they, contrary to all Order, mentioned here in the groſs, *after* the Commiſſioners of Burrows, when they ought, without all Peradventure, to precede and be ſet before them in the Nomination? Whether Sir *John Bellenden* the Juſtice-Clerk, or together with him *John Knox (b)* Miniſter, and *Robert Campbell* of *Kinzeancleuch*, could regularly ask Inſtruments in Name of the Three Eſtates, I leave it to be diſcuſs'd by abler Judges. For my own part, I do perceive no farther Connexion between them and the Three Eſtates, than that they were *Three* in Number. They certainly had no Deputation from the Three Eſtates to capacitate them to take Inſtruments in their Names; and I believe 'tis equally certain that the *major* Part of *one* of the Eſtates, and the principal one too, did not conſent to the Proceedings of that Time. Beſides, I preſume it may be a Queſtion, whether theſe three Gentlemen *could* in Law have received a Deputation from the Three Eſtates, ſeeing they were not each of them a diſtinct Member of the three different Ranks of Eſtates. *Two* of them did indeed pertain to the leſſer Barons; but Mr. *Knox* could properly belong to no Eſtate at all. However this under Correction.

The Day after the Coronation we meet with the following Paper in the Record of Privy-Council.

Striviling penult. Julij, 1567.

SEDERUNT

Jacobus *Comes de* Mortoun, Joannes *Comes de* Athole, Alexander *Comes de* Glencairn, Joannes *Comes de* Mar, Alexander *Dominus* Hume, Willielmus *Dominus* Ruthven, Robertus *Dominus* Sempill, Eduardus *Dominus* Sanquhair, Andreas *Dominus* Uchiltrie.

Diſcharge of the Erle of *Huntleyis* Lieutenendrie.

Forſa.

(*a*) One moſt remarkable Inſtance of this Scheme (and this likewiſe extended to the puniſhing of our Kings capitally) we have in the Stamp and Inſcription of the publick Coin of our Nation, as it was appointed by the new Privy-Council eight Days only after the Earl of *Murray*'s Acceptation of the Regency; which Stamp and Inſcription, common Tradition has affirmed to have been the Invention likewiſe of this famous Author. Several Pieces of this Stamp remain to this Day; and I have thought it not amiſs to put the Act of Council into the Appendix, Numb. 23.

(*b*) He preached at the Coronation.

1567.

Diſcharge of the Earl of *Huntly*'s Lieutenandry.

Forſamekillas it is underſtand to the Kingis Hienes, that thair is ane Commiſſioun of Lieutenendrie laitlie proclamit in the North-partis of this Realme, be George Erle of Huntley, continand Commiſſioun of Juſticiarie thairin, with diverſe greit Privilegeis and Immuniteis, as at mair lenth is conteint in the ſaid Commiſſioun; quhairby all the Legeis and Subjectis of the North-partis are chargeit to be in Reddienes, put thamſelffis in Armis, and meit the ſaid Erle at Dayis and Placeis as he ſall appoint, to paſs with him quhair he ſall command. And becaus, be the occaſioun thairof, the commoun Peace of the Realme in thai Partis is appearandlie to be troublit, and that Uprore, Seditioun and Unquietnes may arryis thairthrow; Thairfoir ordanis Letteris to be direct, to command and charge all and ſindrie his Hienes Legeis and Subjectis of this Realme, ſpeciallie within the Boundis foirſaid, to contene thamſelffis in Peace and Quietnes ilk ane within thair awn Boundis, and that nane of thame put on Armour, or arryis at Command of the ſaid Commiſſioun, with the ſaid Erle, or ony uthir, without thai have new and ſpeciall Commandment of the Kingis Hienes to that Effect, under the Pain of Treaſſoun, notwithſtanding the ſaid Commiſſioun of Lieutenendrie, Chargis or Pains paſt thairupoun; quhilk Commiſſioun of Lieutenendrie grantit to the ſaid Erle, with the Commiſſioun of Juſticiarie conteint thairin, and haill Effect thairof, his Hienes diſcharges reſcindis, and declairis caſſit, retreivis and decernis of nane Effect, and null for evir, be thir Preſentis; togidder with all utheris Commiſſiounis of Juſticiarie grantit to him in ony Tymes bigane. R. M.

And the ſame Day a *Proclamatioun of the Kingis Authoritie*, ſo called in the Regiſter, was publickly emitted to the Lieges in theſe Terms following:

Proclamation of the King's Authority.

Forſamekillas it hes pleſit Almichtie God to call the Kingis Majeſtie our Soverane Lord unto the Royall Crowne and Governament of this Realme, be Dimiſſioun of the Quene his Moder paſt be hir under hir Hand-write and Previe-Seill, as the ſamyn of the Daite the 24th Day of Julij inſtant proportis: According to the quhilk, upoun the 29th Day of the ſame Moneth his Hienes is crownit, inaugurat, and eſtabliſſit in this Kingdome, in Preſence of the Nobilitie and Eſtaittis, conveinit for Executioun and Accompliſchment of the Quenis Will and Commiſſioun foirſaid; and hes gevin his Princely Ayth for dew Adminiſtratioun and governing of the Eſtaittis of this Commoun-weill, and of all his luiſing and gude Subjectis, as the Cuſtom is: Quhairfoir his Hienes ordanis Letteris to be direct to mak Publicatioun heirof, be opin Proclamatioun at the Mercat-croces of all Burrowis of this Realme, and utheris Places neidfull; and to command and charge all and ſindrie the ſaids Subjectis, that thai, and everie ane of thame, obey, ſerve and reverence his Hienes in all Thingis as becumis faythfull and gude Subjectis to do unto thair lauchfull and native Prince; and that thai keip publict Peace and Tranquillitie amangis thamſelffis, in the Feir of God and detfull Obedience of his Majeſtie, and ſtudy to contene thame, and direct thair Lyffis and Behaviour according to the Lawis of this Realme: As his Hienes on the uther Pairt promittis to all his gude Subjectis to execute his Kinglie Office in avanceing the Glorie of God, and mentening of Vertew and Juſtice, and in puniſching and repreſſing of Vyce, Enormities, and all Tranſgreſſouris of the Lawis; Certifying thame that preſumis or dois ony thing in the contrair, thai ſall be eſtemit as

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Charge to ſend out Ships againſt the Earl of *Bothwell.*

On the 10th of *Auguſt* there is a Charge in the Regiſter of Privy-Council to ſome particular Maſters of Ships belonging to the Town of *Dundee*, and in general to all Maſters of Ships, and other Mariners Indwellers within that Burgh, to prepare themſelves and their Ships to paſs with Sir *William Murray* of *Tullibardin* the Comptroller, in queſt of the Earl of *Bothwell*, within ſix Hours after they be charged. And on the 11th Day of the ſame Month there is a Commiſſion to Sir *William Murray* Comptroller and Sir *William Kirkaldy* of *Grange*, to convene the King's Lieges in warlike Manner, and provide Ships, to purſue the Earl of *Bothwell*, his *Aſſiſtars* or *Collegues*, by Sea or Land, with Fire, Sword and all kind of Hoſtility, and fence and hold Courts of Juſtice wheresoever they ſhall think good. And Letters are directed to charge all and ſundry Inhabitants of the Sheriffdoms of *Orkney*, *Inverneſs*, *Cromarty*, *Nairn*, *Elgin*, *Forres*, *Banff* and *Aberdeen*, in general or in particular, as the ſaids Sir *William Murray* and Sir *William Kirkaldy* ſhall deſire, to riſe, concur and aſſiſt with them, or either of them, in the Purſuit and Invaſion of the ſaid Earl of *Bothwell*, his Complices, *&c.* as often as Need ſhall be, and as they ſhall give Warning, *under the Pane of Treſſoun, and Tynſall of Lyff, Landis and Gudis*. And two Days after, the Secretary receives Orders to paſs and direct *Sea-brieves* in due and competent Form under the Signet, to the foreſaid Sir *Williams*; with Direction to the Secretary to keep a Copy of ſaids Brieves, *with this preſent, for his Warrant*. *Item*, on the 12th of *Auguſt* we ſee this Abſtract, *viz. Diſcharge* of *James Curle* Cuſtomer; and *Command* to anſwer *James Murray*, Brother to *Tullibardin*, of the Cuſtoms *(a)*.

Earl of *Murray* arrives in *Scotland.*

Preciſely at this Juncture arrived *(b)* in *Scotland* the Earl of *Murray* from *France*, by the Way of *England*: The Aſſociators had from the very Beginning diſpatched Letters to him entreating his Return; and how ſoon he found all their Affairs in Readineſs, he loſt no Time to come to the Aſſiſtance of his Friends *(c)*. I will not take upon me to affirm the Truth of the Reports made by ſome Authors concerning him before his Departure out of *France*; ſuch as, That this Lord was concerting Meaſures with Admiral *Coligni*, the Chief of the Proteſtants in *France*, for poſſeſſing himſelf of the Crown of *Scotland*; That, by Letters to his Friends in *Scotland*, he ſignified his Unwillingneſs to return, unleſs they would deprive the Queen of her Life as they had done of her Liberty: That, on the other hand, he ſware ſolemnly to the King of *France*, and our Queen's Uncles, that at his Return he would ſet her Majeſty at Liberty, and reſtore her to the Regal Authority; and that to animate him the more in this, he

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(*a*) The Readers will remember that this *Murray* is the Perſon againſt whom the Proclamation in *March* laſt was emitted. He and his Brother Sir *William* have now in their Hands the whole Royal Revenue: A good Job for theſe Gentlemen.

(*b*) Both *Melvil* and *Spottiſwood* ſay he arrived on the 11th at *Edinburgh*; *Cambden*, that he arrived in *Scotland* the twentieth Day after the Queen's Reſignation, *i. e.* according to him, on the 13th of *Auguſt*. The ſhort Diary in *Anderſon*'s Collections, *Vol.* 2. *p.* 277. on the 14th. He was certainly at *Edinburgh* before the 15th. See Sir *Nicholas Throckmorton*'s Letter to the Queen of *England*, 20th *Auguſt*.

(*c*) It would appear theſe Lords had projected what they afterwards put in Execution, ſooner than they would make the World believe; ſince they had taken Care to ſend Letters by Mr. *Robert Melvil* into *England*, to be forwarded from thence into *France*, for their truſty Friend the Earl of *Murray*. Secretary *Cecil* writes to Sir *Henry Norris* the *Engliſh* Ambaſſador at the Court of *France*, thus; " At this Time I ſend unto you certain Packets of Letters left here by Mr. *Melvin*, who lately came hither from the Queen of *Scots*: The ſending of theſe to my Lord of *Murray* requireth great Haſte, whereof you may not " make the *Scottiſh* Ambaſſador privy; but I think you may make *Robert Steward* privy, with whom you may confer for the " ſpeedy ſending away of the ſame Letters. His Return into *Scotland* is much deſired of them; and for the Weal both of " *England* and *Scotland*, I wiſh he were *here*, [*i. e.* in *England*:] And for his manner of Returning, touching his Safety, I pray " require Mr. *Steward* to have good Care." This Letter is dated as far back as the 26th *June* 1567. [*N. B.* This *Robert Stewart* is certainly that ſame Perſon who was the reputed Aſſaſſin of the *French* Preſident *Minard*, in the End of the Reign of our Queen's Husband. See *Mezeray*.] And again in another Letter 14th *July* 1567, " If my Lord of *Murray* ſhould lack Credit for " Money, my Lord Steward, [*i. e.* the Earl of *Pembroke* Lord Steward of *England*] would have his Son give him ſuch Credit as " he hath; for my Lord alloweth well of his Friendſhip," *Cabala*. Nothing can be a clearer Inſtruction of the Correſpondence of the Lords Aſſociators with Secretary *Cecil* at leaſt, from the beginning of this inteſtine Broil in *Scotland*, and of the Earl of *Murray*'s Support by the Court of *England* with Money at the time of his returning from *France*; the Earl of *Pembroke*, we may reckon, being ſufficiently aſſured of his Reimburſement, otherwiſe that Nobleman would not have been ſo ready to offer his Credit,

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Several Reports concerning that Lord.

he received valuable Preſents from the King, and Family of *Guiſe*. His Lordſhip, they ſay, was no ſooner departed from Court, but the Archbiſhop of *Glaſgow* the Ambaſſador ordinary from our Queen, having demanded an Audience, repreſented the Earl of *Murray* as the chief Promoter of all the Troubles in *Scotland*, and therefore deſired he might be detained in *France*: Which being granted, that Meſſengers were ſent after him with Orders to bring him back; but the Earl had by his expedite travelling, and the good Management of his Friends, prevented all their Endeavours; for he had looſ'd from the Port of *Diep*, ſome ſhort Space before the Orders arrived from Court. In *England*, they ſay, he had an Interview with that Queen, and engaged his Service to her Majeſty upon the Security of a plentiful Sum of Money to be paid yearly to him, and the leading Men of his Party. But whatever Truth or Falſhood be in theſe Things, of this we are aſſured, that how ſoon the Aſſociators were informed that the Earl was at *London*, they ordered Sir *James Melvil* to meet him at *Berwick*, and acquaint him how that the Office of *Regent* was appointed for him; and beſides, that Gentleman received from one Part of theſe Lords, a Commiſſion to adviſe my Lord *Murray* not to deal too gently by the Queen, while another Part of them adviſed the Earl to ſhew Mildneſs towards her Majeſty, becauſe ſhe being now free from bad Counſellors, a little Time might, by the Aſſiſtance of her own good Judgment and Inclinations, reduce her to ſuch Moderation, as they ſhould all wiſh her to be at Liberty again. This laſt Advice, Sir *James* ſays, the Earl ſeem'd much to reliſh; but this is not the firſt Time that Sir *James* has been deceived by that Perſon. The Earl alſo feign'd to be averſe from accepting the Regency; tho' Sir *James* is ſo honeſt as to acknowledge that he was privately informed by ſome of the Earl's Retinue, that "he was right glad when he underſtood firſt that he was to be Regent." Accordingly how ſoon he met with all his Friends, *he even granted to accept the Government*. And how ſincere, or to ſpeak more truly, how unſincere this Lord was in his Anſwer to Sir *James* touching his future Behaviour towards the Queen, this Author likewiſe diſcovers to us in theſe Words, "And "when he went to viſit the Queen in *Lochlevin*, inſtead of comforting her and "following the good Counſel he had gotten, he entred inſtantly with her Ma"jeſty in Reproaches, giving her ſuch injurious Language as was like to break "her Heart; and the Injuries were ſuch, that they cut the Thread of Love "and Credit betwixt the Queen and him for ever. We (adds this Author) "who found Fault with that manner of Procedure, loſt his Favour."

Now that the above Fact may not hang ſolely upon Sir *James*'s Repreſentation, we ſhall juſt now hear what Account the Earl himſelf gave of this Interview with the Queen, as is contained in the remaining Part of Sir *Nicholas Throckmorton*'s Negotiation; and by which we are likewiſe let into the Knowledge of the Contents of a Meſſage which the *French* King ſent to the Lords Aſſociators, together with the Anſwer by theſe Lords to the *French* Envoy: This Gentleman's Name was *Lignerol*; and we get Information by Sir *James Melvil*, that he came into *Scotland* in the Company of the Earl of *Murray*, having been ſent, as he informs us, to ſee how Matters paſt, to comfort the captive Queen, and to intercede for her: Which Thing, that Author obſerves, *he acted very ſlenderly*; (and who ſhould doubt of that, ſince he had been in all Likelihood moulded into the Mind of the Earl of *Murray*, as he was his Companion on the Journey.) The *French* Gentleman, he ſays, told the Lords, "That he came not to offend any of them, alledging that the old "Band and League betwixt *France* and *Scotland* was not made with any one "Prince, but betwixt the Eſtates of the two Kingdoms, and with thoſe who "were Commanders over the Country for the Time." 'Tis indeed true the League here referred to was *ancient*; but I'm much miſtaken if this Interpretation be not *modern*.

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Letter from Sir Nicholas Throckmorton, *To the Queen of* England, *20th* Auguſt 1567 *(a)*.

Account of a Meſſage from *France*,

'IT may pleaſe your Majeſty: The 14th Day of this Month, towards the Evening, the Earls of *Glencairn* and *Morton*, Mr. *James Macgill*, and Juſtice-Clerk, went to *Monſ. de Lynerol*'s Lodging; and the ſaid Mr. *James Macgill* (on the Behalf of the Lords, as well thoſe preſent as the other abſent, for Anſwer to ſuch Things as were propoſed by the ſaid *De Lynerol* on the Behalf of the King his Maſter) declared unto him as followeth.

'That the ſaids Lords did again render their humble Thanks to the King and the Queen his Mother, for this Demonſtration of their Favour, which the ſaid King and Queen had ſhewed by ſending him hither, and to treat with them ſo amicably. And where they had by his long Diſcourſe at his firſt Audience, comprehended the Sum of his whole Negotiation into four Points: They were now to anſwer to every of them as had been reſolved among all the Lords, and others of the King's Council.

and the Anſwers to it.

'To the *Firſt*, which tended to the Union of all the Nobility of this Realm; They thanked the King humbly for his Care in that Matter: But there was no ſuch Diſſenſion amongſt them (Thanks be to God) that they needed any Reunion.

'To the *Second*, for the Care the King had to their Surety, which he willed them to provide for, and therein offered them his Aſſiſtance; They did humbly thank the King alſo, for his gracious Diſpoſition towards them: But (God be thanked) they took themſelves to be in as great Surety as any Men were or could be within this Realm.

'To the *Third*, concerning the Queen's Liberty, and his Acceſs to her; They had made an Aſſertion amongſt themſelves, that no Prince's Ambaſſador, nor Stranger, ſhould ſpeak with her, until *(b)* the Earl *Bothwell* were apprehended, which they hoped ſhould not be long to; for they had given Order for his Apprehenſion: And that which ſerved for Anſwer to refuſe him Acceſs unto the Queen, muſt alſo ſerve for Anſwer concerning her Enlargement.

'To the *Fourth* and laſt, concerning his Acceſs to the *Hamiltons*, and Conference with them; They could not allow nor permit any Prince's Ambaſſador or Miniſter to repair unto them, or to treat with them. Well contented they were that *Monſ. de Lynerol* ſhould ſend unto them any Gentleman he had, or write unto them, or otherwiſe to confer with them at his Pleaſure, if the ſaid *Hamiltons* would repair to this Town *(c)*; otherwiſe they could not accord any other Mean of Negotiation for any Prince's Ambaſſador with any Subjects of this Realm, leſt thereby they ſhould derogate from themſelves the Authority which was given them by the Queen their Sovereign, in the Name of the King her Son, for the Government of this Realm; and ſo give occaſion thereby, as well to Strangers as to the Subjects of the Realm, to think that there were as well two ſundry States as two ſundry Authorities.

'*Monſ. de Lynerol* thanked them with courteous Words for their Pains, and required them, becauſe nothing might be endamaged to the Matter which was declared, nothing to their Sufficiencies, nor nothing to his own Duty, that he might have in writing what had been ſaid by the ſaid Mr. *James Macgill*, (who pronounced all the Premiſſes in the *Scottiſh* Tongue) which upon the ſaid *De Lynerol*'s Deſire, was interpreted into *French* by Juſtice-Clerk.

'The

(*a*) Calig. C. I. an Original.

(*b*) And by what Right could they make ſuch an Aſſertion? Beſides, as the Reaſon here offered ſeems to have no true and proper Foundation, ſo it could only be contrived to keep the Queen ignorant of the Friendſhip of the neighbouring Princes, and thereby keep her in a deſperate, forlorn and helpleſs Condition.

(*c*) This was what theſe Men wanted extremely, that ſo they might ſhut up the Queen's Friends in Priſon.

‘ The ſaid Lords anſwered, That they would declare to the reſt of the Noblemen, and others of the King's Council, his (the ſaid *Lynerol*'s) Requeſt.

‘ This the ſaid *De Lynerol*, coming the 15th of this Month to viſit me at my Lodging, declared unto me; which alſo was otherwiſe confirmed unto me by other Intelligence.

‘ It may pleaſe your Majeſty; The 15th of this Month the Earls of *Murray*, *Athole*, *Morton*, *Glencairn* and *Mar*, with the Lords *Sempil* and *Lindſay*, and the Secretary *Lethington*, departed this Town towards *Lochlevin*. Notwithſtanding (upon Advice taken among them by the Way) none of the Perſons aforeſaid did accompany the Earl of *Murray* to the Queen but the Earls of *Athole* and *Morton*, and the Lord *Lindſay*. The Secretary *Lethington* did take his Journey to his Wife to *Dunkeld*, the Earl of *Athole*'s Houſe. The Earls of *Glencairn* and *Mar*, with the Lord *Sempil*, went to *Stirling* to the Prince, who is called here *King*.

‘ At the Earls of *Murray*, *Athole* and *Morton*'s Arrival at *Lochlevin*, they went immediately to the Queen, who had Conference with them all together. Notwithſtanding the Queen broke forth with great Paſſion and Weeping, retiring the Earl of *Murray* apart, who had with her long Talk in the hearing of no Perſon. That Talk, as I do learn (which continued two Hours, until Supper-time) was nothing pleaſant to the Queen, and chiefly for that the Earl of *Murray* talked nothing ſo frankly with her as ſhe deſired, but uſed covert Speech, and ſuch as ſhe judged he would not diſcover neither the Good nor the Ill he had conceived of her, nor meant unto her. After Supper ſhe deſired to talk with the Earl of *Murray* again; and every body being retired, they conferred together until One of the Clock after Mid-night: In which ſecond Communication, the ſaid Earl did plainly, without diſguiſing, diſcover unto the Queen all his Opinion of her Miſgovernment, and laid before her all ſuch Diſorders as either might touch her Conſcience, her Honour or Surety.

A moſt curious Account of a Conference between the Queen and Earl of *Murray*.

‘ I do hear that he behaved himſelf rather like a ghoſtly Father unto her than like a Counſellor. Sometimes the Queen wept bitterly; ſometimes ſhe acknowledged her Unadviſedneſs and Miſgovernment; ſome things ſhe did confeſs plainly; ſome things ſhe did excuſe; ſome things ſhe did extenuate. In Concluſion, the Earl of *Murray* left her that Night in hope of nothing but of God's Mercy *(a)*, willing her to ſeek *that* as her chiefeſt Refuge. And ſo they parted.

‘ The next Morning betime ſhe deſired to ſpeak with her Brother; he repaired unto her: They began where they left over Night. And after thoſe his Reprehenſions, he uſed ſome Words of Conſolation unto her, tending to this end, that he would aſſure her of her Life, and, as much as lay in him, the Preſervation of her Honour: As for her Liberty, it lay not in his Power; neither was it good for her to ſeek it, nor preſently for her to have it, for many Reſpects.

‘ Whereupon ſhe took him in her Arms and kiſſed him, and ſhewed herſelf very well ſatisfied, requiring him in any ways not to refuſe the Regency of the Realm, but to accept it at her Deſire *(b)*: For by this means (ſaid ſhe) my Son ſhall be preſerved, my Realm well governed, and I in Safety, and in towardneſs to enjoy more Safety and Liberty that way than I can any other. Whereupon the Earl declared many Reaſons why he ſhould refuſe it. The

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(*a*) *i. e.* That the Lords had a mind to put her to Death.

(*b*) *Skin for Skin, and all that a Man hath will he give for his Life.* The Craft of the Earl of *Murray* is here moſt conſpicuous: He firſt puts the Queen into the Terror of Death; next aſſures her of Life as much as ſhould ly in him, tho' ſtill not of her Liberty. The natural Conſequence of this he well foreſaw would be, a thankful Acknowledgment to him for preſerving her Life, and a willing ſurrendring of herſelf, her Son, and her Government, into his Hands. A dextrous Piece of Management in truth; and which ſerved moreover as a fine Handle for the Earl's Friends to give it out to the World, that the Queen confirmed by Word of Mouth what ſhe had formerly ſigned with her Hand; and that ſhe preſſed and obteſted her Brother to take the Government! This was materially true, yet we ſee from what Source it proceeded: And her Majeſty was ſo ſenſible of the Earl's Misbehaviour towards her, that, as Mr. *Melvil* has already told us, *it cut the Thread of Love and Credit betwixt her and him f ever.*

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‘Queen again replied with earneſt Interceſſion, and prayed him to prefer her Reaſons and Requeſts before his own which were particular. At length he accorded unto her the Acceptation of the Regency *(a)*.

‘Then the Queen required him to leave no Means undone to bring all the Forts of the Realm into his own diſpoſing, and likewiſe to take her Jewels and Things of Value which were hers, into his Cuſtody, offering unto the ſaid Earl her Writings, the Uſe of her Name and Authority to bring all theſe Things to paſs. He ſhewed himſelf very unwilling to have the Cuſtody of her Jewels *(b)*. Then the Earl of *Murray* requiring the Lords *Lindſay*, *Ruthven*, and *Lochlevin*, to treat the Queen with Gentleneſs, with Liberty, and all other good Uſage *(c)*, he took his Leave of her; and then began a new Fit of Weeping, which being appeaſed, ſhe embraced him very lovingly, kiſſed him, and ſent her Bleſſing unto the Prince her Son by him.

‘Since whoſe Departure from her ſhe hath written a Letter of her own Hand unto the ſaid Earl, requiring him to take her Jewels, and all ſhe hath of Value, into his Cuſtody; for otherwiſe ſhe is ſure neither ſhe nor her Son ſhall have Good of them.

‘Thus much, and it pleaſe your Majeſty, concerning my Lord of *Murray*'s Proceedings at *Lochlevin*, ſaving that I did omit to declare how the Queen did amicably take her Leave of the Earls of *Athole* and *Morton*, with whom ſhe had ſome Talk, but not very much; unto whom, amongſt other Things, ſhe had theſe Words, *My Lords, you have had Experience of my Severity, and of the End of it; I pray you alſo let me find, that you have learned by me to make an End of yours; or, at leaſt, that you can make it final (d).*

‘The 16th Day the Earls aforeſaid went from *Lochlevin* to *Stirling*, where they remained until the 19th of this Month, what Day they returned to this Town in the Evening. That Night I ſent unto my Lord of *Murray*, requiring him that I might ſpeak with his Lordſhip and the L. of *Lethington* together quietly. The Earl ſent me Word, that he would not fail in the Morning but come to my Lodging, requiring me to hold him excuſed for that Night, not finding himſelf well at Eaſe. The next Morning, being the 20th of this preſent, the ſaid Earl came to my Lodging, and had theſe Words, *My Lord Ambaſſador, whether will you that I ſhould make Declaration to you of my Doings at* Lochlevin? *or have you any thing to ſay to me?* I required him to declare his Proceedings with the Queen his Siſter, and how they had agreed: The ſaid Earl made Declaration unto me of all Matters particularly as is before written, ſave that he ſpake not ſo confidently of the Aſſurance of the Queen's Life, as is before ſpecified, but treated with her of that Matter with this Caution, That for his own Part, according to his many Obligations, he had a Deſire to ſpend his own Life to ſave her Life, and would employ all that was in him for that Purpoſe; but it was not in his Power *only (e)*, the Lords and others having Intereſt in the Matter. Notwithſtanding he ſaid, Madam, I will declare unto you which be the Occaſions that may put you in Jeopardy, and which be they that may preſerve you. *Firſt*, for your Peril, theſe be they; Your own Practices to diſturb the Quiet of your Realm, and the Reign of your Son; to enterprize to eſcape from where you are, to put your ſelf at Liberty; to animate any of your Subjects to Troubles or Diſobedience; the Queen of *England* or the *French* King, to moleſt this Realm, either with their War, or with War inteſtine, by your Procurement or otherwiſe *(f)*; and your own perſiſting in this inordinate Affection with the Earl *Bothwell*.

‘For

(a) The only Thing in the World he longed for.

(b) Good ſelf-denied Man! We ſhall afterwards hear more concerning theſe Jewels.

(c) Which they would underſtand well enough in what ſhape to obey.

(d) A very ſmart, but touching Word. Nothing cuts ſharper than Truth.

(e) In his Power *alone*. So it would ſeem the Earl has ſtill left the Queen in a State of Suſpence, and to himſelf a Back-door to reſile, when he ſhould want it. The different Turns of this World are affecting enough, even when they don't touch our ſelves.

(f) More Sketches ſtill of the Earl's Cunning.

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‘ For your Preſervation, theſe be they; Your acknowledging your Faults to God, with Lamentation of your Sins paſt, ſo as it may appear you do deteſt your former Life, and do intend a better Converſation, a more modeſt Behaviour, and an apparent Shew that you do abhor the Murder of your Husband, and do miſlike your former Life with *Bothwell*. *Laſtly*, an evident Demonſtration that you mind no Revenge to theſe Lords and others which have ſought your Reformation and Preſervation *(a)*.

‘ Further, the ſaid Earl declared unto me, that the Queen his Siſter ſent me her hearty Commendations, and required me to thank your Majeſty for your good Affection to her, whereof you had made good Proof, in ſending me hither. And as ſhe was beholding to your Majeſty for this your Favour, employed for her Relief already; ſo ſhe deſired your Majeſty to be pleaſed, and to procure that ſhe may live with you in *England*, in what ſort and manner it ſhould pleaſe your Majeſty to appoint: For truly ſhe had no Deſire to live in her own Country, nor any other but there in your Realm *(b)*.

‘ The ſaid Earl declared alſo unto me, that he never ſaw the Queen in better Health, nor in better Point.

‘ This being the Sum of the Earl's Talk had with me, ſave that he ſhowed me particular Letters written from the Earls of *Rothes*, *Crawford*, the Maſters of *Monteith* and *Errol*, the Lords *Drummond*, *Ogilvie*, *Oliphant* and *Somervil*, *Borthwick* and *Teſter*; whereby they did promiſe and aſſure unto him their Obedience and Fidelity. I did require the ſaid Earl of *Murray*, that I might have ſome convenient Time this Day to declare to him and the L. of *Lethington* ſuch Commiſſion as your Majeſty had given me in Charge.

‘ The Earl of *Murray* anſwered, We muſt now ſerve God, for the Preacher tarrieth for us; and after the Sermon we muſt adviſe of a Time to confer with you. And ſo the ſaid Earl took his Leave of me.

‘ It may pleaſe your Majeſty, Your Letters of the 11th of *Auguſt*, dated at *Windſor*, I received the 17th of the ſame; the Contents of the ſame, according to your Majeſty's Inſtructions, I will at my next Conference with the Earl of *Murray* and L. of *Lethington* accompliſh. And albeit your Majeſty's Letters do purport, that I ſhould declare to all theſe Lords your miſliking of their Proceedings, as is preſcribed in your ſaid Letter; yet being adviſed by Mr. Secretary (by your Majeſty's Commandment) to make Choice of the Earl of *Murray (c)* and the L. of *Lethington*, as Men fitteſt to treat with for this Queen's Benefit and Relief, I do abſtain from publick Negotiation with this whole Aſſembly, as the beſt Mean to bring That to paſs which your Majeſty deſireth.

Some other Matters relating to our Affairs.

‘ The Biſhop of St. *Andrew*'s is detected by a Perſon of good Credit to have been privy and conſenting to the Murder of the late King.

‘ The Abbot of *Kilwinning* is looked for to repair to this Town to Morrow or next Day.

‘ The Biſhop of *Galloway* (the Earl of *Huntly*'s Uncle, and ſent by the ſaid Earl) hath made Offer to the Earl of *Athole* and the L. of *Lethington*, that the ſaid Earl his Nephew ſhall deſiſt from making any Trouble in this Realm, and ſhall conjoin with theſe Lords to obey the Authority eſtabliſhed, ſo as he may have the Earl of *Murray* his aſſured Friend, whereof he is in ſome Felonzye, becauſe in the Time of the Earl of *Murray*'s Diſgrace the ſaid Earl of *Huntly* was his great Enemy.

‘ The Lords *Fleming*, *Boyd* and *Livingſton* have written to the Earl of *Murray* (which Letter I did ſee) offering him either to come to this Town, or to any other Place, if he the ſaid Earl will give them Aſſurance under his Hand; which he hath refuſed to do, ſaying there is no Hoſtility nor dead-

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(a) This is a very Maſter-piece of Device.

(b) What ſtrange Alterations may occur in humane Affairs!

(c) The unfitteſt Man in the World, as Mr. Secretary *Cecil* very well knew; but the fitteſt Man indeed for the Secretary's Purpoſe.

1567. ly Feed amongſt them, and therefore no Cauſe why they ſhould require any Safe-conduct: Well he doth aſſure them on his Word, that if they come, neither they nor any of theirs ſhall be moleſted. Thus Almighty God preſerve your Majeſty in Health, Honour and perfect Felicity. At *Edinburgh* 20th *Auguſt* 1567.

Your Majeſty's moſt humble, faithful,
obedient Servant and Subject,

N. Throckmorton.

‘ I have thought good not to ſtay this Diſpatch until my Conference had with the ſaid Earl and Lord of *Lethington*, and their Reſolution thereupon; the rather becauſe your Majeſty is in ſome Expectation to hear what hath been done at *Lochlevin*, and the State of this Queen.’

Another Letter from Sir Nicholas Throckmorton, *To the Queen of* England, 22*d* Auguſt 1567 *(a)*.

May it pleaſe your Majeſty,

‘ THe 21ſt of this Month I declared to the Earl of *Murray* and the L. of *Lethington* at good length ſuch Commiſſion as I received by your Majeſty's Letters of the 11th of *Anguſt*, in as earneſt and vehement ſort as I could ſet it forth. It was by them thereunto anſwered as followeth:

Account of a rare Conference between the *Engliſh* Ambaſſador, the Earl of *Murray* and Secretary *Maitland*: With ſome other Things.

‘ They never meant Harm (God they took to witneſs) neither to the Queen's Perſon, nor to her Honour: They do not forget the manifold Benefits they have received of her, and therefore their great Affection always born unto her cannot be altogether extinguiſhed; yea they be ſo far from meaning her Harm, that they wiſh ſhe were Queen of all the World *(b)*. Preſently ſhe is none otherwiſe to be ſatisfied, than a very ſick Perſon in an extreme Diſeaſe is to be pleaſed in their inordinate Appetites: For, ſaid the L. of *Lethington*, One ſick of a vehement burning Fever will refuſe all Things which may do him Good, and require all Things which may do him Harm; and therefore the Appetite of ſuch a Perſon is not to be followed. This Matter doth carry with it many Parts, ſome concerning the Queen's Perſon, ſome the King her Son, ſome the Realm, and ſome the Lords and Gentlemens Sureties; and when they ſhall ſee a Moderation of the Queen their Sovereign's Paſſion, they mean nothing but Well unto her, and ſhe ſhall have nothing but Good at their Hand *(c)*. There is no way to do her ſo much Harm as to precipitate Matters before they be ripe, or to put theſe Lords to a Strait; for ſo againſt their Wills they ſhall be conſtrained to do That they would not do. It is evident they have been contented hitherto to be condemned, as it were, of all Princes, Strangers, and namely of your Majeſty, being charged of grievous and infamous Titles, as to be noted Rebels, Traitors, ſeditious, ingrate and cruel; all which they ſuffer and bear upon their Backs, becauſe they will not juſtify themſelves, nor proceed in any thing that might touch the Queen their Sovereign's Honour. But in caſe they be with theſe Defamations continually oppreſſed, or with the Force, Aid and Practices of other Princes (and namely of your Majeſty) put in Danger, or to an Extremity, they ſhall be compelled to deal otherwiſe with the Queen than they intend, or than they deſire: For, my Lord Ambaſſador, ſaid he, you may be ſure we will not loſe our Lives, have our Lands forfeited *(d)*, and be reputed Rebels through the World, ſeeing we have the Means

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(a) Calig. C. I. an Original.

(b) That they might rule over all the World in her Stead; otherwiſe why did they deprive her of the ſmall Dominion to which ſhe had ſo proper a Title? 'Tis eaſy to varniſh over the fouleſt Actions with falſe or fine Speeches.

(c) We can perceive nothing but Moderation in her at the Conferenee with the Earl of *Murray*.

(d) Very probably indeed this has been the grand Reaſon for refuſing to hearken to Queen *Elizabeth*'s repeated Solicitations, &c. When Men have once dipt into Rebellion, no doubt the Fear of After-puniſhment withholds them from relenting, and inſtigates them to proceed in their evil Courſes.

1567. to juſtify our ſelves: And if there be no Remedy but that the Queen your Sovereign will make War, and nouriſh War againſt us, we can be but ſorry for it, and do the Beſt we may. But to put you out of Doubt, we had rather endure the Fortune thereof, and ſuffer the Sequel, than to put the Queen to Liberty now in this Mood that ſhe is in, being reſolved to retain *Bothwell* and to fortify him, to hazard the Life of her Son, to put the Realm in Peril, and to forfeit all theſe Noblemen *(a)*. You muſt think, my Lord Ambaſſador, your Wars are not unknown to us; you will burn our Borders, and we will do the like to yours; and whenſoever you invade us, we are ſure *France* will aid us; for their League ſtandeth faſt, and they are bound by their League to defend us. And as to the Practices which you have in hand, to nouriſh Diſſenſion among us, we do overlook your Doings, and foreſee the End well enough; for either the *Hamiltons*, and ſuch as you practiſe withall, will take your Silver, and laugh you to ſcorn, when you have done, and agree with us, (for we have in our Hands to make the Accord when we will) or elſe you will make them attempt ſome ſuch Act, as they and their Houſe ſhall repent it for ever. The Queen's Majeſty your Sovereign hath connexed together with the Queen's Liberty and her Reſtitution to her Dignity, the Preſervation of the King the Queen's Son, the Puniſhment of the Murder, and the Safety of theſe Lords. Many Things have been done, much Time ſpent, and ſtrange Language uſed (as you have done in this your laſt Commiſſion) charging us another Prince's Subjects (for we know not the Queen's Majeſty to be our Sovereign) to ſet the Queen at Liberty; but nothing hath been done by her Majeſty, either for the Apprehenſion of *Bothwell* and the Murderers, for the Safeguard of the King. or for the Safety of theſe Lords. Will the Queen your Miſtreſs arm two or three Ships to apprehend *Bothwell*? Pay a thouſand Soldiers for a Time to reduce all the Forts of this Realm to the King's Obedience? Then we will ſay, doing this, that her Majeſty mindeth as well theſe other Matters ſpoken of, as the Queen's Liberty *(b)*.

‘ I directed then my Speech to my Lord of *Murray*: Sir, you have no ſuch Intereſt in this Matter as theſe Men have, for you have committed no ſuch Exceſs; and therefore I truſt this Anſwer given me by the L. of *Lethington*, though it may be the Mind of the other Lords his Aſſociates, yet I truſt it be not agreeable to yours. The Earl ſaid, Sir *Nicholas*, truly methinketh you have heard Reaſon at the Laird of *Lethington*'s hand; and for mine own Part, though I were not here at the Doings paſt, yet ſurely I muſt allow of them; and do mean (God willing) to take ſuch Part as they do. And ſeeing the Queen and they have laid upon me the Charge of the Regentry, (a Burden which I would gladly have eſchewed) I do mean to ware my Life in Defence of their Action, and will either reduce all Men to Obedience in the King's Name, or it ſhall coſt me my Life *(c)*. And if the Queen your Sovereign do look into the World, ſhe will find more Profit for her and her Realm, to fortify and aſſiſt us, than to be againſt us: For though we may have Cover by her Means, yet if the Matter be well conſidered, thoſe which her Majeſty doth fortify againſt us, will bring little Commodity to her or *England*. This was the Effect which paſſed betwixt the Earl of *Murray*, the L. of *Lethington* and me at my laſt Negotiation.

‘ I did write a Letter to the Biſhop of St. *Andrew*'s and the Abbot of *Arbrothe*, the Copy whereof I ſent your Majeſty by my Diſpatch of the 14th.

(*a*) With what Confidence could this Gentleman ſay ſo, not only after what the Queen had talked with the Earl of *Murray*; but after ſhe had demitted the Government, and that voluntarily too, as they repreſented it? 'Tis even ſomewhat diverting to obſerve the various Shapes into which the Queen's Enemies caſt her Sequeſtration and continued Detention. But for all this ill Mood they repreſent her Majeſty now to be in, ſome of them at leaſt might have remembred that they deſired Sir *James Melvil* to acquaint the Earl of *Murray* at his Arrival, that *the Queen was beginning already to repent her of many Things*; and 'tis not very likely that ſhe did now repent that Repentance again.

(*b*) In all *Lethington*'s Diſcourſes, the great Man ſtill ſhines.

(*c*) The laſt of theſe did indeed fall out; for he loſt his Life in the Quarrel.

1567. ‘Herewith I ſend your Majeſty Anſwer to the   my Letter ſent from the ſaid Biſhop and Abbot, and the Lords *Fleming* and *Boyd*, together with ſuch Anſwer as I have returned to them preſently by a Gentleman named *John Hamilton*, whom they ſent unto me, and whom I think they will ſhortly ſend unto your Majeſty, and ſo into *France* to the Duke of *Chaſtelherault*. The ſaid *John Hamilton*, on the Behalf of the Biſhop and others, required me to deſire a Paſport of your Majeſty for the Duke of *Chaſtelherault*, and twenty four with him, to return forth of *France* through your Majeſty's Realm into *Scotland*.

‘He required alſo Recommendation to the Lord *Scroop*, that by his Order he might be furniſhed with Poſt-horſes to paſs to your Majeſty's Court; and for that purpoſe I have written to the ſaid Lord *Scroop*.

‘The ſaid *Hamilton* ſaid further, the Lords of that Faction deſired that your Majeſty would (in caſe I were revoked) ſignify your Pleaſure to the Lord *Herries* from time to time, by the Order of the Lord *Scroop*, who may communicate your Majeſty's Intent to the *Hamiltons*, and others of that Party.

‘I do gueſs by the Contents of their Letter, that both they be not very haſty in this Matter, but would gladly make your Majeſty to ſerve their Turn; and alſo that there be not many to adhere unto them, ſeeing their Letter is ſubſcribed with ſo few Hands, and thoſe of no great moment. Many of thoſe Noblemen and Gentlemen, whereof the *Hamiltons* made Account to run their Fortune, do write daily to the Earl of *Murray*, and do offer unto him Obedience and Fidelity; ſo as I think the *Hamiltons* Faction will be far too weak, and indeed their Party is nothing ſo well made as theſe Lords; for beſides their Forces which ly united, they have the Town and Caſtle of *Edinburgh*, the Town and Caſtle of *Stirling*, the Town of *Leith*, and the Paſſages from all Parts of the Realm at their Devotion.

‘The Earl of *Argile* doth bear the Earl of *Murray* in hand as fair as he doth the *Hamiltons*, and hath written him a Letter this Day full of great Kindneſs.

‘The Earl of *Huntly* hath aſſayed in his own Country what he can do; and ſince the Earl of *Murray*'s coming home, he findeth himſelf no Party in the North, and therefore doth make great Offers this way.

‘The Lady *Bothwell*, Siſter to the ſaid Earl of *Huntly*, paſſed through this Town within theſe two Days, and is gone to her Mother and Brother in the North-parts: She hath proteſted to the Lady of *Murray* in this Town, that ſhe will never live with the Earl *Bothwell*, nor take him for her Huſband.

‘The Earl of *Argile* doth ſeek to be divorced from his Wife, half Siſter to the Earl of *Murray*. His Incontinency is alledged to be the Cauſe of the Divorce, and the ſame procur'd at his Suit; but his Wife will not conſent unto it, neither will the Earl of *Murray* ſuffer it to paſs: So as it is thought this will be the occaſion of Breach of Amity betwixt the ſaid Earls. The Earl of *Murray* hath the better Part in the Action, becauſe the Earl of *Argile* is not juſtifiable by no Law.

‘It may pleaſe your Majeſty, *Monſ. de Lynerol* hath made great Shew that he would not tarry here, as not beſt ſatisfied with his Anſwers; but in the End, theſe Lords have made him find it good to prolong his Abode here, and, as far as I can learn, *De Lynerol* is contented to go to *Stirling*, there to do Reverence to the Prince as to the King: At which Place 'tis intended and procured by *De Lynerol*, that the *Hamiltons* ſhall meet with ſome of theſe Lords there, and ſo compound (in the *French* King's Name) all Differences betwixt them. And though *John Hamilton* ſeemed to me to be ſpecially diſpatched to this Town to confer with me; yet I am well adviſed that the ſaid *Hamilton* was chiefly addreſſed to the *French* Ambaſſador: So as your Majeſty may perceive to what End both theſe Lords and the *Hamiltons* do conduct their Matters, that is, as methinketh, to run the Courſe of *France*.

'The Law-day for the Murder of the late King doth hold in this Town this Day (*a*), where it is thought few or none will appear which be ſummoned. Notwithſtanding there is a great Number of Gentlemen have made their Repair hither forth of all Quarters of the Realm, and many of them well accompanied.

'This Day the Abbot of *Kilwinning* is come to this Town, ſince whoſe coming, as I learn, there is ſome Doubt made of the *Hamiltons* repair to *Stirling*; which not taking Place, 'tis like *De Lynerol* will not go thither; and then I reckon he will make no long Abode here.

'Now that your Majeſty doth ſee an Iſſue, as well for the Preſervation of this Queen's Life, as what is reſolved for her Liberty, and ſo of all the *French* Ambaſſador's Negotiations here, and the *Hamiltons* Anſwer to my Letter; it may pleaſe your Majeſty to be ſo gracious unto me as to revoke me hence. Thus Almighty God preſerve your Majeſty in all Health, Honour and perfect Felicity. At *Edinburgh* the 22d of *Auguſt* 1567.

Your Majeſty's moſt humble, obedient,
faithful Servant and Subject,

N. THROCKMORTON.

Before we ſhut up this Chapter, it may be proper to add here the Queen of *England*'s Letter to her Ambaſſador of the 29th of *Auguſt*; becauſe tho' it be indeed poſterior to the Earl of *Murray*'s Acceptation of the Regency, yet at the time of its writing, that Princeſs had not probably received Intelligence of that Emergent.

Letter from the Queen of England, *To Sir* Nicholas Throckmorton, *29th* Auguſt 1567 (*b*).

The Queen of *England* ſignifies her Mind concerning our Affairs to her Ambaſſador.

'TRuſty and well-beloved, we greet you well: We have within theſe two Days received three ſundry Letters of yours, the 20th, 22d and 23d, having not before theſe received any ſeven Days before; and do find by theſe your Letters you have very diligently and largely advertiſed us of all the haſty and peremptory Proceedings there, which as we nothing like, ſo we truſt in time to ſee them wax colder, and to receive ſome Reformation: For we cannot perceive that they with whom you have dealt, can anſwer the Doubts moved by the *Hamiltons*, who howſoever they may be carried for their private Reſpects, yet theſe Things which they move will be allowed with all reaſonable Perſons; for if they may not, being Noblemen of the Realm, be ſuffered to hear the Queen their Sovereign declare her Mind concerning the Reports which are made of her by ſuch as keep her in Captivity (*c*), how ſhould they believe the Reports, or obey them that do report it? And therefore our Meaning is, you ſhall let the *Hamiltons* plainly underſtand, that we do well allow of their Proceedings ſo far forth as the ſame doth concern the Queen their Sovereign for her Relief; and in ſuch Things as ſhall appear reaſonable for us to do herein for the Queen our Siſter, we will be ready

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(*a*) *Calderwood*'s large MS. ſays, "Upon the 22d Day of *Auguſt*, *Skirling*, *Ricartoun*, and ſome other Gentlemen, ſhould "have been tried by an Aſſize for the Murder of the King, but were continued till *October*. But the ſame Day the Laird of *Or-*"*miſtoun* in *Teviotdale*, his Father's Brother, Sir *Patrick Hepburn* of *Whitecaſtle*, the Laird of *Talo* younger, with divers others, "were denounced Rebels, and put to the Horn, for not Compearance."

(*b*) Calig. C. I. a Copy.

(*c*) This may give us to underſtand that the *Hamiltons* had complained, that as they were not allowed to ſee the Queen, ſo neither on the other hand did they think themſelves under an Obligation to credit the Stories reported of her by thoſe who kept her Priſoner; for perhaps ſhe had already given, and was ſtill ready to give all reaſonable Satisfaction concerning her late Miſbehaviour. And as theſe Lords who firſt took upon them to ſhut her up, could in Reaſon pretend to no ſuch Authority in Excluſion of the other Peers of the Realm; ſo their peremptory Refuſal to give other Noblemen Acceſs to her Majeſty, is a ſhrewd Suſpicion that they did this that they themſelves might thereby have Opportunity to put what Gloſſes they found convenient for their Purpoſes on the Queen's preſent Deportment, and ſo deprive her of undeceiving her faithful Subjects.

1567. ‘to perform the ſame (*a*). And where it is required, that upon your coming thence, the Lord *Scroop* ſhould deal with the Lord *Herries*, to impart their Meanings to us, and ours to them; We are pleaſed therewith, and we require you to advertiſe the Lord *Scroop* thereof by your Letters, and to will him to ſhew himſelf favourable to them in their Actions that may appear plainly to tend to the Relief of the Queen, and Maintenance of her Authority: And as we willed our Secretary to write unto you, that upon your Meſſage done to the Earl of *Murray*, you might return; our Meaning is, you ſhall. And if theſe our Letters ſhall meet you on the Way, yet we will have you advertiſe the Lord *Scroop* and the *Hamiltons* of our Meaning.’

CHAP. XIII.

Containing Matters of State from the Earl of Murray's *Acceptation of the Regency in the Month of* Auguſt 1567, *till the Queen's Retreat into* England *in the Month of* May 1568.

The Earl of *Murray* enters upon the Regency.

AFTER the Earl of *Murray* had returned from viſiting the Queen in the Caſtle of *Lochlevin*, and that every thing had been put in Order by him and his Friends for the Proſecution of their Deſigns, his Lordſhip, in the Space of two Days after his coming to *Edinburgh*, was pleaſed to accept and enter upon the Office of *Regent* of the Kingdom, within the ſaid City of *Edinburgh*, in the Manner and Form here ſubjoined.

Apud Edinburgh 22. Auguſt, 1567.

SEDERUNT

Jacobus Moraviæ *Comes Dominus* Abernethie *Regni Scotiæ Regens*, Jacobus *Comes de* Mortoun, Joannes *Comes de* Athole, Alexander *Comes de* Glencairn, Joannes *Comes de* Mar, Robertus *Comes de* Buchan, Joannes *Magiſter* Graham, Alexander *Dominus* Hume, Willielmus *Dominus* Ruthven, Patricius *Dominus* Lyndeſay *de* Byris, Robertus *Dominus* Sempill, Willielmus *Dominus* Borthwick, Robertus *Commendatarius de* Dunfermline, Willielmus Maitland *de* Lethington *junior Secretarius*, *Magiſter* Robertus Richardſon *Commendatarius Inſulæ Sanctæ Mariæ Theſaurarius*, Joannes Bellenden *de* Auchnoule *Miles Clericus Juſticiariæ*, Jacobus Balfour *de* Pittendreich *Miles Clericus Regiſtri*, *Magiſter* Jacobus Macgill *de* Rankillor-nether, Joannes Spens *Advocatus*, *cum diverſis Baronibus & Commiſſariis Burgorum*.

Acceptatioun of the Regencie.

(*a*) That the Queen of *England* ſpoke here as ſhe thought, the following Part of her Secretary Sir *William Cecil*'s Letter to her Ambaſſador in *France*, Sir *Henry Norris*, ſeems to be a ſure Evidence: “Sir, You ſhall perceive by the Queen's Majeſty's Letters to you at this preſent, how earneſtly ſhe is bent in the favour of the Queen of *Scots*; and truly ſince the beginning ſhe hath been greatly offended with the Lords: And howſoever her Majeſty might make her Profit by bearing with the Lords in this Action, yet no Counſel can ſtay her Majeſty from inſiſting on her miſliking of them,” 19th *Auguſt* 1567. And in another Letter from the ſame to the ſame, “The Queen's Majeſty our Sovereign remaineth ſtill offended with the Lords for the Queen [of *Scots*;] the Example moveth her,” 3d *September* 1567, *Cabala*. By theſe two Shreds of Letters we can eaſily diſcern, that the *Engliſh* Secretary has done all that lay in him to divert his Miſtreſs from frowning at the *Scottiſh* Rebels; but that the Queen of *England* perſiſted ſtill hitherto in earneſt willing to relieve our Queen. She thought it a *bad Example* to the Subjects of other Nations; and no doubt it was ſo, and ought not to have been tolerated by Sovereign Princes. And had the Queen of *England* in particular followed forth her preſent Reſolution, there is as little doubt to be made, that the Power of the Rebels in *Scotland* would ſoon have dwindled to nothing: But other Views came afterwards before her Majeſty's Mind, and a *preſent* Intereſt prevailed with her above *future* Glory.

The quhilk Day, in Preſens of the Lordis of Secreit-Counſale, Nobilitie, Spiritualitie, Commiſſionaris of Burrowis, and Baronnis, conveint within the Tolbuith of the Burgh of Edinburgh, wes preſentit ane Commiſſioun ſubſcrybit be the Quenis Majeſtie, our Soverane Lordis derreſt Moder, and under hir Hienes Previe-Seill, of the Dait, at Lochlevin, the xxiv. Day of Julij laſt bipaſt, quhilk wes opinlie red, the Tenour quhairof followis, 1567.

Marie, *be the Grace of* GOD, *Quene of* Scottis, *To all and ſindrie our Jugeis and Miniſteris of our Lawis, Liegis and Subjectis quhome it effeiris, to quhais Knawlege thir our Letteris ſall cum, Greting: Forſamekleas efter lang, greit and intollerabill Panis and Labouris takin be us ſen our Arryvall*, &c. as is expreſſit at lenth in the Act above-writtin, maid the xxv. Day of Julij laſt bipaſt,——

“ Efter the publict reding of the quhilk Commiſſioun, and Invocatioun of the Name of GOD, the ſaid nobill and mychtie Lord *James* Erle of *Murray*, &c. reſſavit and acceptit *(a)* upoun him the Office of Regentrie of our Soverane Lord his Realme and Liegis, and gaif his Ayth for debtfull Adminiſtratioun thairof, efter the Forme and Tenour of the ſaid Commiſſioun in all Pointis: Of the quhilk Ayth the Tenour alſwa followis. *I* James *Erle of* Murray, *Lord* Abernethie, *&c. promeiſs faythfullie, in the Preſence of the Eternall, my God, that I induring the haill Cours of my Lyff ſall ſerve the ſame Eternall, my God, to the uttermeſt of my Power, according as he requirit in his maiſt holy Word, revelit and contenit in the new and auld Teſtamentis; and, according to the ſame Word, ſall mentaine the trew Religioun of* Jeſus Chriſt, *the preaching of his holy Word, and dew and rycht Adminiſtratioun of his Sacramentis, now reſſavit and practizit within this Realme; and als ſall abolyſche and gaineſtand all falſe Religioun contrair to the ſame: And ſall rewle the Peopill committit to my Charge and Regiment during the Minoritie and les age of the King my Soverane, according to the Will and Command of God revelit in his foirſaid Word, and according to the lovabill Lawis and Conſtitutiounis reſſavit in this Realme, nawayis repugnant to the ſaid Word of the Eternall, my God; and ſall procure to my uttermeſt, to the Kirk of God and haill Criſtiane Peopill, trew and perfyte Peace, in all Tyme cuming. The Rychtis and Rentis, with all juſt Privilegeis of the Crowne of* Scotland, *I ſall preſerve and keip unviolat; nather ſall I transferr nor alienat the ſamyn. I ſall forbid and repreſs, in all Eſtaittis and Degreis, Reiff, Oppreſſioun, and all kynd of Wrang. In all Jugementis I ſall command and procure that Juſtice and Equitie be keipit to all Creaturis without Exceptioun, as he be mercieful to me and zow, that is the Lord and Fader of all Mercies: And out of this Realme of* Scotland, *and Impyre thairof, I ſall be cairfull to ruite out all Heretickis and Enemeis to the trew Worſchip of God, that ſall be convict be the trew Kirk of God of the foirſaid Crymes (b). And thir Thingis above-writtin I faythfullie affirme be this my ſolempnit Ayth*” *(c)*. R. M.

(*a*) *Buchanan* ſays that the Earl of *Murray* was *elected* Regent by the States. This Writer would fain make the World believe, that the ſupreme Governors of *Scotland* come at their Office always by *Election* of the People. But the whole authentick Progreſs of this new Regency (ſuch as it was) belies this Author egregiouſly. Even *herein* alſo Abp. *Spottiſwood* blindly follows the Tradition of Mr. *Buchanan!*

(*b*) And what better Right had he to do ſo than the laſt Regent, *viz.* the Queen's Mother, had to root out all thoſe whom ſhe accounted Hereticks? The Addition of the Words, *convict be the trew Kirk of God*, is of no Service at all, ſeeing every Kirk will call itſelf the *trew Kirk*. And I make little Doubt but the *trewer* the Kirk is, the leſs Perſecution will be made by it.

(*c*) In the Lord *Pitmedden*'s Abſtracts of Privy-Council it is ſaid, that “ at this Time compeared *Arthur Hamilton* of *Mureton*, as Proctor for *John* Archbiſhop of St. *Andrew*'s and *Gavin* Commendator of *Kilwinning*, Commiſſioners nominate by *James* Duke of *Chaſtelherault*, Earl of *Arran*, and proteſted, that the Queen's Commiſſion, and the Coronation of the King her Son, ſhould not prejudge the Duke and his Succeſſors in the Right of Succeſſion to the Crown of the Kingdom, whenſoever it ſhall pleaſe God to call him thereto.” But whether this has been only the Proteſtation made at the Time of the King's Coronation, already ſet down *p.* 437; or if theſe ſame Perſons have now repeated the former Proteſtation, I cannot determine.

1567. The ſame Day an Order was publiſhed for proclaiming the Earl of *Murray*'s Acceptation of the Regency, and a Charge to the Lieges, enjoining them to give Obedience to the Lord Regent in all Things, under the Pain of Treaſon. Which Proclamation, becauſe it contains ſome Clauſes the Readers might willingly deſire to ſee, I have therefore taken the Freedom to annex here at full length.

Apud Edinburgh, 22. *Auguſt* 1567.

Proclamation of the Earl of *Murray*'s Regency.

Forſamekillas the Quene, Moder to our Soverane Lord the King, the Tyme of hir Subſcriptioun of the Commiſſioun and Letteris of Procuratorie, be the quhilk ſche dimittit and renunceit the Governament of this Realme in the favouris of ourſaid Soverane Lord; Conſiderand that, be reſſoun of his tender Zouth, he wes not of Abilitie of his awn Perſoun, to adminiſtrat in his Kinglie Rowme and Governament, as wes requiſite; and knawing the Proximitie and Tendernes of Blude ſtanding betwix him and hir derreſt Bruther, James Erle of Murray, Lord Abernethie, of quhais Affectioun and kyndlie Luff towartis his Majeſtie, and the Commoun-weill of this Realme, ſche wes, and is maiſt aſſurit: In reſpect quhairof, as of the Certaintie of hir ſaid Brutheris Sufficiencie and gude Qualificatioun, hir Grace, be hir Letteris alſwa ſubſcryvit with hir Hand, and under hir Previe-Seill, of the Dait above writtin, maid, namit, appointit, conſtitut and ordanit him Regent to hir ſaid derreſt Sone, this Realme, and Liegis thairof, during his Minoritie and les Aige, and ay and quhill he be of the Aige of Seventein Zeiris complet, willand that he be callit, during the ſaid Space, REGENT to our Soverane Lord, his Realme and Liegis; with Power to hir ſaid derreſt Bruther, in Name, Authoritie and Behalf of our ſaid Soverane Lord, to uſe and exerce the ſaid Office of Regentrie, in all Thingis, Privilegeis and Commodities pertaining thairto, ſiclyke, als frelie, and with als greit Libertie as ony Regent or Governour to the Quene, or hir Predeceſſouris, uſit in ony Tymes bigane; lykeas, at mair lenth, is conteint in the Commiſſioun foirſaid, paſt thairupoun, of the Dait the xxiv. Day of Julij laſt bipaſt; quhilk befoir and in the tyme of our Soverane Lordis Coronatioun, ſolempnizat upoun the xxix. Day of the ſaid Moneth, wes red, conſiderit, fund gude and expedient; and be the Eſtaittis than conveint, ratifeit, approvit and condeſcendit unto. Sen the quhilk Tyme, at the Pleſour of Almichtie God, the ſaid nobill Lord returning to this Realme, his native Countrie, conſidering the Quenis deliberat Will and Mynd, not onlie be hir ſaid Commiſſiounis, bot alſwa be hir awn Mouth and Voce, that he ſould accept the ſaid Office and Charge *(a)*; for Obedience thairof *(b)*, and movit of the naturall and entire Affectioun quhilk he beris towart the Weilfair and Preſervatioun of our ſaid Soverane Lord and Commoun-weill of this Realme, hes acceptit and reſſavit the Charge and Office of Regentrie upoun his Perſoun, and hes gevin his Ayth in Preſens of the Lordis of Secreit-Counſall, for debtfull Adminiſtratioun thairof, to the Pleſour of God, our Soveranis Honour, and Commoditie of all the gude Subjectis of this Realme: Thairfoir ordanis Letteris to be direct to mak Publicatioun heirof be oppin Proclamatioun, at the Mercate-Croce of Edinburgh, and all utheris Mercate-

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(*a*) "The Queen was perſwaded by theſe that were her Keepers, and others intromitted [allowed to enter into *Lochlevin*] for that Purpoſe, to deſire him [*Murray*] to take the Government of the Country upon him; to which he was ſo eaſily perſwaded, that without great delay of Time, by coacted Conſent of the captive Queen, the good Mind of the Factioners, and his own bent Will thereunto, was publickly proclaimed, *&c.*" *Crawford*'s MS.

(*b*) What if the Queen had refuſed to grant him a Commiſſion of Regency? Would this *obedient* Lord have in that Caſe obeyed his Siſter and Sovereign? We ſee the moſt rebellious are fond to talk of *Obedience* as a Virtue, and to aſſume the Merit of it to themſelves as oft as they can.

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cate-Croces of the Heid-Burrowis and Schyris of this Realme, and utheris Places neidfull, that nane pretend Ignorance of the ſamyn; and to command and charge all and ſindrie the Liegis and Subdittis quhatſumevir, to reddilie anſwer, intend and obey to the ſaid Lord Regent, in his ſaid Office and Charge of Regentrie during the ſaid Space of our Soverane Lordis Minoritie, and to nane utheris, ſiclyke as ony Princes, or utheris Governouris and Regentis hes bene obeyit in tymes bigane, under the Pane of Treſoun; certifieing all and quhatſumevir Perſounis that dois in the contrair, reſiſtand our Soveranis Authoritie and diſobeyand the ſaid Regent, thay ſall be reputit and haldin as plane Ganeſtanderis of his Majeſties Authoritie, and ſall be puneiſt thairfoir with all Rigour, in Exempill of utheris.
R. M.

The firſt Thing we find done by the Regent, was to publiſh an Order, the very next Day after his Acceptation, for deſtroying all the publick Seals of the Kingdom which carried the Name and Title of the *Queen* (a). Another Thing the Regent immediately ſet about, was to ſtrengthen his Party by Force as well as by Authority, wiſely enough conſidering that the one would ſoon become deſpicable without the other: For this Purpoſe he dealt to get the Caſtle of *Edinburgh* ſurrendred to him by Sir *James Balfour*, who, tho' he had been made Governour thereof by the Intereſt of the Earl of *Bothwell*, yet he quickly laid aſide the Gratitude he owed both to the Queen and that Nobleman, and entred into the Meaſures of the aſſociating Lords. But that Party it ſeems, tho' they lov'd the Treachery, had no great liking to the Man; and this made them ſo very earneſt to have the Caſtle out of his Hands: And on the other hand, he, as would appear, dreading to be called to account for his former Deportment, whilſt a Partiſan with *Bothwell*, inſtantly agreed to deliver the Caſtle into the Hands of the Earl of *Murray*, on the following Conditions (b); 1. *A Remiſſion for Art and Part of the King's Murder.* 2. *The Gift and Donation of the Priory of* Pittenweem (c). 3. *A Penſion of Victual to his eldeſt Son out of the Priory of St.* Andrew'*s, to remain with him heritably.* 4. *A great pecunial Sum to himſelf in hand.* [*Spottiſwood* calls it 5000 Pounds.] 5. *That the Caſtle ſhall be put into the Hands of the Laird of* Grange.

The Caſtle of *Edinburgh* is ſurrendred to the Regent on certain Conditions;

Theſe Articles were ſpeedily agreed to; and they ſay, that upon Payment of the Money contained in the fourth Article, the Regent took Poſſeſſion of the Caſtle, and ſlept the Night of the 24th *Auguſt* (d) in the ſame Room where the Queen had been laſt Year delivered of her Son the Prince. Some time after the Regent gave this Caſtle to be kept by Sir *William Kirkaldy* of *Grange*.

The next Thing the Regent took in hand was to get likewiſe into his Poſſeſſion the Caſtle of *Dunbar*; and ſo we ſee in the Records on the 26th Day of the ſame Month of *Auguſt*, an Order for "Letteris to be directed to command and charge *James* Erle of *Bothwell*, *Patrick Quhytlaw* of that Ilk, *Johne Newtoun* zoungar of that Ilk, Mr. *Thomas Hepburne* Parſon of *Aldhamſtocks*, and all utheris Keiparis of the Caſtell of *Dunbar*, to render and deliver the ſame, with all Artaillierie, Pulder and Munitionis being thairin, to the Officiaris Executoris heirof, within ſex Houris after the Charge, with Certificatioun of Forfaultour, &c. as Traittouris, in caſe of Refuſal." The ſame Perſons were likewiſe charged at the ſame Time to deliver before the Juſtice and his Deputes, within the Tolbooth of *Edinburgh*, in the Space of twenty four Hours next after the Charge, "the Perſon of *Patrick Wilſon*, who had bene declarit Traittour, and Art and Part in the Kingis Murthour, under the Pain to be repute, haldin, callit, perſewit, and denunceit as plane Partakaris with the ſaid *Patrick* in his Rebellioun and treaſſonabill Deids,

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(a) The Act of Council appointing this Matter, I have put into the Appendix, Numb. 24.

(b) The firſt *Four* of theſe Conditions are in *Crawford*'s MS. and the *Fifth* alone in *Melvil*'s Memoirs.

(c) This Priory was held by the Regent *in commendam*; together with that of St. *Andrew*'s.

(d) So ſays *Crawford*'s Memoirs; but *Calderwood*'s MS. ſays, this Caſtle was only ſurrendred on the 5th Day of *September*.

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Likeas the Caſtle of *Dunbar.*

The Captain, at the firſt Summons to ſurrender, is ſaid to have given the ordinary Anſwer, That he would defend the Caſtle to the laſt Extremity. But when he ſaw the Regent was wholly bent upon getting it into his Hands, having for that End conveyed heavy Cannon from the Caſtle of *Edinburgh*, and that he ſaw no Probability of Relief, ſurrendred the Caſtle to the Regent on certain eaſy Conditions *(b)*. "The Caſtle was delivered on the 1ſt Day of *October*; and the Earl of *Morton*, the Lords *Hume*, *Lindſay*, and ſome others, deſired the Keeping of it. But the Regent cauſed carry all the Artillery and Munition of it to *Edinburgh*, and committed it to the Cuſtody of the Town of *Dunbar* until the Parliament-time" *(c)*. And then he procured an Act for the Demolition both of it and the Fort upon *Inch-Keith*; which Act ſhall be hereafter noticed.

Before we proceed farther, it will be proper to ſet down the following Letter.

Letter from Sir Nicholas Throckmorton, *To Sir* William Cecil, *1ſt* September 1567 *(d)*.

SIR,

'YOur Letter of the 20th of *Auguſt*, dated at **Guildford**, I received the 27th of the ſame, containing the Queen's Majeſty's Order preſcribed unto me by you for my Proceedings with the Earl of *Murray* (now Regent) in ſuch Points as are mentioned in your ſaid Letter; and containing alſo, ſomewhat to my Comfort, her Majeſty's Pleaſure for my Return, which is to take Place when I ſhall have accompliſhed ſuch Things as be preſcribed me by you. For Anſwer whereunto, this ſhall be to advertiſe you and her Majeſty by you, that the Earl of *Murray*, in the Preſence of the Lord of *Lethington* hath anſwered me as followeth.

'*Firſt*, to the Matter declared by me, as I was ordered by her Majeſty's Letter of the 11th of *Auguſt*, the Earl of *Murray* ſaid, That the Lord of *Lethington* had before him made Anſwer at good length five Days paſt, ſo as that Matter needed no Repetition. All which their Anſwer and Diſcourſe I ſignified to her Majeſty, by my Letters of the 22d of *Auguſt*.

To my going to the Queen at *Lochlevin*, he ſhewed me that the Lords ſaw no Reaſon more now to accord unto me Acceſs to the Queen, than they have done all this while; but much leſs, ſeeing they have refuſed it to the *French* Ambaſſador, who has gone his way without it.

'As

(a) *i. e.* Brewers, Bakers and Butchers.

(b) So ſays *Crawford*'s MS. But *Cecil* to *Norris* 9th *October* 1567, ſays, "All Things be quiet in *Scotland* ſince the laſt of *September*, at which Time the Caſtle of *Dunbar* was rendred to the Earl of *Murray*; and one named the Lord *Waughton*, Follower of the Earl *Bothwell*, which kept the Caſtle as long as he could, was adjudged to pay for the Charges of them which beſieged it; and the Charge of the Carriage of the Ordnance back to *Edinburgh*: A new kind of Puniſhment, ſufficient enough for ſuch a Beggar," *Cabala*.

(c) *Calderwood*'s MS. and ſo far with it agrees *Crawford*'s MS. that "all the Cannon and Guns therein competent were carried to the Caſtle of *Edinburgh*."

(d) Calig. C. 1. a Copy.

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‘As to the Acceptation of the Regency, he ſaid (a), It was now paſt: And as for Ignominy and Calumniation, he had none other Defence againſt that but the Goodneſs of God, his upright Conſcience, and his Intent to deal ſincerely in his Office; and if that would not ſerve, he could not tell what to ſay; for now there was none other Remedy but he muſt go through with the Matter.

Sundry remarkable Occurrences in this Letter.

‘As to the Queen's Majeſty's Satisfaction for the Queen his Sovereign's Conſent, touching the Government conferred upon him; he ſaith, he would be loth to allow any ſuch Matter, and ſpecially a Thing that toucheth himſelf, if he had not the Queen's Conſent thereunto, confirmed by her own Mouth (b).

‘As unto ſome certain Time for the Queen's Enlargement to be preſcribed, which I demanded; he ſaid, the Lords could not reſolve thereupon, becauſe her Liberty, and the Time thereof, depended upon Accidents: Albeit (ſaid he) for mine own Part, I could be contented it were undelayedly (c).

‘As unto that which I demanded for the Queen's Condition and Eſtate after *Bothwell's* Apprehenſion and Juſtifying; he anſwered, They could not merchandize for the Bear's Skin before they had him (d)

‘I did reply thereunto, ſaying, They did foreſee by Imagination what ſhould be meet for them to do, and what they would do at that Time. The Earl of *Murray* anſwered, As far as I can perceive, the Queen's Liberty then will depend chiefly upon her own Behaviour and conſiderate Doings; for if the Lords may perceive that ſhe doth digeſt well the * Juſtifying of *Bothwell*, the Puniſhment of his Adherents, and doth not diſcover a wrathful and revengeful Mind towards theſe Proceedings; and likewiſe, if the Queen your Sovereign will ſo deal as we may have Cauſe to think that ſhe ſeeketh the Quietneſs of this Realm, and not the Trouble of it, as by countenancing and nouriſhing certain Factions; then theſe Lords will ſeek to do all grateful Things to the Queen our Sovereign, and to the Queen's Majeſty of *England*: Marry, to fiſh ſo far before the Net, and to tell now what ſhall be done then, neither do I nor they think convenient to give any determinate Anſwer (e). So as having theſe reſolute Anſwers to the Matters aforeſaid, I have thought good to make no longer tarrying, but uſe the Benefit of her Majeſty's Pleaſure, ſignified unto me by you, concerning my Return.

* *i. e.* bringing to Juſtice.

‘And after I had given Knowledge to the Earl of *Murray* and the other Lords that I would depart forthwith, they deſired me to tarry, to the end they might make ready my Diſpatch. I told them, My Diſpatch might be expedited within an Hour, for I had nothing to receive from them but my Safe-conduct. The Earl of *Murray* required me to ſtay, for that he would write ſomething to the Queen's Majeſty, and would alſo require me to ſay ſomething to her Majeſty on his Behalf. I required him there might as little Delay be uſed as could be.

‘The 30th of *Auguſt* the Earl of *Murray* ſent unto me, and required me, after the Sermon, that we might go together to his Lodging: Whereupon, the Sermon being finiſhed, I did accompany him thither; where were aſſembled all the Lords. The L. of *Lethington*, in Name of all the Lords,

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(a) In this and other Letters that are reſponſory, the Readers will eaſily repreſent to themſelves the Contents of the Letters to which they anſwer.

(b) Of this we have obſerved enough already.

(c) And he wanted not Intereſt to have procured it. Why did he never propoſe it either to his Council, or his enſuing Parliament?

(d) The plain *Scottiſh* of this was, that he and the other Lords his Supporters had no mind in any Event ever to ſet the Queen their Sovereign at Liberty again. Tho' by the following Teſtimony it appears plain that they had fed the Queen of *England* with ſome better Hopes: “If *Bothwell* might be apprehended, I think the Queen there [in *Scotland*] ſhall be at good Liberty, for the “Nobility,” *Cecil* to *Norris*, 14th *July* 1567, *Cabala*. But now that there was a certain Proſpect of *Bothwell's* Ruin, or rather that he was already as good as ruined, theſe Lords forget what they had formerly given to underſtand.

(e) Sure the Readers hereof will eaſily diſcern that in all this Anſwer there is nothing but Tergiverſation and Shifting, and that how ſoon one Thing is ſet out of the way which the Lords pretended was the Obſtacle of the Queen's Liberation, another is immediately ſtarted; and laſt of all, *they think it not convenient to give any determinate Anſwer*. Well ſpoken indeed, and honeſtly!

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made a ſummary Repetition of all their Proceedings ſince the beginning of this Matter, yielding there theſe particular Reaſons to every their particular Actions; which was in effect the ſame that I have heretofore in ſundry of my Diſpatches advertiſed her Majeſty. At length he concluded, that no Men in the World would be more ſorry than they to have the Queen's Majeſty conceive otherwiſe than favourably of them: Touching, by way of Digreſſion, the Accord of Religion betwixt the Countries, the particular Favours ſhewed to many of them by her Majeſty heretofore, and the general Relief that the whole Country and Nation received at the Time of *Leith*, when Strangers were in way to oppreſs them, their Liberty and Religion. When the L. of *Lethington* had finiſhed his Talk, the Earl of *Murray* ſet forth at great length, what great Grief it ſhould be to him in particular, to have the Queen's Majeſty think otherwiſe of him than well, alledging many general Reaſons, and ſome particular touching himſelf, concluding there was no Prince, next thoſe which he ought his chiefeſt Duty unto (*a*), that the Alienation of their Favour might trouble him ſo much as the Queen's Majeſty's.

'Then the Earl of *Morton* ſaid, I will omit to ſpeak of theſe Things which have been touched by others, and pray you to render mine humble Thanks to her Majeſty, for the Favour I received in the Time of my Trouble in her Realm.

'Then the Earls of *Murray*, *Athole*, *Morton*, *Mar* and *Glencairn*, and the L. of *Lethington*, led me into a little Cabinet, where they had prepared a Preſent of Gilt-Plate, as I eſteemed it better than ——— Merks, which the Earl of *Murray* required me to accept by way of Preſent, as from the King their Sovereign Lord. I declared that I could not accept any Preſent from any Perſon within that Realm, but from the *Queen their Sovereign*, of whom I would not make any Difficulty to receive a Preſent, if ſhe were in caſe to beſtow any; but as from the King (whom I took to be Prince) I could receive none, ſeeing he had attained to that Name by injuring the Queen his Mother. Whereupon the Lords required me to deſiſt from ſuch Matters, for it would but breed Contention to no purpoſe; and ſo earneſtly preſſed me again to receive the Preſent in the King's Name, which (to be ſhort) I refuſed; and ſo we parted (as it ſeemed to me) they not beſt pleaſed. Then my Leave being taken of them, the L. of *Lethington* accompanied me to my Lodging, and there perſiſted with many Perſwaſions to move me to change my Mind from refuſing the Preſent; whereunto I did not yield, but ſo took my Leave of him (*b*). Somewhat he required me to ſay unto you in his Behalf, which I will declare at my Return.

The *Engliſh* Ambaſſador takes his Leave, and returns homeward.

'I was accompanied forth of the Town, and ſo ſix or ſeven Miles of my Way towards *Haddington*, with a good Company of my Lord of *Murray*'s Gentlemen. And becauſe it was late before I departed *Edinburgh*, I lay at *Haddington* all Night, and ſo came the laſt of *Auguſt* to this Town, accompanied with Mr. *Robert Melvil*, from whence towards the Court I will make the Speed I may. But I pray you, Sir, look not for any great Haſte at my Hand, for ſurely I am not in Caſe ſo to travel.

'At my departing *Edinburgh*, which was the 30th of *Auguſt*, there was no News come that the Force of the L. of *Tullibardine* and *Grange* had met with *Bothwell*, but that their Ships were diſcovered to be within forty Miles of *Shetland*, where *Bothwell* was (*c*). The principal Man of the Iſle na-

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(*a*) If the Queen his Sovereign was one of *thoſe* to whom he owed Duty, the Duty he paid her was ſo fine ſpun as not to be diſcerned without his own Glaſſes.

(*b*) This Gentleman has now, and in all this his Negotiation, acted a very honeſt and good Part, contrary to what ſome People have ſaid of him; ſo that we ſhould not give Credit too readily without good and ſufficient Credentials. I pray the Readers to look into Sir *James Melvil*'s Memoirs, *p.* 89. where they will find a very large Character of Sir *Nicholas Throckmorton*, with ſeveral Particulars worth while to be known.

(*c*) "*Bothwell* is not yet taken, to our Knowledge, though it be ſaid he ſhould been taken on the Seas by a Ship of *Bremen*," *Cecil* to *Norris*, 2d *October* 1567, *Cabala*. Becauſe I ſee not any where a better Account concerning the Fate of the Earl of *Bothwell*, as that which is contained in *Crawford*'s MS. I chuſe to ſet it down here, and I ſhall not return to ſpeak of this unhap-

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‘ med *Fogge* doth favour *Bothwell*, as it is ſaid, whereby his Party ſhall be the
‘ ſtronger.

‘ The L. of *Glamis* and the Maſter of *Sinclair* are come to *Edinburgh*, and
‘ have aſſociate themſelves with theſe Lords. The Earl of *Caſſils* is looked for
‘ ſhortly.

‘ The *Hamiltons* and others have a Convention at *Lanerk* in the Weſt of
‘ *Scotland*, from whence they mean to make a Diſpatch to the Queen's Majeſty.
‘ Herewith I ſend you a Conſabulation lately ſet forth by one of theſe Poets.
‘ Thus I do humbly take my Leave of you, at *Berwick* this 1ſt of *September*
‘ 1567.

Yours to uſe and command,

N. THROCKMORTON.

Charge againſt ſeveral Gentlemen in the Shire of *Merſe*.

The Regent and his Council had perceived it ſeems from the beginning, that the Gentlemen of the Countries lying to the South and South-Eaſt of *Edinburgh*, were little favourable to their preſent Undertakings: Under the Pretext therefore of ſettling Peace and Tranquillity in the Eaſt-March, the Regent and Council on the 23d Day of *Auguſt* give Charge to the following Gentlemen of the Shire of *Merſe*, viz. *John Hume* of *Blacater*, *David Hume* of *Wedderburn*, *John Lumſden* of *Blanern*, *George Hume* of *Aytoun*, *Patrick Cockburn* of *Langtoun*, *John Swyntoun* of that Ilk, *Alexander Cockburn* of that Ilk, *John Renton* of *Billy*, *Patrick Sleich* of *Cumledg*, *William Chirnſide* of *Eaſt-Nisbet*, *John Sinclair* of *Longformacus*, *Thomas Ridpeth* of that Ilk, *John Haitlie* of *Mellerſtanes*, *John Hume* of *Coldingknows*, and *James Ker* of *Merſingtoun*, to compear perſonally before the Regent and Council on the laſt Day of *Auguſt* then running, to give their Advice concerning the ordering of Juſtice and eſtabliſhing of Quietneſs within the Bounds of the Eaſt-March, as they will anſwer at their uttermoſt Peril. *R. M.*

And by the Abſtracts we learn, that on the 1ſt of *September*, Letters are directed by the Council to charge *Alexander Hamilton* of *Inverweik* to enter into Ward within the Caſtle of *Falkland* in the Space of four Days; the Laird of *Baſs* to deliver up his Fortalice (the *Baſs*) within forty eight Hours; ——— *Hepburn* of *Waughton* to deliver *Waughton*; and the Laird of *Roſlin* to deliver *Roſlin* in the Space of twenty four Hours; *Hepburns* of *Smiton* and *Gilmerton* to enter Priſoners in *Edinburgh-Caſtle* within twenty four Hours; *Oliver Sinclair* [of *Whitekirk*] and the Laird of *Newton*, to enter into Ward within the Caſtle of *Down (a)*, in the Space of three Days: All theſe under the Pain of Rebellion.

And by the ſame Abſtracts, on the 10th of *September*, Charge is given to the Lairds of *Blanern* and *Mellerſtanes* to enter into Ward in *Edinburgh* within three Days, under the Pain of Rebellion; becauſe they had diſobeyed a former Charge [*viz.* of the 23d of *Auguſt*] to have come to *Edinburgh*, and there to have given their Advice, &c. And this preſent Charge is under the Pain of Rebellion;

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py Perſon any more. “ In the mean time the Regent *Murray* directed certain Perſons to the Seas to proſecute *Bothwell* where
“ he might be found, and eſpecially in *Orkney*, where he underſtood him to make his Reſidence. Certain of his Men were taken
“ and put to Death for their odious Crimes; but he, eſcaping their Invaſion, addreſſed himſelf to the Coaſt of *Norway*: And he
“ being accompanied with certain fine Ships as Admiral of *Scotland*, [this Office he did indeed hold] and the ſame conducted by
“ good Captains, they chanced to eſpy a fair Ship of *Turkey* then lying on the Coaſt within the Dominions of the King of *Denmark*;
“ which Ship he ſeized upon, and made a Prey thereof. But the Governour of the Town ſeeing that Ship taken away
“ which once had made Obedience within the Seas of his Prince, directed out two great Ships to relieve her from the Hands of
“ her Enemies, and the Invaſion of this Port of *Norway*. The Earl of *Bothwell* was compelled to give over, and ſo was led Priſoner,
“ his Captains and Mariners heavily tortured, and himſelf committed to ſuch Priſon wherefrom he was not freed till his Death.
“ The Regent with his Council underſtanding of this Accident, directed certain Commiſſioners to the King of *Denmark*, deſiring
“ that Prince to render him back to *Scotland*, to be puniſhed for the Murder of the late King *Henry*, whereof he was culpable:
“ But it was refuſed by the King of *Denmark*, becauſe he would not acknowledge their Authority.” *Calderwood*'s MS. ſays, the Laird of *Grange*, &c. came to *Schetland* in the Purſuit of *Bothwell* on the 1ſt Day of *September*; that they took three of his Ships, and apprehended the young Laird of *Talo*, with divers others. This Account indeed may be true, ſince on the 13th of *September* we ſee this Gentleman was examined at *Edinburgh*, concerning his Acceſſion to the Murder of the King. But Mr. *Buchanan*'s Mention of the *Winter-Storms* ſeems not to concord ſo well with it.

(a) Three Miles North-Weſt of *Stirling*.

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That the Intention of the preceeding Acts of Council was the ſame as I have here repreſented, is not only verified by the Account of one of our Hiſtorians *(a)*, at that Time in the following Words, “During the Accompliſhment of this Purpoſe [*viz.* the Affair of the Caſtle of *Dunbar*] all the Noblemen and Gentlemen of *Eaſt-Lothian* that were expected to be Favourers to the Queen, or Friends to the Duke of *Orkney*, were charged under the higheſt of ſubſcribed Obedience to the new elected Regent, and to give their Aid for proſecuting the late King's Murder. Certain for Eaſe of their Bodies, to the Effect they ſhould not be ſpulzied of their Rents, conſented thereunto, albeit againſt their Hearts; others, Diſobeyers, were denounced Rebels, and their Goods confiſcated.” Now 'tis very likely that the Paper which this Author here intends to be ſubſcribed by theſe Gentlemen, has been the Paper called the *Second Band*, already ſet down here *p.* 434. ſince, if the Readers will take the Trouble to inſpect the Subſcribents of that Bond as marked in Mr. *Anderſon*'s Collections, they will there meet with the Names of almoſt all the Gentlemen againſt whom Charges were iſſued on the 23d *Auguſt* and 1ſt *September* bypaſt; to the ſubſcribing of the which Bond, 'tis clear like the Light, they have been driven to ſave their Lives and Eſtates: And ſo by this Means we cannot but perceive what Dependence is to be given to the ſubſcribing of Bonds, Addreſſes, *&c.* even none at all.

The Burgh of *Haddington* required to acknowledge the Regent's Title.

But as a further and moſt inconteſtable Proof that there was no ſmall Diſaffection to the preſent Eſtabliſhment in the forementioned Places, theſe following Things are to be ſeen in the Regiſter of Privy-Council, *viz.* 1ſt *September*, **Act of Haddingtoun:** *The quhilk Day,* Thomas Pantoun *Proveſt, and* Bernard Thomſon *Baillie of the Burgh of* Haddingtoun, *convenit the Communinite and Inhabitantis of the ſamyn Burgh, within the Tolbuith of the ſamyn, and thair according to the Command gevin to thame be the maiſt nobill* James, *Regent of the Realme of* Scotland, *inquirit at the Communitie under-wryttin, Gif thai will conſent and accept the Coronatioun of our Soverane maid befoir? And ſiclyke, Gif thai will conſent to the electing (b) of the ſaid nobill——in Regent, and Acceptatioun of the Regentrie of this Realme foirſaid, acceptit be him afoir, now as gif thai had bene preſent at the ſaid Coronatioun and Electing of the ſaid Regent, or not? Quhilkis Perſonis under-wryttin, with ane Conſent, Voce and Mynd, gaif thair expreſs Conſent and Aſſent thairto,* &c. *(c).* R. M.

On the ſame 1ſt Day of *September* we ſee a **Proclamatioun to all Men to be in Reddines,** *viz.*

Forſamekillas it hes pleſit Almychtie God lauchfullie and rychteouſlie to call our Soverane Lord the Kingis Majeſtie to the Royall Crowne of this his Kingdome,

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(*a*) *Crawford*'s MS.

(*b*) The Readers will here obſerve, that this Faction of Lords have been at Pains to foiſt in the Words *Elect*, *Electing* and *Election*, in the Earl of *Murray*'s Act of Regency; with a Deſign no doubt to propagate in the Kingdom the Notion of electing the ſupreme Governours and Princes by the Voice of the People. But nothing is more expreſs than that the Regency at this Time proceeded ſimply upon a Commiſſion from the Queen (no matter how obtain'd;) and that previous to the Earl of *Murray*'s Acceptation of it, the Queen's Commiſſion was *only* read, and nothing elſe at all ſuperadded. And this Nobleman, as we have ſeen in all his Diſcourſe with the *Engliſh* Ambaſſador, mentioned the Queen's Commiſſion *only*, and his Willingneſs to accept the Regency in Obedience *only* to her. Upon the whole, our Surprize may now ceaſe concerning *Buchanan*'s inſerting the Word *Election* in his Account of this Buſineſs, ſince it has been plainly a Contrivance of that whole Faction, whoſe Orator and Spokeſman Mr. *Buchanan* was. But after all other Things, may we not juſtly enquire *who* were the Electors of the Regent? Since both in *Stirling* at the Coronation of the Prince, and afterwards in *Edinburgh* at the Regent's Acceptation, a very ſmall Handful was only preſent; nor did we ever hear that thoſe few who were preſent, pretended to have a Deputation from the reſt of the Nation.

(*c*) To take this Act apart by itſelf, there is no doubt but the ſame would appear little to our purpoſe; but when it is taken jointly with what has gone before, and is yet to follow, we may probably enough affirm, that ſome Diſaffection has been in the Town of *Haddington*, a Burgh much under the Influence of the Family of *Bothwell*, as lying in the Boſom of their Eſtate, and that of the Lord *Seton*, a moſt faithful Subject of the Queen: otherwiſe why ſhould this Burgh only have been ſingled out to make this Declaration? And the Compliance of that Burgh with a more powerful Party, is no Evidence at all of its *hearty* Aſſent to the Queſtions propoſed. We have ſeen, and Men will hereafter ſee, unanimous Votes, Addreſſes and Subſcriptions, procured by the Authority and Countenance of great Men, or a domineering Faction, or by ſome powerful Self-Intereſt, or other incident Motive, when nevertheleſs it has not only been no Secret, but an avowed Confeſſion that ſuch Deeds, *&c.* did not at all flow from the inward Sentiments and real Opinion of the Voters and Subſcribers.

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This Proclamation diſcovers the Diſaffection of the South Country,

by ſtopping the Heraulds from publiſhing the Authority of the Regent:

dome, be the Dimiſſioun of the Quenis Grace his Moder; and that he, according to the ſame, is ſolempnlie inveſtit and poſſeſt in the ſame Kingdome, quhairof all his guid and luſing Subjectis are debt-bound to prais God that hes ſo favourablie and gratiouſlie lukit upoun this Natioun; and conforme to his Ordainance and Will to reverence, obey and ſerve his Hienes as thair native Prince and Soverane Lord: Nevirtheles the malicious Hartis of ſum unnaturall and diſobedient Perſonis, Legeis to his Majeſtie, ceis nocht ſa far as in thame lyis planelie to reſiſt and gainſtand his Hienes Authoritie, now in the begyning thairof, contempnandlie plukkand down and ſtoppand the Herauldis and ordinar Officiaris of Armis to mak Proclamatioun and Significatioun of his Majeſties Coronatioun; tending nathing ellis, as weill appears be thair Proceidings, bot planelie to diſobey his Hienes, and nawayis recognoſce him as thair Soverane Lord. And lykwayis, James *Erle* Bothuile, *denunceit Rebell and Traitour for the treſſonabill, ſchamefull and unworthie Murthour of umquhile King* Hennrie *our Soveranis derreſt Fader, being fugitive frae the ordinar Lawis, and culpabill be the Law of Armis for Refuſall of that ſingular Combat quhairunto of befoir he offerit himſelf for Purgatioun of his allegat Innocencie, hes bayth ſtuffit and garniſſit our Soveranis Caſtell of* Dunbar *with Men, Munitioun, and utherwayis; and being requyrit to delyver the ſame, hes planelie refuſit, mynding to detein and hald the ſaid Caſtell againſt our Soverane Lord and his Authoritie: And in the mean tyme the ſaid Erle, accumpanyit with a greit Numer of notorious Pyrattis, Fugitives frae all Lawis, and utheris brokin Men, being paſt to the Sey, daylie committis Reiff, Depredatioun, plane Pyracie and Oppreſſioun on the Subjectis of all Criſtiane Princes, Freindis and Confederatis of this Realme, evir thynking at his Pleſour to retyre him to our ſaid Soveranis Caſtell of* Dunbar *as a Saifguard and Receptacle to keip him frae Juſtice; and alſwa, be the Ayd of ſic utheris as abſtractis thair dew Obedience frae his Hienes, to reſiſt his Authoritie foirſaid, and eſchew the dew Puniſchment quhilk worthielie he deſervis for his Rebellioun and treaſſonabill Deids, to the incourageing of ſic ungodlie and wickit Men to continew in thair miſcheivous Deids, and to the greit Hurt of this Commoun-weill, gif tymous Remeid be nocht providit: QUHAIRFOIR our Soverane Lord, with Avyis of his derreſt Couſing* James *Erle of* Murray, *Lord* Abernethie, *Regent of his Hienes, his Realme and Legeis, and Lordis of our Secreit-Counſall, ordanis Letteris to be direct to command and charge all and ſindrie our Soverane Lordis Legeis and Subdittis quhatſumevir betwixt Sexty and Sextein Zeiris, and utheris fenſabill Perſonis, alſweill dwelland to Burgh as to Land, within Regalitie and Royaltie, that thai and ilk ane of thame, weill bodin in feir of Weir, with twenty Dayis Victualls and Proviſioun eftir thair cuming, addres and prepair thame to meit my ſaid Lord Regent at* Edinburgh, *as thai ſalbe newlie adverteiſt be Proclamatioun on four Dayis Warning, and ſwa to paſs furthwart with him, or the Lieutennent, according as thai ſalbe commandit for furthſetting of our Soveranis Authoritie, and Perſuite of all ſic as wald invaid or diſobey the ſame, and to remane for that Effect during the ſpace of twenty Dayis eftir thair cuming, under the Payne of Tynſall of Lyff, Landis and Gudis.* R. M.

As does this Act of Council alſo.

On the 3d of *September* we find the following large Abſtract of Council-Regiſter (a), *viz. Becauſe the Towne of* Drumfries *ſuffered his Majeſties Herauld of Armis makand Publication of the Election* (b) *of* James *Erle of* Murray *in Regent, to be violentlie pluckt off the Croce; Thairfore ordanis the Proveſt, Bailzies, Counſall, and Communitie of the ſaid Burgh, to aſſiſt the Sherrif of* Drumfreis, *his Deputis, and utheris Officiaris quhatſumevir, to execute his Hienes Letteris and Chairges, and nawayes ſuffer thame to be*

(a) *Haddington*'s Abſtracts.

(b) Still we ſee *Election* ſhuffled in.

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Mr. *Cambden*, when ſpeaking of the late Proceedings in this Country, obſerves, that “ this raſh Procedure in depoſing the Queen, joined with the inſolent Carriage of the Cabal toward the Ambaſſadors [of *France* and *England*] was highly ſtomach'd both by Queen *Elizabeth* and the *French* King, as an Affront to the Royal Prerogative: So that they began to appear for the *Hamiltons*, who adhered to the Queen; and *Paſquier* the *French* Ambaſſador ſolicited the Queen of *England* to attempt her Reſtoration by Force. But ſhe thought it the better Method to put a Stop to the Trade of the *Scottiſh* Subjects, until their Queen were ſet at Liberty; and by this means to ſet the Lords and Commons of *Scotland* at odds, who at preſent ſeem'd but too firmly united againſt the Royal Intereſt.” The firſt Part of this Author's Obſervation, we have already ſeen to be abundantly well grounded; and for Verification of the latter, we need only peruſe the following

Letter from the Queen of* England, *To Sir* Henry Norris *her Ambaſſador in* France, *27th* September 1567 *(d).

A new Project by the Queen of *England* for Relief of the *Scottiſh* Queen.

‘ TRuſty and well-beloved, we greet you well: By our late Letter we ſignified unto you what our Ambaſſador's Proceedings had been in *Scotland*, and what our Pleaſure was you ſhould declare on our Behalf unto our good Brother the *French* King, and to the Cardinal of *Lorrain*, and other the Uncles and Friends of our Siſter the Queen of *Scots*, touching ſome honourable Means to be deviſed for her Relief and Liberty. Whereupon (as we now perceive) *Monſ. de Paſquier*, a Gentleman of the Order of *France*, having been ſent unto us from the ſaid King, arrived lately here; and being the 25th of this Month (accompanied with the Ambaſſador-Reſident) brought unto our Preſence, he ſhewed unto us, that upon the underſtanding of the Meſſage that you had on our Behalf declared unto the King his Maſter, touching the Proceedings in *Scotland*, and our good Will and Meaning towards the furthering of the ſaid Queen's Relief, his ſaid Maſter and the Queen-Mother had thought good to addreſs him hither unto us, as well to give us Thanks for the Care we ſhewed to have for the Queen of *Scots* Liberty, as to confer with us, and to uſe our Advice for his proceeding at his coming into *Scotland* towards the Furtherance of the ſame, by all ſuch Means as ſhould

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(*a*) What a hainous Crime this would have been in the Queen! But it never fails that thoſe who make the loudeſt Complaints againſt Grievances in the lawful Magiſtrate, commit the ſame, and perhaps greater Faults themſelves when they are in Power.

(*b*) That is, well affected to the preſent Eſtabliſhment. The proper Meaning of Words is oftentimes ſet aſide, and to be adjuſted according to the Circumſtances of the Speaker.

(*c*) Of the ſame Date is the following Abſtract, *Revocatioun and annulling of the Licence gevin to the Biſchop of* Dumblane, *to pas and remane furth of the Cuntrey; and Intimatioun thairof ordanit to be maid be Proclamatioun at the Mercate-Croce upon ſexty Dayis Wairning.* [The Readers will call to mind that this Gentleman was ſent into *France* by the Queen, to impart to that Court her Marriage with the Duke of *Orkney*.] And on the 18th *September*, *Inhibitioun agains the Biſchop of* Dumblane, *in reſpect of his mony Offenſes and Crymes for the which he is callit to underlye the Law; Thairfore diſchairges all his Tennentis, Fewaris, Fermoraris, Takiſmen and Poſſeſſouris of the Landis, Teyndis and Rentis of his Benefices, to anſer or mak Payment to him of ony Pairt thairof, under the Payne to be repute as Partakaris with him in his Wickednes, and that thai ſall be compellit to pay the ſame over agane. Attour, ordanis to arreiſt all the ſaids Rentis quhill he be tryed of the ſaids Crymes, and the ſaid Arreiſtment dewlie louſit.*

(*d*) Calig. C. 1. a Copy.

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‘ ſhould be thought moſt honourable and expedient, which he had in Charge
‘ from his Maſter to follow according to our Advice and Direction. We told
‘ him, that as we had been always inclined to favour Equity and Juſtice as
‘ much as in us hath lain, ſo hearing of the pitiful and hard Caſe that the Queen
‘ of *Scots* our good Siſter was in, we could not, for the Commiſeration we had
‘ of her woful Eſtate, but procure to eaſe her thereof to the uttermoſt we could,
‘ and thereupon ſent our Ambaſſador into *Scotland*, who by our Order dealt
‘ firſt in all mild and gentle ſort with the Lords there, for the Relief of the ſaid
‘ Queen; and perceiving that that manner of dealing, although it had been at
‘ ſundry Times and in divers Degrees attempted, could nothing prevail, we
‘ letted not to cauſe ſharp and threatning Words to be alſo uſed; which profiting
‘ as little as the reſt, we thought beſt, ſeeing the ſmall Fruit that had followed
‘ upon our good Meaning, to revoke our Ambaſſador, and thereupon
‘ ſent our Advice and Opinion unto our ſaid good Brother by you our Ambaſſador,
‘ ſince which Time the ſtate of Matters ſeem to be very much altered in
‘ *Scotland*: For whereas at that Time it was thought that the *Hamiltons*, and
‘ certain others of their Faction, would have made a good Party in that Realm,
‘ if they might have been therein aſſiſted by the *French* King or us, towards
‘ the ſaid Queen's reſtoring to her Liberty; now it is certainly adviſed from
‘ thence, that they are all come in, and have joined themſelves with the reſt
‘ of the Lords; ſo as there is now no Means left within that Realm to make
‘ any Party to join with any Force that ſhould be ſent to make any Exploit
‘ there. Beſides, we were (we ſaid) born in hand, that if the Matter ſhould
‘ be dealt withall by way of Force and Hoſtility, the Queen our Siſter's Life
‘ were like thereby to ſtand in great hazard *(a)*; and therefore ſeeing Gentleneſs
‘ had not hitherto prevailed, and that Extremity and Force might bring
‘ Danger to her Perſon, whom both the King and We mean to preſerve to the
‘ beſt of our Power, we ſaid, the Matter hanging thus in Balance, would be well
‘ thought upon, and ripely conſidered, before any thing were taken in hand.
‘ *Paſquier* hearing us ſay thus much, ſaid, That the Cauſe ſtanding now in other
‘ Terms than it did at his coming from his Maſter, he thought good Adviſement
‘ would be had how to proceed therein; and therefore for his Part
‘ he thought beſt to ſtay here, and not to go forwards until he may write unto
‘ his Maſter, and underſtand what ſhall be fit to be further done herein;
‘ for loth he would be, he ſaid, (being called to the Degrees he is of) to return
‘ with ſo ſlight an Anſwer as *Lynerol* brought. And finding him of that
‘ Diſpoſition, we did not diſſwade him from it. Whereupon he concluded,
‘ that with Speed he would give Advertiſement of theſe Matters, as well unto
‘ the King our good Brother, as to the Cardinal of *Lorrain*, and the reſt of the
‘ Queen of *Scots* Uncles and Friends, to the Intent that, conferring together,
‘ they may adviſe what ſhall be the beſt way to be taken for further proceeding
‘ herein. Whereunto we anſwered, That upon his Advertiſement, and the
‘ Reſolution of the King notified unto us, we would, in any thing that ſhould
‘ be honourable and convenient for us to do, gladly accord to the ſame as far
‘ forth as may ſtand with our Honour. And hereupon the ſaid *Paſquier* took
‘ his Leave and departed, intending out of hand to diſpatch one unto *France*
‘ with this Reſolution. Nevertheĺeſs, ſince his Departure from us, we have
‘ thought upon a *third* Device, which may be a Mean between the gentle dealing
‘ that hath been hitherto uſed, and any Hoſtility or Extremity that might
‘ henceforth be intended; which is, that by common Conſent both of the
‘ ſaid King our good Brother and us, Order may be taken that the Subjects of
‘ *Scotland* may not from henceforth be ſuffered to traffick into any of both

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(a) We find the ſame Thing ſaid by the *Engliſh* Secretary to this ſame Gentleman, and on this very ſame Day: "Sir, *ſays he*, "you may perceive by the Queen's Letter, [*viz.* this ſame Letter juſt now in our hand] how this Nobleman [meaning *Paſquier*] "is partly of his own Mind, partly by Perſwaſion ſtayed [from going into *Scotland*; and in this no doubt this Secretary had a "good large hand] and ſurely if either the *French* King or the Queen ſhould appear to make any Force againſt them of *Scotland* "for that Queen's Cauſe, we find it credibly, that it were the next way to make an End of her; and for that Cauſe her Majeſty "is loth to take that way, for avoiding of Slanders that might grow thereby," *Cabala.*

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* middle.

'our Realms, unleſs they do acknowledge the Queen our good Siſter to be their Sovereign Lady and Queen, and renounce their Obedience to her Son, otherwiſe than as Prince of that Realm. By which Means we think it will eaſily come to paſs, that the People being letted of their Traffick, and thereby conceiving an evil Opinion of the Lords Doings, they ſhall eaſily be brought to forſake the Lords Party, and ſtand for the Queen their Miſtreſs, and ſo bring the ſaid Lords to yield to ſome better Conformity; and this laſt Matter alſo we have cauſed to be ſignified unto the ſaids Ambaſſadors ſince their *(a)* Departure from us, as a third Degree thought upon by us ſince their being here, which we have with the reſt required them to advertiſe over; and this we have done to ſhew our Device for a * mean Degree of proceeding, as thereby alſo to decipher their full Intention and Meaning on that Side. Of all this we have thought neceſſary to give you Knowledge, to the Intent that if the King our good Brother, or the Cardinal of *Lorrain*, or any other ſhall either be deſirous to ſpeak with you herein, or ſhall take occaſion, when you have to deal with other Matters, to confer with you thereof, you may not be ignorant of that which hath paſſed therein here, which you may uſe as to your Diſcretion ſhall ſeem moſt expedient. Given under our Signet at our Caſtle of *Windſor* the 27th Day of *September* 1567, the Ninth Year of our Reign.'

Shortly after the Surrender of the Caſtle of *Dunbar*, the Regent had an Intention to employ himſelf in the South Country, as we may learn from this Abſtract of Privy-Council on the 7th Day of *October*, viz. *Proclamation of an Road to the South Country.* Item, *Command to the Magiſtrates of Burrows to cauſe them make ready to the Army, Bread, Ale, Fleſh, and other Neceſſaries, for the Payment.* Conformable alſo to this, *Crawford*'s MS. tells us, that "Proclamations were made deſiring the King's Subjects to accompany the Regent for ſuppreſſing the diſordered Thieves on the South Borders." Only this Author places theſe Proclamations poſterior to the Parliament in the Month of *December* next; at which Time 'tis certain by another Abſtract, that Courts of Juſtice were appointed to be kept in all Parts of the Kingdom: And with reſpect to both theſe Buſineſſes performed by the Regent, Sir *James Melvil*, tho' otherwiſe his Friend, makes a very ſharp Reflexion againſt him, which I ſhall have Occaſion by and by to inſert. However, that the Regent has not gone ſo very quickly into the South Country, would appear by Mr. *Calderwood*'s telling us, that "on the 14th of *October* the Lord *Herries* came in to *Edinburgh* to acknowledge the King's and Regent's Authority, and was received, notwithſtanding his former Stubbornneſs; for he at the firſt oppoſed to the Coronation of the King, and the proclaiming of the Earl of *Murray* Regent" *(b)*. The ſame Author proceeds next to inform us, that "upon the 30th Day of *October*, commonly called *Hallow-Even (c)*, *Thurſday* the Market-day of *Haick*, the Regent, accompanied with *Morton*, *Hume* and *Lindſay*, made a privy Road, and ſurpriſed forty three Thieves in *Liddiſdale*, in the Town of *Haick*, *viz.* twenty two of the Sirname of *Eliot*, ſix of the Sirname of *Croſar*, and the reſt of other common Sirnames; of which Number, eleven were hanged, ſeven drowned, one ſlain in the taking, three or four led to *Edinburgh*, and the reſt cleanſed by an Aſſize."

The Regent goes into the South Country.

After what manner the remaining Part of the Year was ſpent, until the Time that the Parliament came to ſit, the Penury of any publick Inſtructions whatſoever diſables me from ſatisfying my Readers, tho' very probably the ſame has been employed in ſounding the Minds of the great Men, and in making Proviſion for that ſolemn enſuing Meeting. If we may credit *Buchanan*, and from him

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(a) Namely, the *French* Reſident in ordinary, and *Monſ. de Paſquier*.

(b) This ſerves to confirm the Diſſatisfaction which appeared in the South Country againſt the new Model of State.

(c) This Author is in a ſmall Miſtake here; for the laſt Day of *October* only is *Hallow-Even*. *Calderwood*'s MS.

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him *Spottiſwood*, who relates the Matter with ſome more Circumſtances, “ The Lords who were conven'd at *Hamilton* perceiving how Matters went, and that all Things grew ſtrong on the Regent's Side, upon a new Deliberation, did write unto him, and the reſt that ſtood for the King's Authority, deſiring a Conference; and offering to ſend the Earl of *Argile*, and ſome others, to any Place they would for meeting: But becauſe in the Superſcription they gave not the Regent his due Title, ſtiling him only *Earl of Murray*, the Letter was rejected by the Council, and the Meſſenger dimitted without Anſwer. *Argile* knowing what had given the Offence, reſolved to go to the Regent *(a)*; and taking with him the Lord *Boyd* and the Abbot of *Kilwinning (b)*, came to *Edinburgh:* There it being declared, that the Election of the Regent was not made upon any Contempt or Miſregard of the Noblemen who were abſent, but upon Neceſſity, to keep the Realm in Order; it was agreed, that a Parliament ſhould be called for ſettling all Affairs by Advice and Conſent of the Eſtates, and that the ſame ſhould be kept at *Edinburgh* the 15th Day of *December* next.” And to this we ſhall add what *Buchanan* further ſays, “ When the King was ſet up, and the Power of the Regent well nigh ſettled, there was ſome Reſpite from outward Force and Arms, tho' ſtill the Peace ſtood but on a tottering Foundation; Mens Minds were yet in a Ferment, and their Indignation, which they could not hide, ſeem'd to portend ſome ſudden Miſchief. In this great Uncertainty of Affairs, all Men had fix'd their Eyes and Thought on the enſuing Parliament: The Time of its ſitting was the 25th Day of the Month of *Auguſt*; and the Aſſembly was ſo numerous, that no Man ever before remembred ſuch a Concourſe.”

A Parliament appointed.

Buchanan's Infidelity corrected.

'Tis not a little ſtrange that in the ſmall compaſs of this laſt Line, this ſo famous a Writer ſhould have given the World ſo glaring a Sample of two wretched Defects, namely, *Inaccuracy* and *Infidelity*; both which are ſtill the more chargeable upon him, that he was perſonally preſent within the Kingdom of *Scotland* at the Time *(c)* of this Parliament, and without all Doubt in the very City of *Edinburgh* alſo, and moſt probably admitted within the Walls of the Houſe where the Parliament did meet; ſo that we may ſafely aver, he has both ſeen it with his Eyes, and heard it with his Ears: And yet after all this good Opportunity of knowing, this Author ſays the Parliament ſat down *on the Twenty fifth Day of Auguſt*; whereas nothing is more certain, than that the Time of the Meeting thereof was the Fifteenth Day of

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(*a*) Concerning the Earl of *Argile*, *Crawford*'s MS. ſays thus, “ Notwithſtanding of this, the Lords finding their Faction not ſo ſtrong as their Need required, having potent Enemies againſt them, of which Number the Earl of *Argile* was one, [this was quickly after the Queen's Impriſonment] they thought expedient to ſend the Earl of *Glencairn* either to perſwade him directly to be of their Faction, or elſe that he ſhould ſo abſtain as not to be their Enemy: Whereby he grew ſo corrupted, that altho' he ſhewed himſelf in outward Behaviour a good Subject to the Queen, yet in effect ſhewed himſelf her Enemy, as by conſequent ſhall be ſufficiently proven.”

(*b*) “ The *Hamiltons* had ſent to the Queen of *England* to crave her——and becauſe ſhe favoured the Queen's [of *Scots*] Cauſe, as a common Cauſe to Kings and Queens; but they got not ſuch Anſwer as they expected: Therefore upon the 10th of *September*, Mr. *Gavin Hamilton* [Abbot of *Kilwinning*] came in for the *Hamiltons*, the Earl of *Argile*, my Lord *Livingſton* and *Boyd*; who *Firſt* proteſted for the Queen's Liberty: *Secondly*, that the crowning of the King ſhould not take away the *Hamiltons* Title and Right. The Lords anſwered, They were not minded to deprive any Man of his Right,” *Calderwood*'s MS. “ The Queen underſtanding of this particular Dealing, tending greatly to her Prejudice, ſhe ſuborned a Faction of her own, of the Houſe and Friendſhip of the *Hamiltons*, and others in whom ſhe confided, that the Regency of the Realm, if any ſhould be eſteemed lawful, uncoacted or compelled, but by her own free motive Will, it ſhould rather be given to *James* Duke of *Chaſtelherault*, Earl of *Arran* and Lord *Hamilton*, than to any other: And for this Cauſe made and ſubſcribed a free Commiſſion of her own Invention to *Archibald* Earl of *Argile*, *William* Lord *Boyd*, *William* Lord *Livingſton*, and *Gavin* Commendator of *Kilwinning*, to talk with the new elected Regent of this Purpoſe, and for her Liberty from Captivity: But all their talking came to this Effect, that becauſe Duke *Hamilton* was then forth of the Country, it was not expedient that the Eſtate then confirmed as ſaid is, ſhould be caſt looſe, but ſhould remain in the ſame Form that it was of, unto the Time of the Return of the ſaid Duke in the Country; whereupon the Queen's Commiſſioners thought expedient to direct the Commendator of *Kilwinning* toward *France*, for the ſpeedy Return of the Duke,” *Crawford*'s MS. And Secretary *Cecil* ſays to Sir *Henry Norris*, 2d *October* 1567, “ The Duke of *Chaſtelherault* is at *Diep* [a Sea-port in *France*, oppoſite to *England*, in the narrow Part of the Channel] and meaneth within theſe ten Days to be here, as his Servants report: I think he ſhall not be able to annoy the Lowth [perhaps the Earl of *Murray*] as he and his, I ſee, do deſire,” *Cabala*.

(*c*) He was Moderator of the Kirk-Aſſembly at *Edinburgh* in the Month of *July* bypaſt, in this ſame Year.

1567. *December (a)*. But ſuppoſing this Error not to be attended with much bad Conſequences, as being only the miſplacing of a Date *(b)*; yet the other Falſhood he aſſerts has been viſibly obtruded, to create in the Minds of Poſterity an Idea of the high and mighty Approbation the Regent and that Faction met with from all the Repreſentatives of the Nation, and conſequently, as he would infer, the low and poor Regard of the Queen throughout the whole Realm. *The Aſſembly*, ſays he, *was ſo numerous, that no Man ever before remembred ſuch a Concourſe (c)*. Now as Mr. *Buchanan* was a contemporary Writer of what he delivers here, he may upon that Account ſeem juſtly to claim and deſerve Credit at home in our own, as well as abroad in foreign Countries; and no queſtion but many, very many People have made no Scruple to give Faith to this his Narration: And nevertheleſs this is as bare-faced an Impoſition as any this Author could have put upon Mankind. *Buchanan* could not be ignorant, that no more than ſeven Years were elapſed ſince a *Scottiſh* Parliament (I ſay, a *Scottiſh Parliament* in his Judgment) had conſiſted of more than double the Members, *viz.* the Parliament in *Auguſt* 1560, *not out of the Memory of Man* ſurely. And tho' it may be true that this preſent Parliament in *December* 1567 was a right numerous Meeting, yet when the Reader ſees a Liſt of this Parliament, and compares it with other preceeding Parliaments, he will not find ſo much Ground for this Flouriſh of Mr. *Buchanan*'s, as he deſigns to impreſs upon his Readers.

For the Satisfaction therefore of other Perſons, I ſhall only ſet down a View of this Parliament in *December*, and of the Parliament in the Month of *April* immediately preceeding, at which Time 'tis certain the Queen can't be ſaid to have been in the high Tide of her Fortune; that ſo the one ſtanding in Sight of the other, the Difference may the more eaſily be diſcerned. Members of Parliament in *April* 1567 were, Biſhops 9, Abbots 13, Earls 12, Lords 16, Burrows 9, Officers of State 6; In all 65. Members of Parliament in *December* 1567 were, Biſhops 4, Abbots 14, Earls 12, Lords 15, Maſters 3, Burrows 30, Officers of State 5; In all 83. Now that there is a conſiderable Difference betwixt 65 and 83, is very true; but then to balance this Difference, we are to take notice that the principal Members which compoſe the Parliament, and who had a perſonal Right to ſit in Parliament, *viz.* Biſhops, Earls, Lords and Abbots, together with the Officers of State, do exceed by *two* in the Parliament holden in the Month of *April*, above the Parliament holden in *December*. And as to the Exceſs of the Parliament in *December*, when the whole Members are taken together; this ariſeth purely from the vaſt Number of Burrows being preſent at this Time. Now every body knows that the Repreſentatives of Burrows are commonly under the Direction of the regnant Miniſtry; by which means it was moſt eaſy for the Earl of *Murray* to draw as many of theſe low-rate Members as he pleaſed into his Parliament, with an Intention not only to make his own Party appear the ſtronger in the Kingdom, but likewiſe that he might render himſelf ſecure to carry the great Matters he projected to bring before this Parliament, by a Majority of their Voices; which otherwiſe he was not ſure to have got done, and moſt certainly had not been able to effectuate. 'Tis therefore to no purpoſe for Mr. *Buchanan* to inſtitute a Compariſon betwixt the Frequency or Infrequency of Parliaments, from the temporary Members thereof; this, I humbly conceive, is only to be made from the

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(a) Abſtract of Privy-Council 13th *December*, **Proclamatioun befoir the Parlement**, *That nane invaid, troubill or perſew uther in Worde, Deid, or Countenance; bot obſerve the Kingis Peace: And wear na Waponis aither offenſive or defenſive, except Swords and Whingars, under the Payne of Deid. Certifieand thame that dois the contrare, that the Payne of Deid ſall be execute upon thame. Item*, Printed Acts of this Parliament immediately after its Riſing. *Item*, Liſt of the Parliament 15th *December* 1567, *Cotton* Library; for which ſee *Anderſon*'s Collections, *Vol.* 2. *Item*, *Crawford*'s MS. "After this a Parliament was proclaimed to be holden at "*Edinburgh* the 19th (erroneouſly for 15th) *December*."

(b) And it can't be deem'd an Error of the Print only, ſince not only is there no Copy (not the firſt Edition excepted, which was printed in the Author's own Lifetime) but what bears this Date; but moreover the original Words are written out in ſuch Length, and in ſo plain an Expreſſion, that no tolerable Excuſe can well be made in favours of the Author. *Ejus habendi dies*, inquit, *erat viceſimus quintus Auguſti menſis.*

(c) *Is* [*conventus*] *tanta frequentia eſt celebratus, quanta nullum ad eum diem homines meminerant.*

the capital and ordinary Members. The Repreſentation of Burrows in the Parliament in *December* is no leſs than 30, and all the other Members make up but 53, even with the Addition of 3 Maſters, or elder Sons; and therefore by Propriety of Speech and Juſtneſs of the Thing, this Parliament may properly be called the *Parliament of Burrows:* And *Buchanan* might, if he had pleaſed, have juſtly ſaid, that *the Burrows in the preſent Parliament were ſo numerous, that no Man ever before remembred ſuch a Concourſe (a)*; and indeed may be this is the Thing he has meant by his formidable Bravado. Any one that will be at the Pains to inſpect the regiſter'd Rolls, will meet but with a very ſmall Number of that *Eſtate* in the moſt part of our Parliaments preceeding this Date.

The Regiſter of this Parliament having been loſt in the Year 1661 *(b)*, as would appear, we have however the Acts thereof preſerved in Print, publiſhed by Authority immediately after the riſing of the Parliament; and becauſe there are two or three Acts in the firſt Edition (commonly called the *Black Acts (c)* becauſe printed on a *Saxon* Type) which are not to be met with in the ſubſequent Editions of the Acts of Parliament, and which are nevertheleſs worth the noticing, I ſhall put them in the *Appendix (d)*, for the Benefit of thoſe that may not have the former Edition at hand. Abp. *Spottiſwood* informs, that in this Parliament "the Honours accuſtom'd (*i. e.* the Royal Enſigns) "*Crown*, *Scepter* and *Sword*, were carried by the Earls of *Angus*, *Huntly* and *Argile*; and every Thing done with the greateſt Shew of Solemnity that could be uſed." But howſoever great Solemnity might be uſed, yet it would ſeem the Men in Power were afraid to allow the Parliament to be a free Meeting; for another Author *(e)* acquaints us, that "the Burgeſſes of "*Dundee* and *Perth* were in Armour the firſt Day with the Town of *Edinburgh*; but the ſecond Day, the Burgeſſes of *Dundee* and *St. Johnſtoun* "ſtriving for the neareſt Place to the Tolbooth, there was appearance of great "Stir and Commotion, if it had not been prevented by charging them to depart off the Town."

The Parliament ſupported by Forces.

On the 29th of *December* a Cloſe was put to the Parliament; and next Day we ſee the following Abſtract of Privy-Council, *Concluſion to hold Juſtice-Airs in all the Parts of the Kingdom, quhilk the Nobility promiſes to aſſiſt.*

And on the 3d Day of *January*, as a Prelude to theſe Courts of Juſtice, the Regent ordered the Execution of four Perſons, convicted of aſſiſting in the King's Murder, and detained in Priſon for a good Space bygone: Their Names were, *Dalgleiſh*, *Powrie*, *Hepburn* and *Hay*; and their ſeveral Confeſſions, with the Manner of their Death, may be ſeen as lately publiſhed by Mr. *Anderſon*.

Four Perſons executed for the King's Murder.

And beſides this Puniſhment ſo ſpeedily taken after the riſing of the Parliament, which however was deſervedly enough inflicted; 'tis not improbable that the Regent had given ſome other Indication of farther Severity to be uſed a-

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(a) As other Hiſtorians have followed *Buchanan* in his Account of this Parliament, ſo Mr. *Anderſon* in the general Preface to his Collections, ſets himſelf to make the Truth of that Aſſertion appear; but how far all that he ſays there is of any Weight, after what I have here obſerved concerning the Burrows, is taken into the Conſideration, I muſt ſubmit to our common Readers. That Gentleman's whole Enquiry relates to thoſe only that had a perſonal Title or Right to ſit in Parliaments: The Caſe of the Royal Burrows he does not concern himſelf with; and if theſe be once turned out of the Computation, with what Truth can he affirm that "in all Queen *Mary*'s other Parliaments, there is a ſmaller Number of Perſons preſent than in the Parliament in *December* "1567?" And when it is moreover conſidered, that in all the Kingdom there were at this Time but twenty one Earls, and that five ancient and capital ones were abſent, *viz. Sutherland*, *Marſhal*, *Rothes*, *Caſſils*, *Eglinton*; what Wonder is it that ſome Writers ſhould have obſerved, that this Parliament was a pack'd Meeting only, and conſiſted of Perſons pick'd out for the purpoſe, namely *Burrows* to over-vote the *Peers*, *&c.*

(b) See *p.* 1.

(c) In one of the Acts in this Edition we ſee the Lords of Articles to have been theſe following Perſons, *viz. Alexander* Biſchop of *Galloway*, *Adam* Biſchop of *Orknay*, *Robert* Commendatour of *Dunfermling*, *Mark* Commendatour of *Newbottil*, *Johne* Commendatour of *Balmerinoch*, and Schir *James Balfour* Priour of *Pettinweme*, for the Spiritual Eſtate. *George* Erle of *Huntlie*, *Archebald* Erle of *Argyle*, *Johne* Erle of *Atholl*, *Johne* Erle of *Mar*, *Alexander* Erle of *Glencarne*, and *Patrik* Lord *Lindeſay* of the *Byris*, for the Baronnis. Schir *Symon Preſtoun* of that Ilk Knicht Proveſt of *Edinburgh*, Maiſter *James Halyburton* Tutor of *Petcur* Proveſt of *Dundie*, *Williame* Lord *Ruthven* Proveſt of *Perth*, *Johne Ereskin* of *Dune* Proveſt of *Montrois*, *Thomas Menzies* of *Pitfoddels* Proveſt of *Abirdene*, and *Patrik Lermonth* of *Derſie* Knicht Proveſt of *Sanctandrois*, for the Commiſſaris of Burrowis.

(d) Numb. 25.

(e) *Calderwood*'s MS. and it ſeems the Proclamation emitted on the 13th *December*, ſet down in the preceeding Page, has been only intended againſt the Enemies of the Government, not their Friends.

1567-8. gainſt thoſe that might be ſuſpected not friendly enough to his new Government. And this might have been the Ground of the Abbot of *Aberbrothock*'s haſty Journey into *France* about this Time, concerning whom we ſee this *Concluſion*, ſo called in the Regiſter of Privy-Council.

Edinburgh, 7th *February* 1567-8.

The quhilk Day, the Lordis of Secreit-Counſall find gude that the Ordour of Law be ſet fordwart and uſit aganis Johne **Commendator of** Aberbrothock *(a)*, **in caice he be paſt furth of the Realme without Licence** *(b)*. R. M.

The Lead on the Cathedral Churches of *Aberdeen* and *Murray* taken off, and ſold for the maintaining of Soldiers.

Another Thing that poſſibly might create ſome Suſpicion and Diſpleaſure in the Minds of ſome Men, was an Act of Council on the 14th *February*, in which it is declared, that ſeeing *Proviſioun muſt be maid for the interteining of the Men of Weir quhais Service cannot be ſparit, quhill the rebellious and diſobedient Subjectis, Troublaris of the Comoun-weill in all Partis of this Realme, be reduceit*, &c. Therefore appointing the Lead to be taken from the Cathedral Churches in *Aberdeen* and *Elgin*, *ſauld and diſponit upoun for Suſtentatioun of the ſaids Men of Weir:* Prohibiting all the Lieges from giving any Moleſtation in the down-taking of the ſaid Lead. *Attour*, ſays the Act, *to command and charge the Erle of* Huntly *Scheriff-principall of* Abirdene, Williame Leſlie *of* Balquhane *Scheriff-deput thairof, and utheris Scheriff-deputis of the ſamyn,* Alexander Dunbar *of* Cumnock *Knicht Scheriff of* Elgin *and* Forres, *and his Deputis*; Williame *Biſchop of* Abirdene, Patrik *Biſchop of* Murray, Thomas Menzies *of* Pitfoddels *Proveſt of* Abirdene, Johne Annand *Proveſt of* Elgyne, *the Bailzies of the ſaids Burrowis, and als the Bailzies and Inhabitantis of the Towne of* Auld-Abirdene; *That thai fortifie, mentein, defend, aſſiſt and further the ſaids* Alexander Clerk *and* Williame Birnie, *thair Factouris, Pertinaris and Servandis in thair Names, in the doun-taking, Intromiſſioun, keiping, carying, convoying and diſponing of the ſaid Leid, and nawayis to ſuffer thame be hinderit, ſtopit or delayit, or to reſſave ony Harme, Greiffe or Injurie thairin in Bodie or Gudis; bot cauſe thame be furniſſit of Meit, Drink, Servandis, Workmen, and utheris Thingis neceſſar at thair reſſonabill Expens: Certifying the Perſonis quhatſumevir doand in the contrair, or that beis fund remis or negligent in the Premiſſes, thai ſalbe eſtemit, callit, perſewit and puneiſt na utherwayis nor gif thai committit the Offence thameſelffis in thair proper Perſonis; and farther, to anſwer upoun thair Dewtie and Alleadgance, according to the Lawis of this Realme, and Band, contenit in the generall Band (c).* R. M.

Now that this latter Part of the Act would in a ſpecial Manner be diſagreeable to the Earl of *Huntly* and the other Perſons therein concerned, we may reaſonably enough conclude; and that this and the like Proceedings in different Parts of the Kingdom have raiſed and augmented the former Diſſaffection. But to free us of Gueſs-work only in this Particular, I ſhall now reckon it Time to inſert here Sir *James Melvil*'s Reflexion which I had already mentioned: It is thus, "Then he [the Regent] took great Pains to ſteal ſecret "Roads upon the Thieves on the Borders, tending much to the quieting thereof.

(a) He was ſecond Son to the Duke of *Chaſtelherault*, but ſucceeded afterwards Heir of the Family, and was the firſt Marquis of *Hamilton*.

(b) "The Lord of *Arbroath* came lately out of *Scotland* this Way, and ſpake with the Queen's Majeſty, pretending to go into "*France* to ſolicite Aid for the Delivery of the Queen of *Scots*. He came out of *Scotland* without the Licence or Knowledge of "the Regent there [here follows ſomething in Cyphers] this way of late, but I truſt ſhortly to hear from [more Cyphers] of "ſuch Things as he carried with him," *Cecil* to *Norris* 26th *February* 1567-8. We may here diſcern the faſt Friendſhip of the *Engliſh* Secretary to the *Scottiſh* Regency.

(c) The Members of this *Sederunt* are, *Murray*, *Morton*, *Athole*, *Cathneſs*, Maſter of *Graham*, *Lindſay*, *Glammis*, *Boyd*, *Cathcart*, *Salton*, *Uchiltree*, *Epiſcopus Orchaden. Epiſcopus Galloway*, Commendator of *Coldingham*. And the Act of Council narrates, how that it proceeds upon the Authority of an Act of Parliament made thereupon: Which Act of Parliament would, no doubt, be equally diſagreeable as the Act of Council. However I ſee no where ſuch an Act of Parliament.

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A ſharp Reflexion againſt the Regent by Sir *James Melvil.*

“ of. He likewiſe held Juſtice-Airs in the In-Country, but was not ſo diligent as he might have been in ſettling the Differences among the Nobility, and to draw them, by a ſweet and diſcreet equitable Behaviour, to the Obedience of the King's Authority; which might have been eaſily done, if they had gotten Security for their Perſons and Eſtates. But ſuch as were about him having their own ambitious and covetous Ends, counſelled him otherwiſe, thinking by the Wreck of others to make up themſelves. They were ſo blinded by their Affections and greedy Appetites, that they thought all would ſucceed proſperouſly according to their Deſires, without any Reſiſtance. Thus ruſhing forward, the Regent's rough Proceedings gave occaſion to many to draw to the contrary Faction *(a)*; and they to ſtrengthen themſelves, under the Name of *Authority*, deviſed how to draw the Queen's Majeſty out of *Lochlevin*, to be their Head before the Time was ripe: Whereof the Regent was oft and frequently warned, even by divers who were upon the Council of her Out-taking, who deſired that way to win Thanks at his Hands. But he would credit nothing but ſuch Things as came out of the Mouth of thoſe who had crept into his Favour by Flattery.” And to confirm this Reflexion and Teſtimony, another good Friend to the Regent, even *Buchanan* himſelf, acknowledges that the Regent's Deſign of going round the Country to hold Courts of Juſtice was variouſly interpreted according to Mens ſeveral Humors and Situations; and that thoſe that were oppoſite to him complained of the Cruelty which he uſed in theſe Courts, and his other Management: And this Author is even forced to mention the Words *Rigour* and *Severity* in his Patron. By both which contemporary *(b)* Teſtimonies of Men that were Natives of the Country, and faſt Friends likewiſe to the Regent, we have ſurely conveyed to us a juſter Character of the Regent and his Proceedings at this Time, than what the *Engliſh* Secretary gives of the *one* and the *other* in his Letters to the Ambaſſador of that Crown reſiding in *France*. “ In *Scotland, ſays he*, all is quiet——and the Earl of *Murray* ruleth quietly as Regent.” And again, “ In *Scotland*, Things are quietly governed by the Regent, who doth acquit himſelf very honourably, to the Advancement of Religion and Virtue, without Reſpect of Perſons” *(c)*.

For farther Information of Affairs at this Juncture, I have nothing better to impart to my Readers than this following

Letter from Sir William Drury *(d)*, *To Sir* William Cecil, 3*d* April 1568 *(e)*.

The Earl of *Murray* pays a ſecond Viſit to the Queen in *Lochlevin*.

‘ IT may pleaſe your Honour: Since the Diſpatch of *Nicholas Arrington* I have underſtood of ſome more Certainty of ſuch Matter as paſſed between the Queen and the Earl of *Murray*, at his being with her now laſtly at *Lochlevin*, where at the firſt ſhe burdened him of the Rigour that was uſed unto her at this laſt Parliament. And he anſwered, That he and the reſt of the Nobility could do no leſs for their own Surety, in reſpect they had enterprized to put her into Captivity *(f)*. From that ſhe entred into another Purpoſe, being Marriage, praying ſhe might have a Huſband, and named one to her liking, *George Douglas* Brother to the Lord of *Lochlevin (g)*: Unto the which the Earl replied, That he was over mean a Marriage for her

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(*a*) The Laird of *Tullibardin* was one of thoſe who now deſerted the Regent, tho' formerly a great Stickler againſt the Queen. As for the Earls of *Huntly* and *Argile*, their Compliance with the Regent was all along but conſtrained.

(*b*) Indeed Abp. *Spottiſwood* repreſents the Regent acting a quite different Part at this Time; but as that Prelate was not then born, and beſides had never the Opportunity of ſeeing Sir *James Melvil*'s Memoirs (ſo far as we know) what he relates on that or any other Head, can merit no further Faith than the Author does from whom he takes his Information. And in general, we may ſafely reſt aſſured, that the preceeding Letters of Sir *Nicholas Throckmorton* do convey to us by far the beſt View of this Kingdom, after the home-coming of the Earl of *Murray*.

(*c*) *Cabala*, 3d *November* 1567; and 12th *February* 1567-8.

(*d*) He was Marſhal of the Gariſon of *Berwick*.

(*e*) Calig. C. 1. an Original.

(*f*) This was ſurely a very honeſt Confeſſion, ſuitable to the Character given the Earl of *Murray* by ſome People; *viz. That he was a plain blunt Man*; tho' I ſee not much Ground to think that he always kept up to it.

(*g*) And uterine Brother to the Regent.

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‘Grace; and ſaid further, that he, with the reſt of the Nobility, would take Advice thereupon. This in Subſtance was all that paſſed between the Queen and Earl of *Murray* at that Time: But after upon the 25th of the laſt ſhe enterprized an Eſcape, and was the rather nearer Effect, through her accuſtomed long lying in Bed all the Morning. The Manner of it was thus; There cometh in to her the Landreſs early as other times before ſhe was wonted, and the Queen (according to ſuch a ſecret Practice) putteth on her the Weed of the Landreſs, and ſo with the Fardel of Cloaths and her Muffler upon her Face, paſſeth out, and entreth the Boat to paſs the Loch; which after ſome Space, one of them that row'd ſaid merrily, *Let us ſee what manner of Dame this is*; and therewith offered to pull down her Muffler, which to defend ſhe put up her Hands, which they ſpied to be very fair and white; wherewith they entred into Suſpicion whom ſhe was, beginning to wonder at her Enterprize: Whereat ſhe was little diſmayed, but charged them, upon Danger of their Lives, to row her over to the Shore; which they nothing regarded, but eſtſoons row'd her back again, promiſing her that it ſhould be ſecreted, and eſpecially from the Lord of the Houſe, under whoſe Guard ſhe lyeth. It ſeemeth ſhe knew her Refuge, and where to have found it, if ſhe had once landed; for there did, and yet do linger at a little Village called *Kinroſs*, hard at the Loch-ſide, the ſame *George Douglas*, one *Sempil*, and one *Beton*; the which two were ſometime her truſty Servants, and, as yet appeareth, they mind her no leſs Affection.

The Queen is diſcovered while attempting an Eſcape.

‘The Lord *Fleming*, notwithſtanding he ſtill victualleth and maketh Proviſion (*a*), he hath offered three Perſonages of as great Livehood as himſelf, to enter Caution and Surety unto the Earl of *Murray*, that he ſhall only hold the Place at the Devotion and Service of the young King, and to no other. Which of the wiſer Sort is judged but Delay, and therefore not accepted.

‘*William Leſlie* is ſtill in the Caſtle of *Edinburgh*, and hath been divers Times examined by the Secretary, the Preſident, Mr. *James Macgill* and Mr. *Henry Balnaves*; but nothing of Effect can be tried from him. The Writings that he had, as they ſay, were of no great Conſequence, directed for the moſt part from the Biſhops of *Glaſgow*, *Dumblain* and *Kilwinning*, to their Friends, containing no notable Purpoſe: Nevertheleſs he ſhall not yet be ſet at Liberty till he be better tried.

‘The Earl of *Murray* hath upon underſtanding of the two Appointments paſt to be fruſtrated, ſent Mr. *Nicholas Elphinſton* into *Teviotdale*, to *Ceſford* and others, to ſpur them to Juſtice; and as ſeemeth, he taketh their Remiſſneſs in ſuch good Work, in very diſpleaſant ſort, and thinks himſelf ill handled in particular (*b*).

‘There hath ſuffered ſince the Earl of *Murray*'s Seſſions at *Glaſgow* (*c*), ſix *Lenox* Men; and the other Day, one of the *Hamiltons* and *Stewarts*, of purpoſe awaiting one of the *Sempils*, met with him upon the Way, and there killed him.

‘The Earl of *Caſſils* makes means to come to the Regent, ſo he might be earneſtly ſought unto; which the Earl of *Murray* will not grant unto.

‘And thus I commit your Honour to the Tuition of God. From *Berwick* this 3d of *April* 1568.

Your Honour's humbly at Commandment,

WILLIAM DRURY.

Our

(*a*) His Lordſhip had the ſtrong Caſtle of *Dunbarton* in keeping.

(*b*) By this Part of the Letter, and the foregoing Obſervation made by Sir *James Melvil* and Mr. *George Buchanan*, we may eaſily collect that the Remiſſneſs here complained of, has reſpected ſome rigorous Proceedings appointed by the Regent, and which the Gentlemen here mentioned have been averſe from executing.

(*c*) Mr. *Buchanan* therefore is in the wrong to ſay, that at the firſt Court in *Glaſgow* the Queen eſcaped in the Month of *May*. The Archbiſhop takes the Story from him too.

1568.

Our Hiſtorians take notice, that about the End of *April*, on the 22d *(a)* Day thereof, arrived in this Kingdom *Monſ. Beaumont* Ambaſſador from the King of *France :* Agreeable to which Date we ſee that *Cecil* acquaints *Norris* thus, 14th *April* 1568, " The Gentleman that lately came hither, named " *Monſ. de Beaumont*, one of the late Diſorder *(b)* of *France*, paſſeth into " *Scotland*; which is not much to be liked" *(c)*. *Buchanan* informs us, that this *French* Gentleman demanded, in the Name of the King his Maſter, to be allowed to viſit our Queen; and that he threatned to be gone forthwith, if this Thing was not granted him. To which the Regent ſhould have replied, That this lay not in his Power, but in theirs who had firſt ſequeſter'd the Queen, and afterwards approv'd the ſame in Parliament; but that he promiſed to introduce him into an Aſſembly of the Nobility on the 20th Day of *May*. And with this Anſwer, this Author adds, the Ambaſſador ſeemed to be ſomewhat pacified. But *Crawford*'s MS. tells ſomething more of this Matter, namely, that this Miniſter had a Meſſage to the Regent, " deſiring him to ſatisfy *that* his " Promiſe made to the King of *France* at his Departure, which was to re- " lieve the Queen from Priſon, and to ſet her at Liberty; and he being con- " ſtitute Governour of the Realm, and accepting the ſame upon him, might " ſufficiently perform the ſamen by himſelf, without any Tumult or Danger " that might enſue. But he [the Regent] carefully excuſed the Matter, ſay- " ing, that he could then neither give ſufficient Anſwer thereunto, neither " could he perform the ſame without Conſent of the Three Eſtates of the Re- " alm to be convened in Parliament; and becauſe there had been a Parliament " ſo lately concluded before his Arrival to *Scotland*, he could not goodly make " a new Aſſembly ſo ſuddenly without their Grudge: And thus ſhiftingly poſt- " poned the Ambaſſador, to his great Grief." Thus we find here a heavy Charge laid to the Regent's Door, which however muſt reſt upon the Faith of the Narrator. The two forenamed Authors do both ſeem to agree, that the *French* Ambaſſador was not allowed to ſee the Queen; and yet Sir *James Melvil* ſays in expreſs Words, that " he himſelf had procured to this Ambaſ- " ſador a Sight of the Queen while captive." I ſhall not pretend to reconcile theſe different Accounts; but proceed to narrate the great Events which fell out in a few Days after.

An Ambaſſador comes from *France* to the Queen;

but is denied Acceſs.

We have been told already, that the Earl of *Murray* had been advertiſed of an Intention to fetch the Queen out of Priſon, and of an Attempt which had likewiſe been made for that End; which notwithſtanding did at that Time prove unſucceſsful. We find alſo, that upon Account of the late Attempt, *George Douglas* Brother to the Regent, a young Lad not yet Eighteen Years of Age, had been put out of the Caſtle of *Lochlevin*, thereby to extinguiſh all Hopes of a future Eſcape: Yet this young Gentleman having been heartily engaged to procure the Queen's Releaſe, either from the Motive of *Compaſſion* or *Intereſt*, or perhaps both, had ſo far prevailed with the Queen's Keepers and other Servants about the Houſe, that while his Mother, Brother, &c. were ſitting at Supper, about Seven of the Clock in the Evening of the Second Day of *May*, being *Sunday*, her Majeſty, together with one waiting Maid, got ſafely out of her Place of Confinement, into a ſmall Boat, which was rowed to the Shore by the ſaid *George Douglas (d)*.

Her Majeſty eſcapes out of Priſon,

" The *(e)* reſt of the Queen's Liberty was performed by a Gentleman cal- " led

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(a) *Crawford*'s MS.

(b) This is ſaid ironically; for Sir *James Melvil* calls him *Knight of the Order of the Cockle*. An Order of Knighthood of the beſt Eſteem in *France*.

(c) *Cabala*.

(d) Here *Blackwood* tells ſomewhat that differs from our other Hiſtorians, *viz.* " That *George Douglas*, uterine Brother to the " Regent, commiſerating the Queen's Misfortunes, prevailed with ſome of her Keepers to favour her Eſcape, and among the reſt, " one *William Douglas*, a young Lad about Sixteen or Seventeen Years of Age, who ſtole out the Keys of the Caſtle, that were " lying on the Table while the Laird of *Lochlevin* was at Supper; that with theſe he locked the Gates behind him, and thereafter " conveyed the Queen by Boat to the Shore." *Calderwood*'s MS. calls this *William Douglas* the Laird's baſtard Brother.

(e) *Crawford*'s MS.

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and is conveyed to *Hamilton.*

“ led *John Bethune* (a), who paſſed oftentimes betwixt *Lochlevin, Hamilton* and *Seton* with Intelligence; and ſo when as all Things were perfectly and privily agreed upon within the Houſe, there was a certain Day prefixed to Lord *George Seton, James Hamilton* of *Rochbank*, either of them having ſeveral Companies to attend upon her out-coming; and if ſhe ſhould happen to be within the Boat, ſhe ſhould give a Sign unto them for their Aſſurance; which was preſently performed when ſhe was coming to the Land. They horſed her with Gladneſs——and the Queen was firſt conveyed to *Niddry* [in *Weſt-Lothian*,] my Lord *Seton*'s Houſe, that Night, and within three Hours thereafter was tranſported to *Hamilton*.” Whither repaired, upon the joyful News of her Eſcape, the Earls of *Argile, Caſſils, Rothes* and *Eglinton*; the Lords *Somervel, Teſter, Livingſton, Borthwick, Herries, Maxwell, Sanquhair, Roſs, Fleming*; and many other Barons and Gentlemen, who together with their Friends and Attendants, and other Incomers, made up an Army very quickly of about 6000 Men. Certain it is that the *French* Ambaſſador having gone to wait on the Queen at *Hamilton*, did confeſs that he had never ſeen ſo many Men ſo ſuddenly convened (b). The News of her Majeſty's Eſcape was on the firſt Report not credited in *Glaſgow*, where the Regent then was holding a Juſtice-Court; but in a few Hours there was no Room left for Heſitation. And then a ſtrange Alteration might have been diſcerned in the Minds and Faces of a great many; ſome ſlipt privately away; others ſent quietly to beg the Queen's Pardon; and not a few went publickly over to her Majeſty, inſomuch that the Regent was adviſed by his Friends to leave the City of *Glaſgow*, which is within eight Miles of *Hamilton*, and retire to the Town of *Stirling*, where he would be in greater Security, until he might gather ſome Forces about him. But this Advice his Lordſhip prudently rejected, upon the Account that his Retreat would be interpreted a Flight, and would thereby diſcourage his Friends, and ſtrengthen his Enemies. The particular Reaſons both *for* and *againſt* the Regent's withdrawing to *Stirling*, as they were propoſed in his Council, may be ſeen ſet down by Mr. *Buchanan*.

Proclamations iſſued out to levy Men on both Sides.

The firſt Step taken by the Queen, was to ſend a Meſſage to the Earl of *Murray*, deſiring him to deſiſt from his Regency, and to repone her Majeſty in her juſt Government; which Thing that Earl ſimply refuſed to comply with. Whereupon the Queen finding herſelf now at Liberty, and ſo many Lords and Gentlemen about her, declared in Preſence of them all, that the *Writs* which ſhe had ſubſcribed in the Priſon at *Lochlevin*, bearing her Reſignation of the Crown, &c. were all extorted from her by Fear; and this Declaration ſhe ſupported by the Teſtimony of *Robert Melvil*, now preſent at *Hamilton*, and who had been with her in *Lochlevin* about the Time theſe Writs were ſubſcribed, and of certain others: And therefore a Sentence was pronounced by the great Men now with the Queen, importing, That the Reſignation, &c. extorted from her Majeſty under her Fears in Priſon, was *ipſo facto* null and void; of which the Queen's Oath was a ſufficient Confirmation (c). The Iſſue of the Earl of *Murray*'s Denial to repone the Queen, and of her Majeſty's Declaration, and Sentence of the Lords thereupon, was a haſty Preparation for War; for levying whereof, Proclamations were emitted by both Sides (d): And the Queen ſent *John Bethune* into *England* and *France*, to give Notice of her Eſcape out of Priſon, and to ſolicite Succour from theſe Princes in her

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(a) He had the Title of *Pitlochie*, and was a near Relation of the Family of *Balfour*; I have ſeen his Picture in that Houſe, and he wears the Enſigns of the Knights of the *Thiſtle*.

(b) *Melvil*'s Memoirs.

(c) Sir *James Melvil* acknowledges the *French* Ambaſſador “ dealt between the Parties for Peace, but was not heard.” And I ſuppoſe this Gentleman's Authority, who was now preſent with the Regent, is preferable to Mr. *Buchanan*'s, who had his Accounts moſt probably by Hear-ſay only.

(d) *Crawford*'s MS. mentions the Queen's Proclamations to have been publiſhed at *Hamilton, Lanerk*, and ſome other capital Burrows; but I can no where ſee a Copy of theſe Proclamations. But of the Regent's Proclamations we have not only a Copy preſerved by Sir *William Drury*, but a more authentick one in the Regiſters of Privy-Council, which the Readers will find in the Appendix, Numb. 26.

her Behalf *(a)*. But before we advance to the Narration of what followed very quickly, even before this Gentleman might be got into *France*, 'tis proper to caſt our Eyes on the following Letters, *viz.*

Letter from Sir William Drury, *To Sir* William Cecil, *6th* May 1568 *(b)*.

‘IT may pleaſe your Honour: Since the Diſpatch of my laſt I cannot hear of any more, than that the Queen continueth ſtill at *Draſſen* amongs the *Hamiltons*, and all the Dependers thereupon. She came thither accompanied with threeſcore Horſe, or ſomewhat more, and now increaſeth. The Earl of *Murray* upon *Tueſday* at five Hours after Noon, publiſhed a Proclamation for the gathering of Men, a Copy whereof I ſend herewith. He is yet at *Glaſgow*, and not idle on any Side to provide for the King's Surety and his own. The Queen hath diſpatched one of the *Betons* into *France*, or elſe to our Court.

An unſucceſsful Attempt for the Queen upon *Dunbar*.

‘Upon *Monday*, *Dunbar* had like to have been ſurpriſed; for at one inſtant there arrived into the Town the Parſon of *Auld-Hamſtock* with a XX, ‘and

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(*a*) Sir *William Cecil* to Sir *Henry Norris*, 16th *May* 1568, “Sir, By the Queen's Majeſty's Letter you may perceive what is her Pleaſure at this Time. *Beaton* is paſſing thither [into *France*] ſo as I think he'll be at the Court before the coming of this Bearer. In your ſpeaking with the King, you may not by your Speech ſeem to utter that you know of *Beaton*'s coming for Aid there, upon Advertiſement given from hence; for he being adviſed not to ſeek Aid there, and promiſed Aid here for his Miſtreſs, hath in Words allowed thereof, and ſheweth that he will forbear to require Aid from thence, and will only but notify the Queen's Liberty. But yet, ſurely I am not bound to believe him; but he hath required us here to ſay nothing of that which he at his firſt coming told us, That the Queen his Miſtreſs ſent him to *France* to require Aid of one thouſand Harquebuſiers and a Sum of Money, with ſome Ordnance. Wherefore, except you ſhall learn there that he demandeth Aid, you ſhall not ſpeak thereof; but if he do, then ſhall ye do well to make Mention thereof to the King,” *Cabala*.

Upon Mr. *Bethune*'s Arrival at the Court of *England*, that Queen cauſed immediately Inſtructions to be drawn up in order to be ſent into *Scotland*, as an Anſwer to our Queen's Meſſage by *Bethune*; but the Miſfortune of our Queen, which followed ſo quickly, hindred Mr. *Leighton* from coming hither with the Inſtructions: However I have thought it not amiſs to lay theſe Inſtructions hete before the Readers, for their more ample Satisfaction. *viz. Inſtructions given to Mr.* Thomas Leighton, *ſent into* Scotland *by the Queen of* England *in* May 1568: ‘You ſhall make your Repaire with our Lettres to the Queene of *Scotts* our good Siſter, and ſhall deliver to her our Lettre; and, with our moſt heartie Commendations, uſe ſuch Speech as ſhall be meeteſt to expreſs our Rejoiceing for her Delivery out of the Captivitie wherein ſhe was. *Item*, You ſhall declare to her, That upon the certayne Knowledge which we had of her Delivery, by her owne Lettres, ſent by her Servant Mr. *Betton*, and by his Report, we did at length conferr with him upon her Eſtate; and, upon his Meſſages to us communicated, we did determine thus to proceed. *Firſt*, with all Speed to ſend to underſtand of her State, and according to the ſame to will you, if ſhe ſhould ſo like thereof, to charge her Subjects to ſubmitt themſelfs to her as naturall Subjects ought to doe; and if they would not conforme themſelfs thereto, to let them plainly underſtand, that for our Part ſhe ſhould not want for her Relief the Aſſiſtance of that Power which God had given to us: And ſo you may aſſure, we meane to give her Aid; and have ſent you ſpecially to underſtand, whether ſhe will content herſelf to ſtand to our Ordor in the Compoſition of the Controverſies betwixt her and her Subjects, without ſending, ſolliciting, or receiveing of any foraigne Power from *France* for this Purpoſe; which if ſhe will do, ſhe ſhall be then aſſured, that we will have the principall Regard to her State, ſo as her Subjects may be reduced to acknowledge their Duties without ſhedding of Blood, or Trouble of her Realme. And if they will not yield to Reaſon by Treaty or Perſwaſion, we will give to her ſuch Aid as ſhall be requiſite to compell them. And if the Queene, our good Siſter, ſhall like of this Manner in our Proceeding, you ſhall offer to her in our Name, alſo to reſort to her contrarie Partie, and to underſtand of them, whether they can be content to be adviſed and ruled by us in all Matters ſtirred up betwixt the Queene and them; which if they will, upon Knowledge thereof be you, we will ſpeedily ſend ſome honourable Perſonages of Wiſdome and Credite in that Realme to attend upon her where ſhe will aſſigne them, and to treat betwixt her and her Subjects, and procure ſuch an Accord as ſhall ſtand with her Honour, and be profitable for her Country. And as ſhe ſhall like hereof, ſo we will that you ſhall repair to the other Partie; and haveing delivered to the Erle of *Murray* our Lettres of Credence, you ſhall ſhew him the Cauſe of our ſending of you thither, and move him with others combyned with him, to be content to compromitt their whole Controverſies to us, with ſuch Reaſons as are meete to aſſure him of our principall Intention to conſerve that Realme from further Danger by this Civill War; in whom if you find Conformity, you ſhall let both the Queene and them underſtand that we will not faile, but ſend ſuch an Ambaſſade as we truſt ſhall ſatisfie all Partes: And in the mean time we think it good, that all Force do ceaſe on both Partes, and no new Collection of Power. And ſo for that Purpoſe, you ſhall make Heaſt to returne. You ſhall alſo ſaie to the Queene of *Scotts*, That the Cauſes why we ſpeciallie require that we may deale in this great Matter betwixt her and her Subjects, are many. The *Firſt*, Becauſe we are, of all other Princes, the next to her both in Blood and Neighbourhood. The *Second* is, Becauſe we are moſt intereſted to do it, for the Opinion we have of her Subjects, that either they will be adviſed by us, or that we have moſt Commoditie to compell them by reaſon of our Nearneſs to them by Land, without Lett of Sea. The *Laſt* is, We ſee evidently, that if the Queene being offred ours, and will ſollicite the Aide of *France*, to bring in Men of Warre into *Scotland*, and that they ſhall come thither, we muſt needs conclude, that under Pretence of aiding of her, the principall Intention ſhall be, to renew old Quarrels and Troubles betwixt us and *France*, and alſo betwixt us and *Scotland*. Upon which weighty Conſiderations we have made this Choice, upon our own Charges to procure to that Queene the Reſtitution of her Eſtate, and the Obedience of her Subjects. Which Offer if ſhe ſhall refuſe, you may ſay we ſhall be very ſorry, for that we ſhall be moved to alter our Mind contrary to our naturall Deſire. And ſo, as you ſhall find Cauſe, we would have you to returne with Speede,' Calig. C. 1. a Copy. If the Readers think by the latter Part of theſe Inſtructions eſpecially, that there appears to be ſome Alteration in the Queen of *England*; they may obſerve that theſe Inſtructions are ſaid to be drawn by Secretary *Cecil*, in the Place here referred to: And they will there likewiſe find another Paper, intituled, *Conſiderations upon the Troubles in* Scotland, *when Mr.* Thomas Leighton *was ſent thither from the Queen of* England, *in* May 1568, &c. *in Secretary* Cecil*'s own Hand*; in which Paper this Gentleman forms a Diſcuſſion concerning the aiding of the Queen of *Scots*, either by *Engliſh* or *French* Power: And ſeems inclined to keep our Queen at under by all Means whatſoever. See alſo *Anderſon*'s Collections, *Vol.* 4.

(*b*) Calig. C. 1. an Original.

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‘and as many ſent from the Lord *Hume:* But the Town more affected to the Lord *Hume*, increaſed his Strength ſo much, that the Parſon deſiſted from his Enterprize, and ſo returned.

‘Of this Reverſion of the State, the *March-men* contrary to the Lord *Hume*, are marvellouſly glad; and in like manner the Thieves of *Teviotdale* our troubleſome Neighbours, and begin to take Courage hereupon to enter into their Triſtes, to enterpriſe Outrages againſt the Inhabitants of this *March*; whereunto what vigilant Regard it behoveth me to have, your Honour may ſuppoſe; which to my uttermoſt ſhall be cared for: Howbeit ſomething perchance hindred through lack of Money, whereof here is no Store for any ſuch extraordinary Chances; wherefore if further Occaſion ſhall appear where Money muſt be uſed, the better to amayne the Queen's Service here in ſuch doubtful Storms, I ſhall ſend up my Servant to ſolicite the ſame, except your Wiſdom ſhall think it impertinent. Thus knowing nothing elſe, I commit your Honour to God. From *Berwick* this 6th of *May* 1568.

Your Honour's humble at Commandment,

WILLIAM DRURY.

‘This Proclamation was alſo proclaimed at *Haddington* and *Laughton* yeſterday.’ [Tho' the Proclamation here intended be likewiſe preſerved, yet I chuſe (as I ſaid before) to omit inſerting it here, and to remit the Readers to the more authentick Copy in the Appendix, *Numb.* 26.]

Another Letter from Sir William Drury, *To Sir* William Cecil, *7th* May (*a*).

‘IT may pleaſe your Honour: Seeing that hourly (through theſe Troubles thus reverted in *Scotland*) Matter is brought me worthy the imparting, I intend, God willing, to ſpare no Diligence to advertiſe the ſame accordingly. And now approacheth, in mine Opinion, a more dangerous Affliction of their State than long before hath been ſeen. For beſides the great Preparations of forcible Proviſion for Miſchief that is uſed on both Sides, each Party voweth with great Paſſion to defend the Quarrel to the laſt Power of Reſiſtance.

A Meſſage from the Queen to the Earl of *Murray*.

‘The Queen, the Day after ſhe came to *Hamilton*, where now ſhe reſteth, ſent a Gentleman to the Earl of *Murray* and other the Lords, to declare that ſhe was delivered by God's Providence out of Captivity; and albeit ſhe had conſented to a certain kind of approving their Authority, ſhe was thereunto, for Defence of her Life, compelled; which now ſeeing God had thus mercifully relieved her, ſhe deſired them that they would reſtore her with Quietneſs to her former Dignity and Eſtate, and ſhe would in like manner wholly remit and pardon all manner of Actions committed againſt her Honour or Perſon. Whereunto the Earl hearkned, and ſent one *Patrick Hume* to her Grace, to know if the ſame Meſſenger and Meſſage was ſent by her Order and Commandment. But what thereof followed, I yet know not.

‘One *Johnſton* a Purſevant being ſent by the Queen to proclaim her Royal Eſtate again, was apprehended and impriſoned, with Irons, at *Glaſgow*.

‘There is already four or five Field-Pieces of Ordinance coming to *Glaſgow* from *Stirling*, whereby it appeareth, tho' at the firſt the Earl was minded to retire to *Stirling*, he is now determined to ſtay in *Glaſgow*.

Preparation for War.

‘The Earl of *Mar* hath ſent unto him ſome Supply of Men (*b*), and prepareth more; and it is doubtful whether the young Prince ſhall be in the Field, but if he be not, his Banner ſhall be, under the which they reſolve themſelves either to die, or to keep the Hold they have of Government.

‘There

(*a*) Calig. C. 1. an Original.

(*b*) *viz.* From the Caſtle of *Stirling*, of which he was Keeper.

'There were intercepted certain Letters of the *French* Ambaſſador; he was licenſed upon the 5th hereof to go and ſpeak with the Queen. The Lord *Hume* in theſe Storms hath taken one Courſe which in no Diviſion before he ever uſed, which is, to yield to have Conference with divers who have long been his Enemies. But whoſo marketh the Neceſſity of the Time, and the ſudden Chance of theſe Stirs, may in the greater part apply it to his Commendation; for he proteſteth never to crave Pardon as a notorious and contemptuous Offender, but conſtantly to aſſiſt in holding that which godly Order (as he ſaith) firſt entred into. And ſurely I take it, that in caſe the Earl of *Murray* ſhall ſo allow, the greater part of his Intention will be to expel all the Earl's Contraries out of their own Houſes within the *Merſe*, and therein to lodge his Friends. Whereby what Loſs of their Goods and Spoil of their Houſes will follow, may as a Bridle reſtrain their Bodies to execute their Affections.

'There hath been ſome little Bickering by ſome of *Glaſgow* againſt others Favourers of *Hamilton*; but I hear of little Harm thereby as yet, only that a Gentleman named *Caldwell* was apprehended going to the Queen.

'There are already appointed 500 Men to go out of *Edinburgh* to *Glaſgow*; and thoſe of *Glaſgow* are ſtir'd with great Heat and Choler to encounter with the *Hamiltons*, the rather to acquit themſelves for ſo ſundry Injuries as have been by the *Hamiltons* inflicted upon them: And hereto they do much deſire the Earl of *Lenox*'s Preſence amongſt them.

'One Thing may breed ſome Inconvenience, the lack of Money, for the which the Soldiers uſe Importunation; with Declaration, that if they be not paid, they ſtand doubtful what to do.

'I hear that *George Douglas*, notwithſtanding his great Merit for her Liberty, is now but little accounted of.

'Our truſty Neighbours of *Teviotdale* are holden occupied only to attend the Pleaſures and Calling of their Heads, to make ſome Party in this Diviſion.

'Your Honour's Letter of the laſt of *April* I received but this preſent Morning, wherein appeareth how ſlow Speed the Poſt makes. From *Berwick* this 7th of *May* 1568.

Your Honour's humble Aſſured at Command,

WILLIAM DRURY.

It ſeems, I think, to be acknowledged on all hands, that the prevailing Intention of the Queen's Friends now about her, was to have conducted and placed her Majeſty in the ſtrong Fortreſs of *Dunbarton*, until their other Friends in the remoter Parts of the Kingdom had Time and Opportunity to come in to them, and by that means they ſhould all together be in a Capacity to have eſtabliſhed Her on the Throne again, in a formal Parliamentary Manner, or elſe by the Power of Military Force: And for this Purpoſe they began very quickly after the Queen's coming to *Hamilton*, to form an Aſſociation for mutual Defence in favour of her Majeſty's Preſervation and Rights; a Copy whereof I ſuppoſe my Readers will not be diſpleaſed to ſee inſerted here.

The Bond of Nine Earls, Nine Biſhops, Eighteen Lords, and others, for Defence of the Queen's Majeſty, 8th *May* 1568 (*a*).

Bond of mutual Defence in favours of the Queen.

TIll all and ſindrie quhome it effeiris, to quhais Knawlege thir preſent Letteris ſall cum; We the Prelatis, Erlis, Lordis, Baronis, Gentilmen and Burrowis eftir ſpecifiet, having conſiderit that it hes pleiſit God Almichtie of His infinite Power to put to Libertie our Soverane Lady the Quenis Majeſtie furth of the Handis of hir Hieneſſes diſobedient and unnaturall Subjectis, quha have preſumit and preiſit thameſelffis to hald hir maiſt

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(*a*) Calig. C. 1. a Copy.

1568. *nobill Perſoun this lang tyme paſt, for thair awn Preheminence and Particularities, menaſſant and boiſtand frae tyme to tyme to tak hir Majeſties Lyff maiſt unjuſtlie from hir, expreſs againſt all luifable Lawis of God and Man: For quhilk His greit Benefite grantit to us hir trew Subjectis, and Delyverance foirſaid, we render to Him all Thankis and hartie Praiſe. And ſeeing alſwa that it is the bounden Dutie of all trew Subjectis with thair Bodies, Landis and Gudis to ſerve and obey thair native Soverane, in the quhilk Cais undoubtedlie Almichtie God hes gevin hir Hienes abuſe us to reign, quhilk we maiſt earneſtlie pray his Godhead may lang continew to his Glorie, and alſwa our warldlie Comfort; We thairfoir, and everie ane of us, promiſe and oblige us, in the Name of the Eternall GOD, faythfullie and trewlie upon our Lawtie and Honours in the Warld, That we ſall ſerve and obey trewlie our ſaid Soverane Lady, our naturall Princeſs, as hir Hieneſſes faythfull Liegis and Subjectis, againſt all hir Enemies, and utheris hir Graces diſobedient and unnaturall Subjectis, with our Bodies, Landis and Gudis, Friendis, Servandis, Aſſiſtants and Partakeris, to the ſetting forward of hir Hieneſſes Authoritie, Honour, Commou-weill of our native Realme, and Liegis thairof, unto the uttermaiſt of our Power to our Lyffis end; and alſwa, becauſe we ſee the greit Diſobedience preſentlie pretended againſt hir Grace and her trew and obedient Subjectis: We thairfoir in manner foirſaid, binds and obliges us, and everie ane of us, trewlie and faythfullie to tak ane trew and anefald plain Part with utheris in Defence of ourſelffis, Bodies, Gudis, Landis, Rowms, Poſſeſſions, Men, Tennentis, Servandis, Friendis and Aſſiſtaris, and in Perſuit of thame that beis founden diſobedient to our ſaid Soverane Lady and hir Authoritie: And to that Effect that na Diſtance nor Grudge ſall remaine amangis us, our Friendis and Servandis, for ony Action or Cauſe criminal or civil bipaſt; We alſwa be thir Preſevtis refer all ſic Actionis and Cauſis that preſentlie is or ſhall happin heireftir to be amangis us, to the Orders and Commandment of our ſaid Soverane Lady, or the Lordis of hir Hieneſſes Counſall, or ony Three or Four of thame that hir Hienes pleiſis to command, to accept the Deciſion thairof upon thame; and however thai decern thairintill, we oblige us faythfullie to ſtand and abyde thairat, and ſall on nawayis perſew ony Actionis againſt utheris without hir Hieneſſes Licence, unto the Tyme that hir Majeſtie hald Parlement, and be fullie eſtabliſſit in her Queenlie Honour and Obedience; obligeing ilk ane of us to utheris, * bot Fraud or Guile upon our Lawties, Honours and Fidelities, and nevir to have Faith nor Credit, bot to be reputit and haldin as opin and manifeſt Traitoris, gif we come in contrare the Tenour of the Premiſſes in ony ſort. In Witneſs of the quhilk, we and everie ane of us hes ſubſcryvit thir Preſentis with our Hand at* Hamilton *the Aucht Day of* Maij, *the Zeir of God, Ane thouſand fyve hundred threſcoir and aucht Zeiris.*

* *without.*

Archibald *E. of* Argile, George *E. of* Huntly, Hugh *E. of* Eglinton, David *E. of* Crawford, *E. of* Caſſils, *E. of* Rothes, *E. of* Montroſe, *E. of* Sutherland, *E. of* Errol *Conſtable.* John *Abp. of St.* Andrews, John *Bp. of* Dunkeld, John *Bp. of* Roſs, Alexander *Bp. of* Galloway, Alexander *Bp. of* Aberdeen, Robert *Bp. of* Brechin, John *Bp. of the* Iſles, James *Bp. of* Argile, John *Bp. of* Murray. *Lords,* Fleming, Livingſton, Seton, Robert *L.* Boyd, Somervell, Herries, Roſs, Maxwell, Ogilvy, Oliphant, William *L.* Borthwick, Sanchar, William *L.* Hay *of* Zeſter, Drummond, Elphinſton, *L.* Claud Hamilton, Sinclair, Cairlieure. *Abbots, St.* Colm's Inch, Lindoris, Glenluſs, Halyrood, New-Abbay, Dundrennan, Saulſide, Corſe-Regal, Inchafray, Kelſo; *Prior* Pluſcarti, *Prior* Lahteim. *Barons, Laird of* Lochinvar, Baſs, Waughton, Roſlin, Corſtorphin, Johnſton, Weems, Balwery, Torry, Dalhouſie, Farniherſt, *Sheriff of* Teviotdale, Lamington, Calderwood, Cloſburn, Lanton, Traquair, Ker, Gardey, Clackmannan, Sauchy, Tulliallan, Findlator, Barnbougal, Greenhead, Bamff, Haddo, Rowallan, Drumallier, Coilsburn, Whitford *of that Ilk,* Robert Boyd *of* Badennis, Jerviſwood,

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wood, James Johnſton *of* Torry, Robert Johnſton *of* Lochmaben, John Creichton *of* Rihill, *Sheriff of* Air, *Sir* James Hamilton *Kt. Sheriff of* Clidſdale, Robert *Maſter of* Sempil, Thomas *Maſter of* Boyd, *Laird of* Bombie, Skirlings *Kt. Laird of* Boyn, Boghall, Innerwick, Stenhouſe, Dunrod, Craigehall, Anneſburn, Kilburny, *Laird of* Cockpool, Neil Montgomery *Kt.* Patrick Congilton *of that Ilk*, Pollock, Ladyland, Smeton, Preſton *Kt.* Caldwell *Kt.* *Maſter of* Kneland, James Steuart *of* Cardonald, *Laird of* Kneland, Cambuſkenneth, Lauchop, Barclanochan, Gawſton, Romano, Cranſton *Kt.* Newton *of that Ilk*, Bandenoth, Belſtams, Whitford, *Sir* Andrew Ker *Kt. Sheriff of* Linlithgow, Gairtlie, Silverton *Kt.* Haining, Rickarton, Ardkinlas, Dalziel, Semenance, Lickprevick, Corhouſe, Robert Lawſon *of* Humby, Eſilmont, Macintoſh, Giecht, Criech *Kt.* Abergeldy, Whitelaw *(a)*.

The Queen marches towards *Dunbarton*;

Perhaps at this Diſtance of time, Men may take upon them to ſay, that either the Queen ought to have gone immediately at firſt into the Fortreſs of *Dunbarton*, or to have withdrawn *now* farther off into the Countries where ſhe expected moſt of her Friends lay, till ſhe had ſeen how the Nation was diſpoſed towards her. But it appears that thoſe who were now with her, finding their Numbers increaſe ſo largely in the ſhort Space of eight Days or ſo, were ſo fluſh'd with the Hopes of Succeſs, that they, unluckily for her Majeſty, determined to carry her in a ſort of Parade, in the very View of her Enemies, to *Dunbarton*. But GOD over-rules the World; and we are always ſo fooliſh as to applaud or condemn according to Events.

whereupon enſues the Battle of *Lang-ſide*.

(b) "It was declared in the Queen's Council, that her Majeſty ſhould be peaceably reponed in the Caſtle of *Dunbarton*, there to remain till all the Nobles and Gentlemen of the Land ſhould convene at *Dunbarton* at a Parliament, and to deviſe for all general Cauſes of the Common-weal, and in particular for the Queen and the young King. They ſorted from *Hamilton* upon the 13th Day of *May*, to paſs toward *Dunbarton*. The Regent underſtanding this, cauſed his Company to be ſorted in array'd Battle, to ſtop the Queen's Paſſage; and came forth to a Village called the *Lang-ſide*, where they ſtood by the Advantage of the Ground. The Gentlemen of the Sirname of *Hamilton* were on the Queen's Van-guard, and my Lord *Herris*, with certain Horſemen on their Wing. On the Regent's Van-guard was *James* Earl of *Morton* and *Alexander* Lord *Home*. The Queen's Fore-Company were ſo evil conducted, that they were led among certain Ditches, and were ſorely ſtreſt by Shot of Hackbut from the Regent's Side. And in reſpect of this Incommodity, being ſo ill ſeconded by my Lord *Herris*, and having ſuſtained great Loſs, were conſtrained to give Back. Theſe Gentlemen were the worſt treat of all the Queen's Side. The Rear-guard perceiving them to be defeat, did the like. The Earl of *Argile* being Lieutenant of the Queen's Camp, ſhewed neither Courage nor Vaſſalage *(c)* at this Conflict. The Queen fled with Speed out of the Field, and paſt toward *Dumfries*, on the Weſt Borders of *Scotland*, foreanent *England*. The Slaughter was not great of both Sides, for it exceeded not the Number of 200. The Regent's Folks followed on the Chace a great way. Divers of the Queen's Part were taken Priſoners, and the moſt remarkable were, *George* Lord *Seaton*, the Sheriff of *Air*, *Alexander Hamilton* of *Innerwick*, Sir *William Scot* of *Balwirie* Knight, *James Heriot* of *Trabron*, *James* and *John Hamiltons* of *Garren*, *James Hamilton* of *Kinkavil*, *David* [*James*] *Hamilton* of *Bothwel-haugh*, *Alexander Baillie* of *Littlegill*,

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(*a*) The following *Nota* is added by Mr. *Crawford* of *Drumſoy*, when he excerpted this Paper from the *Cotton* Library, *viz. This being only a Copy, and the* Scots *Titles and Names being not very well known to Sir* Robert Cotton's *Tranſcriber, he has certainly miſtaken ſome of them; however as near as poſſible we have copied after him, altering only thoſe which fell within the compaſs of our own Knowledge.*

(*b*) *Crawford's* MS.

(*c*) Other Writers have ſaid, that the Earl of *Argile* fell into ſome Fits of Sickneſs, juſt before the Engagement; which gave Time to the Enemies to form and put themſelves in Order, and prov'd a great Diſadvantage to the Queen's Army.

1568. "*gill*, and the Laird of *Lauchop*, with ſundry other ſubſtantial Gentlemen. There was hurt on the Regent's Side my Lord *Vchiltree*, with divers others. The Noblemen that came to the Field with the Queen were theſe, *Archibald* Earl of *Argile* Lieutenant, *Hugh* Earl of *Eglinton*, *Archibald* Earl of *Caſſils*, *Andrew* Earl of *Rothes*, my Lord *Glamis*, *George* Lord *Seaton*, *John* Lord *Herris*, *Hugh* Lord *Somervil*, *John* Lord *Fleming*, *Thomas* Lord *Boyd*, my Lord *Roſs*, the Sheriff of *Aire*, and Sir *James Hamilton* of *Crawford-John* Knight, to the Number of 6000 Men or thereby. The Nobles and Gentlemen on the Regent's Part were, *James* Earl of *Morton*, *Alexander* Earl of *Glencairn*, *Alexander* Lord *Home*, *John* Lord *Lindſay*, *Robert* Lord *Sempil*, *William* Lord *Ruthven*, *John* Lord *Grahame*, Secretary *Lethington*, to the Number of 3000, or ſome more" (*a*). Thus this contemporary Author.

Various Accounts of this Battle.

But another Writer of the ſame Time, and of good Reputation likewiſe (*b*), gives a contrary Turn to the Occaſion of this Battle. He ſays, "Her Majeſty was not minded to fight, nor hazard Battle, but to go unto the Caſtle of *Dumbartoun*, and endeavour by little and little to draw home again unto her Obedience the whole Subjects. But the Biſhop of St. *Andrews*, and the Houſe of *Hamiltoun*, and the reſt of the Lords there convened, finding themſelves in Number far beyond the other Party, would needs hazard Battle, thinking thereby to overcome the Regent their great Enemy, and be alſo Maſters of the Queen, to Command and Rule all at their Pleaſure. Some alledged that the Biſhop was minded to cauſe the Queen to marry my Lord *Hamiltoun*, in caſe they had obtained the Victory. And I was ſince informed by ſome who were preſent, that the Queen her ſelf feared the ſame; therefore ſhe preſſed them ſtill to convoy her to *Dumbartoun*, and had ſent me word with the *French* Ambaſſadour, the ſame Morning before the Battle, to draw on a Meeting for Concord, by the means of the Secretary *Lidingtoun*, and the Laird of *Grange:* And for her Part ſhe would ſend the Lord *Herris* and ſome other. She had alſo cauſed my Brother Sir *Robert* to write a Letter to me that ſame Morning for that ſame Effect, but the Queen's Army came on ſo fiercely, that there was no Stay.

"The Regent went out on Foot and all his Company, except the Laird of *Grange*, *Alexander Hume* of *Manderſtoun*, and ſome Borderers to the Number of 200. The Laird of *Grange* had already viewed the Ground (*c*), and with all imaginable Diligence cauſed every Horſe-man to take behind him a Foot-man of the Regent's to guard behind them, and rode with Speed to the Head of the *Langſide-hill*, and ſet down the ſaid Foot-men with their Culverings at the Head of a ſtrait Lane, where there were ſome Cottage-houſes and Yards of great Advantage. Which Soldiers with their continual Shot, killed divers of the Vaunt-guard, led by the ***Hamiltouns***, who courageouſly and fiercely aſcending up the Hill, were already out of Breath when the Regent's Vaunt-guard joined with them. Where the worthy Lord *Hume* fought on Foot with his Pike in his Hand very manfully, well aſſiſted by the Laird of *Ceſfoord* his Brother-in-law, who helped him up again when he was ſtrucken to the Ground by many Stroaks upon his Face, by the throwing Piſtols at him after they had been diſcharged. He was alſo wounded with Staves, and had many Stroaks of Spears through his Legs; for he and *Grange* at the joining cried to let their Adverſaries firſt lay down their Spears, to bear up theirs; which Spears were ſo thick fixed in others *Jacks*, that ſome of the Piſtols and great Staves, that were thrown by them which were behind, might be ſeen lying upon the Spears.

" Upon

(*a*) This agrees pretty well with *Buchanan*'s Account, who ſays, they amounted ſcarcely to 4000: But then he reckons the Queen's Forces to have been about 6500.

(*b*) Sir *James Melvil*.

(*c*) *Blackwood* obſerves, that one of the Queen's Council had ſent word to the Regent, and acquainted him the Night before, which Way her Majeſty was to hold. *Buchanan* relates how that the Regent firſt led out his Men into the open Field before the Town of *Glaſgow*; which *Spottiſwood* and *Calderwood* do both call the *Moor of Glaſgow*, and that very probably too; expecting the Queen might have paſſed towards *Dunbarton*, by the North ſide of the River.

“ Upon the Queen's Side the Earl of *Arguile* commanded the Battle; and the Lord of *Arbroth* (a) the Vaunt-guard. On the other Part the Regent led the Battle, and the Earl of *Mortoun* the Vaunt-guard: But the Regent committed to the Laird of *Grange* the ſpecial Care, as being an experimented Captain, to overſee every Danger, and to ride to every Wing, to incourage and make help where greateſt Need was. He perceived at the firſt joining, the right Wing of the Regent's Vaunt-guard put back, and like to fly, whereof the greateſt Part were Commons of the Barony of *Ranfrew*; whereupon he rode to them, and told them that their Enemy was already turning their Backs, requeſting them to ſtay and debate, till he ſhould bring them freſh Men forth of the Battle. Whither at full Speed he did ride alone, and told the Regent that the Enemy were ſhaken, and flying away behind the little Village, and deſired a few Number of freſh Men to go with him. Where he found enough willing, as the Lord *Lindſay*, the Laird of *Lochleven*, Sir *James Balfour*, and all the Regent's Servants, who followed him with Diligence, and reinforced that Wing which was beginning to fly; which freſh Men with their looſe Weapons ſtruck the Enemies in their Flanks and Faces, which forced them incontinent to give Place, and turn back, after long fighting and puſhing others to and fro with their Spears. There were not many Horſe-men to purſue after them, and the Regent cried to ſave and not to kill; and *Grange* was never cruel, ſo that there were but few ſlain and taken. And the only Slaughter was at the firſt Rencounter, by the Shot of the Soldiers which *Grange* had planted at the Lane-head behind ſome Dikes.”

Beſides theſe *two* Accounts of this Battle of *Lang-ſide* (b), there is a *third* larger and more replete with Circumſtances to be ſeen in *Buchanan*'s Hiſtory, to which I ſhall remit my Readers, and ſet down here *Calderwood*'s Account which he ſeems to have collected together with pretty much Exactneſs.

(c) “ Aſſoon as my Lord *Hume* came to *Glaſgow*, accompanied with 600 Men of *Merſe* and *Lothian*, the Regent purpoſed to march toward *Hamilton*, and force the Queen's Faction to fight. The other Faction conſiſting of 6000 Men, and knowing that the adverſe Party with the Regent were not above 4000, confident in their own Number, doubted not to venture into the Fields. It was their Intention firſt to convoy the Queen to *Dumbarton*, a Place of Safety, that thereafter they might either fight or draw at length the War as they thought fitteſt; or if the Regent would fight them by the Way, they were reſolved to encounter him. The Regent muſtered his Army in *Glaſgow-moor*, deeming that the Queen's Army ſhould have come that Way; but then he perceived them to march on the South-ſide of *Clyde*: He taketh up their Purpoſe, ſendeth the Foot-men to the Bridge, and the Horſe-men by the Fords, with Haſte to intercept them by the Way; and gave Charge to his Horſe-men to take the Hill above *Lang-ſide*. The Regent's Army made ſuch haſte, that they were near the Hill before the Queen's Army perceived; howbeit they were marching toward the ſame Place. The Regent's Army was never ſeen all at once, becauſe they marched among little Knows and hollow Valleys, till they were near to the Hill; which made the Queen's Army negligent and ſecure, confiding in their own Number, and contemning the ſmall Number of the other Party. The Earl of *Argile* Lieutenant for the Queen, being ſurpriſed on a ſudden with an Apoplexy, fell down, ſtayed the Army a certain Time; whereupon the other Army, howbeit they were farther from the Hill, prevented them, and took the Vantage of the Ground. There were in the Battle with the Earl of *Ar-*

(a) Tho' I ſhould be loath to doubt lightly of any thing this contemporary Writer narrates, yet becauſe we know the Lord *Arbroth* [*i. e.* Lord *John Hamilton*] went lately into *France*, and that other Writers mention the Lord *Claud Hamilton* Commendator of *Paiſley*, another Son of the Duke of *Chaſtelherault*, and Progenitor of the Earls of *Abercorn*, to have had the Command of this Part of the Queen's Army at this Battle; I therefore thought it not amiſs to inſert here this Obſervation.

(b) It is a ſmall Village about a Mile to the South of *Glaſgow*, near the Water of *Cart*.

(c) *Calderwood*'s MS.

1568. “*gile* Lieutenant, the Earls of *Caſſils*, *Eglinton* and *Rothes*; Lords *Seton*, *Somervel*, *Teſter*, *Borthwick*, *Livingſton*, *Sanquhar*, *Boyd*; the Sheriff of *Air*, the Lairds of *Baſs*, *Waughton*, *Dalhouſie*, *Lochinvar*, *Roſlin*; the Avant-guard was led by *Claud Hamilton* of *Paiſley*, ſecond Son to the Duke of *Chatlerault*, and Sir *James Hamilton* of *Evindaill*. With them, the *Hamiltons*, their Friends and Followers, to the Number of 2000 Men; they bragged that they would by themſelves defeat their adverſe Party. The Lord *Herries* had the Conduct of the Horſe-men, all almoſt Borderers, Dependents and Tenants of my Lord *Maxwell* his Brother. *James Stewart* of *Caſtleton*, and *Arthur Hamilton* of *Mirriton*, had the Conduct of the Shot, to the Number of 300. The Regent's Avant-guard was conducted by the Earl of *Morton*, *Alexander* Lord *Hume*, *Patrick* Lord *Lindſay*, *Robert* Lord *Sempil*. In the Rear-guard with the Regent were, *John* Earl of *Marr*, *Alexander* Earl of *Glencairn*, *William Grahame* Earl of *Monteith*, the Maſter of *Grahame*, Lords *Ruthven*, *Uchiltree*, *Stewart*, *Cathcart*; Lairds *Barganie*, *Balquhan*, *Ceſsfurd*, *Luſs*, *Buchanan*, *Pitcur*, *Lochlevin*, *Lethington*, Sir *James Balfour*; the Barons and Gentlemen of *Lenox*, and the Citizens of *Glaſgow*. The Shot was placed in the Yards of *Lang-ſide*. The Horſe-men, about 200, were conducted by *William Douglas* of *Drumlanrig*, *Alexander Hume* of *Manderſton*, and *John Carmichael* of that Ilk. The Queen's Army ſtood upon another little Mount, being diſappointed of the Hill. The great Ordinance ſhot for the Space of an half Hour, or thereby. The Regent had ſix Pieces carried in Carts. The Queen had ſeven. In time of ſhooting the great Ordinance, forty of the Regent's Harquebuſiers went and ſkirmiſhed before the Queen's Avant-guard, and killed three or four. The Queen's Harquebuſiers were driven back; but on the other Side, the Regent's Horſe-men, being but half Number in compariſon of the other, at the firſt Rencounter gave Place: But the Regent's Horſe-men who had retired to their Company, ſeeing the Enemies Horſe-men caſting about to invade the Foot, with help of the Bow-men, drave them back. In the mean time the Queen's Avant-guard, while they were marching through a ſtrait Lane, not above forty Foot broad, were greatly annoyed by the Regent's Harquebuſiers; the Regent's Avant-guard marched faſt toward them, and received them after they came out of the ſtrait Lane on the North-eaſt Side of *Lang-ſide* Village, with long Spears, where there was a very ſharp Encounter for the Space of half an Hour, without yielding or giving Ground on either Side: So that where Spears were broken, they caſt Whingers, broken Pieces of Spears, Stones, or whatſoever came to hand, at the Faces of their Enemies. The Lord *Hume* himſelf was hurt on the Face with a Stone, and almoſt felled. The Regent's Harquebuſiers ſhot continually from the Dikes and Houſe-tops. *Macfarlane* with his Highland-men fled from the Wing where they were ſet: The Lord *Lindſay*, who ſtood neareſt to them in the Regent's Battle, ſaid, Let them go, I ſhall fill their Place better; and ſo ſtepping forward with a Company of freſh Men, charged the Enemy (whoſe Spears were now ſpent) with long Weapons; ſo that they were driven back by Force, being before almoſt overthrown by the Avant-guard and Harquebuſiers, and ſo were turned to flight. The Regent's Battle ſtood ſtill till they ſaw the Enemy flee without Order: They alſo brake Array, and followed the Chace, at which moe were ſlain than in the Battle, and, as is thought, the moſt part by the Highland-men, who perceiving the Victory to fall on the Regent's Side, returned and purſued. Moe had been ſlain, Men being thus inraged, if the Regent had not ſent Horſe-men to all Parts with a Command to ſpare; yet the Number of the ſlain were about 300. The Number of the Priſoners was greater. Among the Priſoners taken were, Lords *Seton*, *Roſs*, Sir *James Hamilton*, the Sheriff of *Air*, the Sheriff of *Linlithgow*, the Maſter of *Caſſils*, the Laird of *Innerweik*, the Laird of *Trabrown*, *James Hamilton*

1568.

of *Bothwelhaugh*. On the Regent's Side was ſlain only one Man, a Tenant of the Earl of *Morton*'s in *Preſton* in the *Merſe*, named *John Ballon*. Among the few that were hurt were, *Alexander* Lord *Hume* and *Andrew Stewart* Lord *Ochiltree*, who was hurt by the Lord *Herries*" (*a*).

The Queen flies towards *Kirkcudbright*;

This Battle endured about the Space of three quarters of an Hour only; and when the Queen, who ſtood on an Eminence to view the Armies, perceived that her Friends had loſt the Day, ſhe " loſt all Courage, which ſhe had never done before, and took ſo great Fear," that ſhe rode away at full Speed with ſome few truſty Friends, and never once ſuffered her Eyes to ſhut till ſhe had got full ſixty *Scottiſh* Miles from the Place of Battle. Her Majeſty attempted firſt to have taken the Road towards *Dunbarton*, in order to ſecure her Perſon in that impregnable Fortreſs; but the Paſſages thither being moſtly in the Hands of her Enemies, ſhe was adviſed by the Lord *Herries* to go into *Galloway*, in which Country ſhe would have preſent Security, a ſhort Way from thence, either by Sea or Land into *England*, and might likewiſe obtain a Paſſage into *France*, according as ſhe ſhould find it convenient for her to direct her Courſe.

How ſoon the Queen was refreſhed after ſo long and ſorrowful a Journey, ſhe held a Conſultation with her Friends what Courſe ſhe next ſhould follow: And tho' they obteſted her, not to commit herſelf into the Hands of the Queen of *England*, yet as an Increaſe to all her former Misfortunes, this was the unlucky Road ſhe propoſed; alledging for this her Reſolution, the late Kindneſſes her Couſin had ſhewed her, and her own Averſion to go again into *France* with the Equipage of an Exile or Fugitive, where ſhe had formerly appeared in ſo much Glory and Splendor.

and from thence into *England*.

Purſuant to this Reſolution, " the Lord *Herries* wrote a Letter on *Saturday* the 15th of *May*, to Mr. *Lauder* the Deputy-Captain of *Carlile*, declaring to him the Miſhap of the Conflict on the 13th at *Lang-ſide*, and requiring to know whether if the Queen of *Scots* his Sovereign ſhould be compelled to ſeek Refuge in *England*, ſhe might come ſafely thither to *Carlile*.

(*a*) Tho' Mr. *Holinſhed* belongs to the neighbouring Kingdom of *England*, yet becauſe he lived at the Time of all theſe Occurrences, and ſeems to have had very good Information concerning our Affairs, I have taken the Freedom to inſert his Account of this Tranſaction. " On *Sunday* the ij. of *May*, in the Yeare 1568, at Supper-tyme, the Queene eſcaped out of *Lochlevyn*, by the Meanes and Helpe of *George Dowglas* Brother to the Laird of *Lochlevyn*. The Lorde *Seaton*, the Laird of *Ricarton*, and *James Hamilton* of *Orbiſton*, were ready to receyve hir, and conveyed hir over the *Queenes-Ferry*, firſte to *Nudry* the Lorde *Seatons* Houſe, and from thence to *Hamilton-Caſtell*, where ſhe remayned till the xiij. Day of *May* beyng *Thurſday*, gathering in the meane tyme ſuch Forces as ſhe might from all Places. The Earle of *Murray* Lorde Regent was in *Glaſquho*, at what Tyme ſhe thus eſcaped out of *Lochlevyn*; and upon Knowledge had thereof, meant at the firſte to have withdrawen himſelfe unto *Sterlyng*, but ſuddenly changing his Purpoſe in that Behalf, he determined to continue at *Glaſquho*, whiche is not paſte an eyght Myles from *Hamilton*; bycauſe he was perſwaded, that if he ſhoulde ſhrynke backe never ſo little, he ſhoulde encourage his Adverſaries, and diſcourage his Frendes, and ſo conſequently weaken his Parte greatly. Hereupon the xiij. Day of *May* afore mentioned, the Queene with hir Power marched from *Hamilton*, by the South-ſide of *Clede* towarde *Dunbertane*: And out of *Glaſquho* on the other Parte marched the Lorde Regent with his Forces; ſo as at length bothe the Armies mette at a Place called the *Lang-ſide*, neare to the Houſe of *Cathcart* within two Myles of *Glaſquho*. There were on the Queenes Parte the Earles of *Argile*, *Caſſilles*, *Eglinton* and *Rothes*, *Claude Hamilton* Sonne to the Duke of *Chatellerault*, the Lordes *Seaton*, *Somerville*, *Yeſter*, *Borthwike*, *Levingſton*, *Heries*, *Maxwell*, *Sanquhar*, *Boyd* and *Ros*; Lairdes and Knights, *Lochinwar*, *Bas*, *Wauchton*, *Dalhowſy*, *Roſlen*, the Sheriffe of *Air*, Sir *James Hamilton*, and many other. On the Regents Parte were theſe accompted as principall, the Earles of *Morton*, *Mar*, *Glencarne*, *Menteith*, the M. of *Graham*, the Lordes *Hume*, *Lindſey*, *Ruthven*, *Simpil*, *Ogiltree* and *Cathcart*; of Lairdes and Knights, *Bargany*, *Blacquhan*, *Drumlanrig*, *Seſſford*, *Lus*, *Buchannane*, *Tulibardin*, *Petcur*, *Grange*, *Lochlevyn*, *Lethington*, and Sir *James Balfour*. At the firſte joyning there was a right ſharp Encounter, for after they had beſtowed their Shotte of Harquebuſies and Arrowes, they fell to it with Speares and Swordes; but at length after three quarters of an houres Fighte, the Queenes Parte was put to flighte, the Victory remayning with the Regent, who ſuffered none to be ſlaine but thoſe that were killed in the Fighte, before they turned their Backes: Among the whiche were fourteen of the Surname of the *Hamiltons* killed. There were taken Pryſoners about a three hundred, of whiche Number the principall were theſe; The Lordes *Seaton* and *Ros*, Sir *James Hamilton*, and many other of that Surname. Of the Regents Parte, the Lorde *Hume* was hurte in the Legge and Face, and the Lorde *Ogiltree* in the Necke, by the Lorde *Heries*. The Lorde *Lindſey*, and the Lairdes of *Drumlanrig* and of *Grange*, bare themſelves right valiantly that Day, fayling not in any Poynt that belonged to the Duetie of hardie Capitaines. The Queenes Partie was thought to be neare at the Poynt of ſix thouſande Men, and the Regents was reconed to be foure thouſande; ſo that there were a tenne thouſande Men on the Fielde that Day, what upon the one Side and the other. The Earle of *Huntley* was comming forewardes to have aſſiſted the Queenes Parte, but the Battayle was ſtriken, and hir People diſcomfited, as ye have heard, ere he could come, and ſo he returned. [The ſame thing is reported by ſome of our Hiſtorians concerning the Lord *Ogilvy*.] " In this Battayle the Valiancie of an Hieland Gentleman named *Macſerlane*, ſtood the Regents Parte in great Steede, for in the hotteſt Brunte of the Fighte he came in with two hundred of his Friendes and Countreymen, and ſo manfully gave in upon the Flanke of the Queenes People, that he was a great Cauſe of the diſordering of them. This *Macferlene* had bene lately before, as I have heard, condemned to die for ſome Outrage by him committed, and obtayning Pardon through Suyte of the Counteſſe of *Murray*, he recompenſed that Clemencie by this Peece of Service now at this Battayle." It would appear the Earl of *Huntly* and Lord *Ogilvy*, after ſigning the Bond 8th *May*, *p.* 476, had gone away to bring up their Followers in order to join the Queen.

1568. “ The ſaid Deputy made Anſwer by Letter on *Sunday* in the Morning, That the Lord *Scroop* being the Captain of *Carlile* and Lord Warden of theſe Frontiers, was at *London*, whereby he had no Authority in ſuch a Caſe pertaining to the State of a Queen, to aſſure any thing; but he would ſend by Poſt to the Court to know the Queen's Majeſty's Pleaſure: And if in the mean time any Neceſſity ſhould force the Queen of *Scots* to come to *Carlile*, he would gladly meet her, and receive her into his Rule, and ſave her from all her Enemies, until the Queen's Majeſty's Pleaſure might be farther known. But before that Meſſenger returning from *Carlile* on *Sunday* could come where the Lord *Herries* was, the Queen and the Lord *Herries* were gone, and had taken Paſſage in *Galloway* in a Fiſher-boat with eighteen or twenty Perſons *(a)* with her, and arrived on the ſame *Sunday* before Night at a Creek in *Cumberland* called *Wirkington*, diſtant from *Carlile* more than Miles *(b)*; whereof, until *Monday* towards Night, the ſaid Deputy-Captain underſtood not. Nevertheleſs at the landing of the Queen of *Scots* at *Wirkington*, tho' ſhe would not at the firſt be known to be the Queen, yet certain Gentlemen of the Country hearing of the landing of certain Perſons out of *Scotland*, reſorted to *Wirkington*; and upon farther underſtanding that ſhe was the Queen of *Scots*, very dutifully brought her to a Town called *Cockermouth* belonging to the Earl of *Northumberland*, by which the Queen's Majeſty [*viz.* of *England*] was firſt advertiſed of her Arrival, upon the firſt Knowledge thereof given to him by his Officers; where ſhe remained until the Deputy of *Carlile* had aſſembled the whole Number of the Gentlemen of the Country to conduct her as honourably as the Manner of the Country would yield, to the Caſtle of *Carlile*.”

Different Accounts thereof.

This is the Account of the Queen's Retreat into *England*, as contained in one of Secretary *Cecil*'s Papers *(c)*, which I believe to be pretty exact: However, that my Readers mayn't complain for want of other Information, I here ſubjoin ſuch Accounts thereof as our own contemporary Hiſtorians have afforded us. *(d)* “ She [the Queen] during her Remain at *Dumfries (e)*, ſent a Meſſenger to the Queen of *England*, deſiring her Paſport to paſs immediately into *France (f)*, which immediately was granted; and the Queen of *England* therewithall ſent to the Queen of *Scotland* a fair Diamond in Token of Friendſhip, as the Token [Cuſtom] of that Country is *(g)*. But it was converted to Falſhood ere all was done: For although ſhe made her believe before ſhe went from *Scotland*, even in the midſt of her Diſtreſs, that ſhe

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(*a*) By *Anderſon*'s Collections, *Vol.* 4. *p.* 9. we are aſſured *Monſ. de Beaumont* the *French* Ambaſſador was now one of the Queen's Company that came with her into *England*. *Stow*'s Chronicle ſays, her Majeſty “ had in her Company to the Number of ſixteen Perſons, beſides four Water-men; and that Captain *Read*, with fifty Soldiers, were appointed to attend upon her, and conveyed her to *Carlile*.”

(*b*) The Number of Miles here is blank in the Original; but the diſtance is thirty *Engliſh* or twenty five *Scottiſh* Miles nearly. *Wirkington* is ſituated at the South-ſide of the Water of *Derwent* in the County of *Cumberland*, about ſixteen Miles from the Mouth of the Rivers of *Dee* and *Nith* in *Scotland*; from one of which 'tis certain her Majeſty took Paſſage.

(*c*) See *Anderſon*'s Collections, *Vol.* 4. *p.* 1.

(*d*) *Crawford*'s MS.

(*e*) This Author once and again takes notice of *Dumfries* as the Place where the Queen ſtopt after the Battle of *Lang-ſide*: But *Blackwood* mentions *Dundreven*, which doubtleſs ſhould be *Dundrennan*, an Abbay ſome two Miles below the Town of *Kirkcudbright*, on the Coaſt of *Solway-Firth*; which Place is indeed about ſixty *Scottiſh* Miles from *Lang-ſide*, the Place of Battle. And *Holinſhed* ſays, “ The Queene perceyving the Overthrow of hir People, fled from the Place where ſhe ſtoode to behold the Battayle, and withdrew to *Crawforde* Towne, and ſo by the *Sanquhar* to *Dundrenane* in *Galloway*.” And ſays *Calderwood*'s MS. “ The Queen perceiving the Overthrow of her Army, fled from the Place where ſhe was ſtanding to behold, about a Mile from the Battle. She was accompanied by the Lord *Herries* and his Horſe-men, who after the Repulſe ſtaid about her, and conveyed her to *Dundrenan* in *Galloway*.”

(*f*) This muſt certainly be a Miſtake, as appears by our Queen's Letter to the Queen of *England*, immediately upon her Arrival in that Kingdom.

(*g*) And this likewiſe muſt be a Miſtake; for there was no Meſſage at all ſent by our Queen to the *Engliſh* Queen, until ſhe was really landed in *England*: Nor does it ever appear that the Queen of *England* ſent our Queen any Ring, or other Token of Friendſhip (Words only excepted) from the Time ſhe entred into *England*. This Author has heard of a Ring formerly ſent by the Queen of *England* to our Queen, which he has imagined to be ſent at this Time. And indeed others of our Writers tell the Story, as if our Queen had ſent *that* Ring to the Queen of *England* at this Time, for no other Reaſon, I imagine, but becauſe both theſe Queens had reciprocally ſent Rings to each other as Pledges ('tis pretended) of contributing their mutual Aſſiſtance to each other, if they ſhould chance to ſtand in need thereof: Tho' truly I rather incline to think theſe Rings were nothing elſe but the Effects of ordinary Civility, which commonly proceeds from the Mouth only, and reaches not to the Heart. And I even ſee but very little Ground to believe that any Ring was at all ſent, or ſent back, at this Juncture, from either of the Queens to the other.

1568.

" ſhe would ſupply her, yet it was never done by the leaſt Countenance that could be perceived againſt her Enemies; for in the beginning of her Troubles ſhe recepted and harboured within her Bounds the moſt capital Enemies that ever ſhe had, the one was *Patrick* Lord *Ruthven*, who died in the Town of *Newcaſtle* in *England*; the other was *James* Earl of *Morton*, who afterwards became Regent of *Scotland*, and made a violent End for a filthy Cauſe. Beſides all this, although the Queen of *Scotland* was entred into *England* by that Queen's own Permiſſion, and great Promiſes of Friendſhip to follow thereupon *(a)*, by the taking of the Ring carried by Sir *Robert Meline* * now Treaſurer-depute of *Scotland (b)*, notwithſtanding ſhe was committed firſt to the Town of *Carlile*, and next to the Cuſtody of my Lord *Scroop*, where ſhe was ſo circumſpectly attended upon, that for a long Time ſhe was debarred from all Acceſs to others, and all others debarred from Acceſs to her *(c)*. And when ſhe deſired to have free Paſſage through her Country according to the firſt Condition of the Paſport *(d)*, it was anſwered, That ſome Commiſſioners ſhould be ſent to talk with her at *York*, who ſhould reſolve her in all Things. But to the Effect I may return to my Purpoſe: The Nobles of *Scotland* who were convened with her at *Dumfries*, underſtanding her bent Mind to paſs into *England*, they withſtood her with many Reaſons, ſaying, That the Queen and Council of *England* meaned no more uprightly to her at that Time than they had to divers of her Predeceſſors afore-time; which was to keep her ſure within her Kingdom, never to come looſe again, and to rule by their uſurped Suppoſites in *Scotland*, as they had done before in the Time of King *Robert Bruce*, and many others, to hold this Realm perpetually at under: Uſing many other Reaſons to diſſwade her from that Purpoſe *(e)*. But all was in vain; her Will behov'd to be accompliſhed, there was ſo great Belief given to the Paſport and the Ring on her Side, that ſhe got never Credence to requit them with Thanks. And thus ſhe paſſed into *England* upon Hopes of farther Courteſy" *(f)*.

* Melvil.

It is to no purpoſe for us, ſhort-ſighted Mortals, to complain behind the hand, when the Time is paſt for recalling what we have done amiſs; nor yet perhaps are the Misfortunes which befall us owing always to this and the other Reaſon we fondly aſcribe them to. That our Queen's entring into *England* at this Time was attended with much Trouble and Vexation to her, and at laſt, after eighteen Years Confinement, with a violent Death, is what all her Friends would be ready enough to lament, and earneſtly to wiſh ſhe had taken another Reſolution; but yet neither ſhe nor they could be certain that the ſame or the like Miſeries ſhould not have come upon her elſewhere, or that they would certainly befall her upon her withdrawing into *England*. For tho' it be true that Suſpicions and Miſunderſtandings had intervened betwixt our Queen and the Queen of *England*, yet ſhe had in my Opinion very great Reaſon to expect that her Couſin would have acted a better Part towards her on this

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(a) " She [the Queen of *Scots*] never reſted till ſhe was in *England*, thinking herſelf ſure of Refuge there, in reſpect of the fair Promiſes formerly made to her by the Queen of *England*, by Word to her Ambaſſadors, and by her own Hand writ, both before and after ſhe was Captive in *Lochlevin*. But God and the World knows how ſhe was kept and uſed," *&c.* Sir *James Melvil*'s Memoirs.

(b) Sir *Robert* was made Treaſurer-depute about the Time of King *James* VI's. Marriage in the Year 1589.

(c) This agrees not with what is told elſewhere, *viz.* that " to *Bolton*, a Houſe of the Lord *Scroop*'s, whither her Majeſtie came about the 16th of *June*, was licenſed to reſort to her all manner of her Subjects of what State ſoever they were, to the Numbre of Thirty at one tyme, coming to her, above her ordinary Servaunts that wait upon her; which Numbre the Queenes Majeſtie [of *England*] appoynted, allthough be the ſaid Queenes own Lettres ſhe requyred but Four at a tyme," *Anderſon*'s Collections, *Vol.* 4. *p.* 6.

(d) The firſt Mention of a Paſport at all, for our Queen to go into *France*, was by the Lord *Herries* on the 29th *May* 1568, when he went out to meet the Lord *Scroop* and Sir *Francis Knolles*, who were ſent from *London* to wait on our Queen at *Carlile*: But the Anſwer here mentioned by our Author was not given then.

(e) This ſame Argument, furniſhed likewiſe with ſeveral other particular Inſtances of the hard Uſage our Kings have met with from *England*, is aſcribed by *Blackwood* to the Archbiſhop of St. *Andrew*'s at this Time, which the Readers may find tranſlated from him into Dr. *Mackenzie*'s Life of Queen *Mary*; and how that Prelate ſhould at length have fallen down upon his Knees, and entreated the Queen with Tears in his Eyes, not to depart, but remain within *Scotland*.

(f) *Crawford*'s MS.

this Occaſion; thoſe late Remonſtrances conſidered, which had been made in her Favour ſo lately by Sir *Nicholas Throckmorton* in his Miſtreſs's Name. But indeed theſe were all very quickly forgot; and no ſooner had the *Engliſh* Queen got our Queen in her Poſſeſſion, but ſhe ſpeaks in another Accent, and reſolves, if not from her own Mind, at leaſt by the Advice of her Council, to make her a Priſoner. How little are the Words or Promiſes of Princes to be depended upon, when Reaſons of State can be alledged for recalling them!

A Reflexion upon the Queen's Miſfortunes.

The Queen's Majeſty being now reduced to the diſmal Situation of a Captive in another Land, from which ſhe had never afterwards the Happineſs to be delivered except only by an untimely Death; and this Nation being thereby brought under the Neceſſity of a new Government: I ſuppoſe that when I ſhall have carried forward the Eccleſiaſtick Affairs of the Kingdom to a Coincidence with this Period, the ſame may be reckoned a proper enough Opportunity for putting a Cloſe to the *Firſt* Volume of our *Hiſtorical Collections*. To theſe laſt named Affairs, after a long Receſs of ſeven or eight Years, I am now going to advance; previous to which I ſhall only take the Freedom to deſire my Readers to pauſe a little here, and upon ſhutting up this Period of Civil Tranſactions, allow themſelves to reflect upon the Inſtability of all humane Grandeur, and indeed of all Things whatſoever this World can afford. The Caſe of our Queen has hitherto been, and I believe will continue to be look'd upon as a very eminent Inſtance of what I here alledge, by the many Traverſes of Fortune which accompanied her from the Cradle to the Grave: And if the ſeven Years laſt run out, might have been judged the moſt ſtable Time of her Life, yet ſtrange it is to conſider what and how many Elevations and Depreſſions have been interſperſed even here! not a Day, not an Hour almoſt but ſome new Turn came into her Affairs! and theſe Viciſſitudes too were as ſurpriſing in their kind as various in their Number! To recapitulate them in the feweſt Words, would conſume too much Time and Labour; it would ſeem to require little leſs than to repeat over again all that I have already collected. I pretend not however to ſay that theſe Alterations and contrary Gales ſurrounded her Majeſty *fortuitouſly* only; 'tis to be acknowledged that ſhe herſelf might have had a procuring hand in ſome of them: But it appears to be no leſs true that a turbulent and unconſcientious Set of Men, whom ſhe had admitted into the principal Management of her Affairs, ſtirred up a great many more. She had been oftner than once eſteemed, applauded, loved and praiſed by thoſe very Perſons who have now driven her into a foreign Kingdom to ſave her Life; and ſome of themſelves (whatever might be her Miſcarriages) were ſo conſcious of their preſent iniquous Deportment towards her, and ſeem'd to be ſo ſenſible of the wicked Deſigns of their own Faction, that their Hearts ſmote them; they relented, took a contrary Courſe, and had the Chance, whether good or bad I ſhall not determine, to loſe their Lives by the Power of theſe very Perſons whom they had aſſiſted to raiſe up to that uſurped Authority, and without whoſe Advice and Valour they had never been able to lay hold of it. Our Queen had likewiſe been in former Time an Object of Envy to the *Engliſh* Queen; that Princeſs ſaw our Sovereign adorned by Nature with many excellent Endowments of Body and Mind, and herſelf ſuperior in *Power* alone. Both the Queens had high and enterpriſing Spirits; both of them look'd with jealous Eyes on each other; and neither of them could think of yielding to another. But now there is a ſad Cataſtrophe in the Affairs of our Queen; and her Majeſty is even forced to fly for Shelter into the Dominions of the Queen of *England*! And no ſooner is ſhe arrived thither, than ſhe makes her humble Requeſt to her Couſin, tells her ſhe is come into her Land for Security againſt her own rebellious Subjects, and prays for Aſſiſtance to replace her on her Throne! What ſtrange Reverſe of Life! how bitter a Pill muſt all this have been! and how little elevated ſhould we be with any ſublunary Advantage or Preferment!

BOOK III.

INTRODUCTION to the Eccleſiaſtical Affairs, *Containing ſome ſpecial Information about the Time of the Parliament in the Month of* Auguſt 1560.

1560.

AS in the Tranſactions of the Parliament in the Month of *Auguſt* 1560, I found my ſelf obliged to intermix ſo much of Eccleſiaſtical Matters as came to be treated in that Meeting; ſo now that I am to enter upon a regular Declaration of theſe ſame Affairs through the following ſeven or eight Years, whereof I have already narrated the Civil Part, I judge it altogether proper to impart to my Readers ſome farther original Information relating to the Poſture of Churchmen and Church-Matters in and about the Time of that Parliament.

It has been already ſeen, that *John Monluc* Biſhop of *Valence*, was one of our Sovereign's Plenipotentiaries at compoſing the Differences immediately preceding the pretended Parliament in the Year 1560. This *Monluc*, it appears, was the Perſon chiefly truſted by our *Scottiſh* Prelates at that Time; to him they communicated their Grievances; and through him they propoſed to obtain a Relief from ſuch Hardſhips as they judged themſelves to be brought under. But what ſmall Service that *French* Prelate (a) did to thoſe of this Nation who put ſo much Confidence in him, may be pretty well perceiv'd by the Tenor of the Articles of Agreement formerly ſet down.

Follows a Memorandum *(b) without Date or Title, written entirely in the Hand-writing of the Archbiſhop of St.* Andrew'*s* (Hamilton;) *but the Tenor of it will neceſſarily determine its Date.*

Memorandum by the Archbiſhop of St. *Andrew's* to *Monluc* the Queen's Plenipotentiary.

'MEmorandum, To reſaif the Artickilis, togydder with this particular Artickil, quhilk we deſire to be maid mair cleir be the Biſchop of *Valence*; and gif he nocht do it himſelf, to interprete thame and putt away all Obſcuritie, that he wald communicat the Heids following with the Lordis of Congregation, and gett thair Mynds and Reſolution.

'*Item*, That the Imbaſſador gett perfett Reſolution gif all Kirkmens Houſes, baith of Prelatis and Inferiours, that hes bene ſpulziet fra thame violently ſen this Inſurrection, ſall be reſtorit to thame inſtantly again or * thair departing; and gif that beis not done, that na Kirkman oder † to lippin for thair Houſes or Leving.

* *before.*
† *either.*

(a) See the Character of this Prelate in *Moreri's* Dictionary; not altogether indeed to his Advantage.
(b) *Colleg. Scot. Pariſ. Mem. Scotl. Tom.* 1. *F.* 205.

1560.

'*Item*, That thai make the Artickil cleir, that all Kirkmen of every Degree to be maid ſure of Harme and Skaith in thair Bodies, quhairever thai paſs, baith be the Lordis of the Congregation, and all thai may ſtopp: And that to be extendit ſurely.

'*Item*, Gif ony Prelatis be deſirit to be at this Parliament, that thai may frelie paſs and repaſs thai and thair Servandis, without ony Danger of thair Body. And that thai may frelie ſay thair Voit in Parliament conforme to thair Conſcience, without Injurie or Skorne. And the auld Manner in Parliament to be kept to thame, and thair Privilegis uſit and wont.

'*Item*, To gett my Lordis *Valence* and *Amiens* Counſal, and quhow the Ordinaries ſall now exerce thair Office and ordinarie Cure in thai Thingis concernis thair Office and Conſcience.

'And gif we may cauſe ſay Meſs and Divine Service opinly in all Partis of our Diocy without Cummir and Offence: And quhow we ſall uſe us in thir Behalfs. And gif the Ambaſſador cannot gyf Reſolution himſelf to thir Heads, that he gett the Reſolution of the Lordis of Congregation, and that ſchortlie.

'*Item*, That the Biſchop of *Valence* cauſe the Commiſſionar that ſuld cum heir fra the King and Quene for halding of the Parliament, be ſa reſtrickit, that it be nocht left to thir Lordis to abrogat ony Actis paſſit of before; or zit to mak ony Alteration of ony Eſtait, or zit to the Prejudice of ony of the three Eſtaits in this Parliament. Bot gif thair be found be the hail three Eſtaits ony Point in this Parliament quhilk hes nocht bene of before, that the Artickil thairof be nottit alanerly at this Parliament, without ony Reſolution, or votting, or pronunſing, bot to be ſent firſt to the King and Quene, to be ſene and conſiderit be thame to anuther Parliament; That gif thair Majeſties find the Actis gude, that thai may gyf firſt thair Conſentis, and thaireftir propone it heir in Parliament.'

By this laſt Article of the *Memorandum* the Readers will clearly perceive that the then Prelates of this Nation did look for a Parliament in Form, with a Commiſſioner from the King and Queen, cloathed and reſtricted with proper Inſtructions, and no Innovation to be made without Conſent of their Sovereigns, eſpecially in Matters of Religion. Thus, it ſeems, when they found the Parliament proceeding without any ſuch Formality, and all Things born down by a Plurality of their Adverſaries, themſelves threatned, and their Rents attach'd; they have become quite diſpirited, and thunder-ſtruck as it were; and putting all their Truſt in the Remedy they expected from *France* (which however never came) they have ſtupidly ſuffered all Things to go on without ſo much as entring a Proteſtation againſt theſe unwarranted Proceedings, or leaving the Parliament under Form of Inſtrument.

Another Paper I preſent to the Reader for Information at this Time, is

A Letter by the Archbiſhop of St. Andrew's (Hamilton) *to the Archbiſhop of* Glaſgow, *dated 18th* Auguſt 1560 *(a).*

My LORD,

Letter from the Archbiſhop of St. *Andrew's* to the Archbiſhop of *Glaſgow.*

'Efter hairtlie Commendation: Pleas I man mac this litil Ticat to zour Lordſchip, mair that Remembrance be not tynt betwixt us nor for ony Matteris of Importance; for ſen zour departyng, na Novellis hes occurrit heir ſeyn, bot as ze left thame. For zit the Cuntrie is nocht in gude Reſt nor Obedience, albeit thair be mekil ſpekying of God and His Word, and all Men for the maiſt pairt hes maid in Parliament the Confeſſion of thair Faith, as ze ſall reſaif this Copy thairof, quhilk wes aggreit in Parliament xvij. *Auguſti*, and vottit without mekil Reſiſtance, except three Biſchopis, *viz.*

'*Dunkeld,*

(a) *Colleg. Scot. Pariſ. Mem. Scotl. Tom.* I. *F.* 157. an Original.

‘ *Dunkeld*, *Dunblain*, and the third I neid not exprym *(a)*. And ſiclik, Erlis *Caſſils*, *Catneſs*, *Crawfurd*, *Atholl*, *Eglinton*, *Houme*, *Gray*, would nocht cum to the Tolbuyth nor vott *(b)*. And all the reſt ratifyit the Confeſſion by * *Kylwynen* in an maner, by certain Lordis, Lord *Borthwick* and Lord *Somerwel*. *Item*, Thair is maid, be Conſent of Parliament, an Commiſſion to certain Nobilmen to ſeik the Mariage of the Quene of *Ingland* to my Lord *Arran*. Quhat cumis of it, I cannot ſay; bot I knaw perfectly that baith ze and I wald haif it endit betwixt thame: For it is vottit without ony maner of Prejudice to our Soveranes, or thair Authoritie *(c)*. And as to particular Cauſis or Complaintis, as zit thir xv. Dayis thai wald tak nane in, or at the leiſt all the Billis thai kepe thame as zit; and na Manis Levingis nor Houſes reſtorit, and zouris and myne in ſpeciall. I can nocht ſay quhat thai will do now efter this. Farder, the Elderis callit of every Town takis all the Cauſis of our Eccleſiaſticall Juriſdiction, and intromettis with all our Office; quhilk ze man luke to. And at this Parliament the Lordis of Artickilis was, Poſtulat of *Galloway*, and Abbot *Lindoris*, Commendator of *Arbroth*, and *St. Colm*, Den *Johne Wynrame* *(d)*; and thai war choſen be the Temporall Eſtait of [out of] our Eſtait *(e)*, with ſum utheris. I heir thai will do all Thingis thai may do againſt Kirk and Kirkmen, not breaking openly the Appointment: And as all Thingis takis End, ze ſall be advertiſit. Bot without uther Order nor I ſie, I beleif litil Reſt for us; for thai will not tholl us ells to weir our awin Claythes without Troubil. Alſo ze man cauſe ſum Man uſe zour Juriſdiction, and be Officiall or Commiſſar, that we may haif the Letteris towart Inhibition for Teinds, or for ſummar Proceſs; for it will be ſum time to get Execution on Sentence. For I noder will nor can thynk that our Soveranis will lat all this Cuntre be oppreſſit wrongouſlie be Subjectis; bot I will nocht judge quhill I ſee the uttermaiſt. Bot an Thyng is, that ſa lang as thir new Precheris ar thollit and haldyng that ar nocht admittit be the Ordinary, bot cumis in be Force, or tane in be Townis at thair awin hand, ſa that thai will not thol ony maner of Service in the Kirk, oder Meſs, Preching, uſing ony Sacramentis bot alanarlie be thai Men, and all utterly oppoſis all utheris, baith Biſchopis, Abbotis, Parſonis, Vicaris, that will not uſe all Thyngis of thair Manner as thai preſcrif: Thairfor zour Lordſchip man be diligent for Remeid of thir Thyngis; and at reaſoning wald that [na] Alteration war maid of Godis Service, oder in ſynging or ſaying of Meſs, Matynes, uſing of Prechingis and Sacramentis, again baith the Prelatis Willis, and ſiclik again the Peopillis awin Willis. Bot it micht be ſufficient to ony that wold be of this new Opinion to uſe thair awin Conſcience with thairſell *(f)*, and nocht to cummir utheris to boſt thame, or baniſch thame the Cuntrie, without thai do ſiclik; or at the leiſt, to hald all thair Benefices and Lyvingis fra thame. And als, it is ſchawin that thai will putt in every Kirk, by all the Biſchopis *, Miniſteris to preich and uſe the Sacramentis on thair maner,

* *except.*

* i. e. *without Conſent of the Biſhops.*

(a) Meaning no doubt himſelf. And ſo this lets us into the Secret of the ſingling out theſe three Prelates in the Act contained *p.* 151 above. By this likewiſe we learn that ſome feeble Reſiſtance at leaſt has been made againſt the *new Confeſſion of Faith* in Parliament.

(b) Yet the Earl of *Athole* is remarkably taken notice of by our Hiſtorians, as having voted againſt the new Confeſſion; and all theſe other Peers are marked in the Liſt of this Parliament. So it ſeems the Liſt has been made up at diſcretion by the Men in Power. It may be ſaid the Prelates had done well, not to have come into the Parliament neither; but perhaps they dreaded a further Reſentment from the prevailing Party, ſhould they have abſented; or probably they have thought that by their complying to meet the Parliament, they might have obtained ſome Favour with reſpect to the Bills which they were obliged by the late Capitulation to offer to the Parliament, for Redreſs of ſuch Wrongs as they had ſuſtained. But I ſhall not ſay that either of the two were juſtifiable Reaſons; nor, on the other hand, can we determine any thing in the Matter at this diſtance.

(c) This confirms our Obſervation in *p.* 155.

(d) Abp. *Spottiſwood* gives the Liſt thus, *viz.* Biſhops of *Galloway* and *Argile*, Prior of St. *Andrew*'s, Abbots of *Aberbrothick*, *Kilwinning*, *Lindores*, *Newbottle* and *Culros*; which Liſt may probably be true, ſince Abp. *Hamilton* ſays here, *with ſum utheris.*

(e) This is a plain Inſtruction that the Temporal Lords have been in uſe, even at that Time, to make Choice of ſo many from among the Clergy, to make up the Lords of Articles; which Cuſtom we know came afterward to be paſs'd into a Law in the Reign of King *Charles* I. *Spottiſwood* obſerves likewiſe, that it was the Privilege of Noblemen then to nominate ſome of the Clergy.

(f) This Prelate ſhould have thought of this ſooner, and granted Liberty of Conſcience when he had more Power in his hand. But we ſee Men in Power, be they of whatever Denomination, are ſtill of one Mind, *viz.* to carry every thing by a high hand;

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‘ and debarr all utheris. And thir Precheris ar ſa ſeditious, that I belief littil Obediens to the Authoritie ſa lang as thai haif Place. And as all Thyngis takis End, I ſall heirefter advertiſe zour Lordſchip ſchortlie, or ſend an Servand to zou. And quhat zour Lordſchip will I do heir, I ſall do ſiclik, as I offer me to zour Servandis heir ay to do. Thair is nane of this new Band hes Will oder to ſpeik or accumpany with ony of us. Referring farder to my nixt writing or ſending. Of *Edinburgh* xviij. *Auguſti.*

‘ All thir new Precheris perſwadis opinly the Nobilitie in the Pulpit to putt violent Handis, and ſlay all Kirkmen that will not concurr and tak thair Opinion; and opinly reprochis my Lord Duk that he will nocht begin firſt, and oder to cauſe me do as thai do, or els to uſe the Rigour on me be Slauchter, Sword *(a)*, or, at the leiſt, perpetuall Priſon: And with Tyme, gif thai be thollit, na Man may haif Lyf bot without thai grant thair Artickilis; quhilk I will nocht. Thairfor provide Remeid. I pray zour Lordſchip to mak my Commendation to all Nobilmen of our Acquaintance of *French* beand in Court, and my Lord *Seyton (b)*.

Zour Lordſchip at all Power,

J. SANCTANDROIS.

The Readers will receive likewiſe a good deal of Satisfaction, by peruſing the following Letter written by the Archbiſhop of *Glaſgow*'s Factor, who ſeems to have been a ſenſible, ſincere, plain Country Man; and I preſume his Account to the Archbiſhop of what paſs'd while he wrote on the Place, may be ſafely depended upon.

Letter of Thomas Archbald *Chamberlain of the Archbiſhoprick of* Glaſgow, *to the Archbiſhop at* Paris, 28*th* Auguſt 1560 *(c)*.

My LORD,

Letter to the Archbiſhop of *Glaſgow* from his Lordſhip's Chamberlain.

‘ EFter maiſt hairtlie Commendation of Service: It will pleis zour Lordſchip, that zour Mother is weill convaleſcit again, and all Frendis heir is weil, be reaſon that thair is gude Word that zour Lordſchip is weil in *France*. And concerning zour Lordſchipis Biſſineſs of zour Lordſchips leving of the Biſchopry of *Glaſgo*, I can find nathing to be gottin heir, bot is alwayis denyit baith with my Lord Dukis Grace and the Counſall. For firſt I zied * to my Lord Duk incontinent efter zour Lordſchipis departing, and deſirit Reſtitution of the Caſtell and Places of *Glaſgo* and *Lochwood*, and gaif in Billis to the Lordis of Counſall, deſirand Reſtitution conform to the Articlis of Peace: And the Dukis Anſwer and the Lordis wes, That thai commandit the Lordis of the Seſſion to give all the Letteris of four Formis; quha refuſit, and continuit † the giving of the Letteris to the Parliament: And I remanit continuallie in *Edinburgh* quhill the Parliament, and thair maid Billis, as the reſt of the ſpirituall Lordis, as my Lord of *Santandrois*, *Duncald*, *Dunblain*, [*Durie* Abbot of] *Dunfermling*, and utheris of the Clarge, quha could get na Anſwer the Space of thretty three Dayis; and the laſt Day of the Par-

* i. e. *went.*

† i. e. *put off.*

(*a*) This is indeed a ſevere Charge; but I muſt acknowledge it comes not up the length of what I mentioned *p.* 50, and promiſed to have inſerted into the Appendix, *Numb.* 25. I therefore beg the Readers Pardon for not being able to make good what I there inſerted. And yet I muſt free my ſelf of any bad Intention; the Information I had before that I received this Letter, having affirmed fully as much as I then ſaid.

(*b*) This Nobleman went away in Company with the Archbiſhop of *Glaſgow*, when the *French* Soldiers were ſent home.

(*c*) *Colleg. Scot. Pariſ. Mem. Scotl. Fol.* 166. an Original. There are many more of this Man's Letters to his Lord the Archbiſhop; but they are all concerning his Care to get up the Rents which were entruſted with him: Only here and there he tells a Word of what was adoing in the Country; ſuch as, “ 10th *October* 1560, *John Willocks* is going to *London* with the Ambaſſadors to bring home his Wife; he gets 1000 *l.* yearly off the Biſhoprick of *Glaſgow*, [I ſuſpect he is miſtaken in the Sum] and dwells in the Dean's Houſe. All the poor Prieſts that will not recant are baniſhed the Town [of *Glaſgow*.] 18th *December* 1560, —— Himſelf [*Archbald*] warded till he ſhould repay the Rents of *Glaſgow* he had got up. My Lord *Huntly* halds up the Maſs in *Strathbogy*, and will not come to the Lords of the Congregation —— and ſicklyk my Lords of *Eglinton*, *Caſſils*, *Symple*, *Roſs* and *Hume*, comes not to thame, nor zit to thair Counſall. The Laird of *Dalhouſy* is in Ward in the Caſtell of *Sanctandrois*, becaus he gaif three or four puir Friars Meat in his Place. My Lord of *Arran* and my Lord *James* ſeirchit all his Place, and gatt thame not; but thai brunt all the Bukis and Meſs-claiths that was in the Place.”

1560.

Parliament, at fyve Houris at Evin, the Lordis of the Articlis callit for the Biſchopis to reſſon thair Billis, and thai war all departit, be reaſon that thai would nocht ſubſcrive with the Lordis of the Articlis; *and thairfor thai war callit becauſe of thair Department.* I gaif in ſindrie Billis to the Lordis of the Parliament, be Avyſe of Maiſter *Johne Spens*, deſirand an Anſwer: I could never gett the Anſwer of ane of thame. At laſt I paſſit to the Maiſter of *Maxwell*, quha zeid in ſpeciall to my Lord Duk for zour Lordſchipis Affaris; and he gat an Anſwer of my Lord Duk, That his Grace wald not haif ado thairwith, and that thair wald na Kirkmen be anſwerit neither of thair Placis nor Rentis, without that thai ſubſcrivit the Articlis of the new Religioun, as thai haif ſett it forwart. The Parliament endit the xxiv. of *Auguſt* 1560, and began the firſt of the ſamyn. I was at my Lord Duk be the xvi. Day of *Auguſt*, and deſirit his Grace to gif me his written Anſwer, quhidder that he would reſtore the Caſtell and Place of *Glaſquo* to me as Chamberlan and Factor to zour Lordſchip, be reſone that I wes left be zour Lordſchip to reſaif the ſamyne: And I ſaid to his Grace, that I would write no Lyis to zour Lordſchip; and thairfor deſirit his Graces Anſwer, ſwa that I war not callit an evil Servant and negligent. His Anſwer wes, That he had na mair ado thairwith, nor the reſt of the Lordis of Counſall. And ſwa I got nathing done in this Biſſineſs, as this Bearer can ſchaw zour Lordſchip. And the reſt of the Biſchopis and Kirkmen that hes nocht adjoinit, is done in like maner, and will get nathing this Zeir to cum mair than thai gat the Zeir bygane. The Lordis diſchargit all Letteris of Factories in Parliament; bot zit *thair* Factoris intromettis and takis up all Thingis in the auld maner *(a)*. I miſter not to write mair of Biſſineſs to zour Lordſchip; bot, as I hear, how ſoon the Comptis of *thair* Factoris is hard, that thai will gif thame new Commiſſionis again, or utheris in thair Placis——— [*Follows an Account of his Diligence in craving the Duties of the Kirk of* Glaſgow *in ſeveral Places, but without getting any thing; then follows,*] ——I putt no doubt bot zour Lordſchip is advertiſit of the Lordis of the Articlis. For Newis: Thir ar the Imbaſſadoris that departis in *Ingland* for the Mariage of my Lord Duk's Son; My Lord *Glencairn*, my Lord *Morton*, my Lord *Revan*, my Lord *Robert*, as ſaid is, and the Lard of *Ledinton* the Secretar: Thai depart wondrous bruisk, thair Bayis ar taxit to cum up to 15000 *l.* To thair furniſching Maiſter *Robert Richeſon (b)* advancit thame 5000 *l.* Farther, thair is an Act maid on the laſt Day of the Parliament, That gif my Lord of *Sanct Androis*, zour Lordſchip, *Dunfermling*, my Lordis of *Murray*, *Duncald*, *Dunblain*, the Prior of *Quhittern*, *Corſraguel*, and all thais that hes not adjoinit, that gif thai haif ſett ony Tackis, Fewis, or Rentalis, ſen the vi. Day of *March* in the Zeir of God 1559 Zeiris, the ſaid Tackis and Fewis ſall be of na Avail *(c)*; and ſwa thair is nathing to me ado heir, without thair be ſome Remeid found thairfor. My Lord Duk ſayis heir, that zour Lordſchip hes maid evil Report of him and of his Sone my Lord of *Aran*, ſen zour Lordſchipis departing of *Scotland*; and this his Grace ſaid to the Maiſter: I miſter not to expreim his Naim *(d)* to zour Lordſchip. The Maiſter ſaid this himſelf to me; quhairfor I think zour Lordſchip the war * handelit. The Maiſter ſtandis in gude Mind to zour Lordſchip; and ſayis, gif ony of the Biſchopis beis reſtorit to thair Livingis and Placis, that zour Lordſchip ſall be reſtorit in like maner, utherwayis thai ſall tyne † him. And this zour Lordſchip ſall belief ſurelie that I write unfeinzetlie to zour Lordſchip. I ſall re-

* *worſe.*

† *loſe.*

(*a*) This is ſtill another Inſtance of unjuſt Procedure by this Convention.

(*b*) He was Commendator of *St. Mary Iſle*, and Lord Treaſurer; he is often mentioned in our *Scottiſh* Hiſtory. If the Lord *Ruthven* and Lord *Robert* of *Holy-rood-houſe* were indeed nominated in this Convention to repair into *England*, 'tis probable they have left the Trouble of the Journey to the Earls of *Glencairn* and *Morton*, and the young Laird of *Lethington*.

(*c*) See *p.* 151.

(*d*) Very probably the Maſter of *Maxwell* is here intended.

1560 ‘ main byding better Tymis cuming, and God preſerve zour Lordſchip. Of ‘ *Edinburgh* xxviij. Day of *Auguſt* 1560.

Be zour Lordſchip at Command,

Thomas Archbald.

‘ *P. S. Johne Willokis* is maid Biſchop (a) of *Glaſquo*, now in zour Lordſchipis Abſens, and plaſit in zour Place of *Glaſquo*.’

Obſervations upon the preceding Letter, *&c.*

By this Letter we have diſcovered to us more than otherwiſe we ſhould ever have known of the Hardſhips and Injuſtice impoſed upon the Clergy, contrary to the plain Articles of the late Agreement. And both by it and the preceding Letter of the Archbiſhop of St. *Andrew*'s, we find what Truth is contained in that Act or Declaration made in this Convention, and printed here already, *p.* 151, beginning thus, *It is ſtatut, that becaus na Man comperit of the Kirkmen*, &c. For by comparing theſe Letters with this Declaration, 'tis moſt obvious the Parliament has fraudulently eluded the Meaning of the Agreement, and by the ſame mean and wicked Art, not only deprived the poor Kirkmen of the ſmall Relief afforded them by the Articles of Capitulation, but brought them likewiſe under the Reproach of having had no Complaint at all to bring before the Parliament: Whereas we are here rendred certain, that ſeveral Bills of Complaint were given in to the Parliament, but no Anſwer at all vouchſafed them, tho' often requeſted; until at laſt, when the Prelates were quite tired out, and having loſt all hopes of Redreſs to their Complaints, were departed, after a tedious Attendance of thirty three Days and more (a very unuſual Space for our *Scottiſh* Parliament to ſit;) they were pleaſed to call the Biſhops at Five o'clock in the Evening immediately before the Riſing of the Parliament, when they were ſure the Biſhops were all gone, (and as Mr. *Archbald* very well obſerves, *thairfoir thai war callit becaus of thair Department*;) and becauſe the Biſhops were not preſent *to reaſon their Bills*, that is, ſhew Reaſons why their Bills, Petitions or Demands ſhould be granted, they were holden as having either withdrawn their Bills, or as having *not* offered any Bills at all; and ſo the Declaration juſt now mentioned proceeds to ſay, that *the Lordis and Nobilitie had done thair Dewtie conform to the Articlis of Peax, quhilk ſayis*, &c. But if this was *doing their Duty*, or doing to others as they would have wiſh'd to be done by; honeſt and impartial Men will be beſt Judges. Surely if the Earl *Mariſchal* thought it a ſufficient Reaſon for him to conclude the Badneſs of *one* Plea from the Silence of the Biſhops, his Lordſhip might, in my humble Opinion, have more juſtly concluded the Badneſs of *another* from the deceitful and eluſory Expreſſions of the Congregation; at leaſt, he ſhould have abhorred to ſupport a *good Cauſe* by *evil Meaſures*. But the Noblemen wanted to finger the Patrimony of the Kirkmen; and ſo the Kirkmen may complain, but they ſhall never be heard. But beſides this Parliamentary Cheat, if I may ſo call it, 'tis to a Demonſtration evident by *Archbald*'s Letters, that the Men in Power had no ſuch Intention as to fulfil the Contents of the 13th Article of the Accord: For how often had this *Archbald* ſolicited the Council, and particularly his Grace of *Chaſtelherault*, in favours of the Archbiſhop of *Glaſgow*; but we ſee all was to no purpoſe. There was ſo much Contrivance, ſhifting and ſhuffling, and at laſt downright Denial, unleſs the Kirkmen would ſubſcribe the Articles of the new Religion, that I wonder not that *Knox* and *Buchanan* have taken care not to ſay one Word of this Matter in all their Hiſtory of the Reformation; for indeed it might have coſt more than all their Skill, great as it was, to have varniſh'd over this dirty Job with any tolerable appearance of Equity.

CHAP.

The Writer of this Letter is ſo far in the right, that Mr. *Willocks* was truly made *Superintendant* of *Glaſgow*.

CHAP. I.

Containing Church-Affairs from the Parliament in Auguſt 1560, *until the Queen's Return into* Scotland *in* Auguſt 1561.

1560.

BEING now reſolved to follow forth the new Scheme into which the Eccleſiaſtical Affairs of this Nation were thrown by the preſent Modellers; it may not be altogether amiſs to run over the ſhort Hint thereof, which, for Connexion's ſake, I have already ſubjoined to the Treaty of Accord in the Month of *July* 1560.

Miniſters and Superintendants diſtributed into different Places.

Mr. *Knox* then tells us, that after the Publication of that Treaty, the Departure of the foreign Soldiers, and the ſolemn Thankſgiving in the High Church of *Edinburgh*, "the Commiſſioneris of Burghs, with ſome of the Nobility and Barons, were appointed to ſee the equal Diſtribution of Miniſters, "to change and tranſport, as the moſt part ſhould think expedient." Then follow the Names of the Miniſters and the Places to which they were appointed, as is already ſet down. Next follow the Names of thoſe that were nominated for *Superintendants*: "Theſe (adds he) to be elected at the Days appointed, unleſs the Countries wherein they were to be appointed, could in "the mean time find out Men more abill or ſufficient, or ells ſchaw ſic Cauſes "as micht inhabill thame for that Dignity." By the Book of Diſcipline we ſee the Kingdom was divided into ten Diſtricts, each of which to have a Superintendant, but at preſent there were only five Superintendants nominated, through the want of ſufficient Perſons to diſcharge that Truſt; for Mr. *Knox*, whatever has been his Motive, has ſtill taken care to keep himſelf out of that Employment: 'Tis moſt likely he has ſeen he could be more uſeful for the main Point, by remaining cloſe within *Edinburgh*, and guiding the Inhabitants of that Capital into ſuch Meaſures as he found neceſſary for bringing about their Deſigns. The Office, Manner of Election, *&c.* of the Superintendants, may be ſeen at large in the Book of Diſcipline; and their Admiſſion, in *Knox*'s Hiſtory. Thus we ſee that immediately after the *Accord* was proclaimed, and before the meeting of the Parliament, the *Miniſters* were diſtributed into particular Towns, and *Superintendants* nominated for that ſuperior Office; neither of which, I ſuſpect, could legally be done according to the Articles of the Agreement.

A Book of Diſcipline to be drawn.

"The Parliament diſſolved (ſays Mr. *Knox*) Conſultation was had how the "Kirk micht be eſtabliſhed in a gude and godly Policy, quhilk by the Papiſts "was altogether defaced. Commiſſioun and Chairge was gevin to Mr. *Johne* "*Winrame* Sub-Prior of *Sanct Androis*, Mr. *Johne Spottiſwood*, Mr. *Johne* "*Douglas* Rectour of *Sanct Androis*, Mr. *Johne Row*, and *Johne Knox (a)*, "to draw in a Volume the Policy and Diſcipline of the Kirk, alſweill as thai "had done the Doctrine; quhilk thai did, and preſented it to the Nobility, "quho did peruſe it mony Dayis" *(b)*.

Concerning the modelling this Book of Diſcipline, Abp. *Spottiſwood* has a pretty ſingular Story in the MS. Copy of his Hiſtory, *viz.* "The Preachers "(ſays he) in this Time *(c)* were buſied in drawing up a Form of Church-Po-

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(*a*) The Title-Page of the printed Diſcipline bears likewiſe *John Willocks* to be one of the Compilers, and ſo do the Editions of *Knox*'s Hiſtory in the Year 1644. Abp. *Spottiſwood*'s Hiſtory does likewiſe the ſame.

(*b*) In the Preface to this Book of Diſcipline, 'tis ſaid the Miniſters received a Charge from the great Council, dated at *Edinburgh* the 29th *April* 1560, to compile this Book; and at the End of the Book there is this Note, *viz. From Edinburgh 20th May* 1560. Which two Dates do perfectly well correſpond; but how they are to be reconciled with what Mr. *Knox* ſays here, of a Conſultation and Commiſſion to draw up the *Policy* ſometime after the diſſolving of the Parliament in the End of *Auguſt* 1560, is more than I can pretend to adjuſt. He owns himſelf that the Book of Diſcipline was peruſed newly over again by the Convention in *January* 1560-1.

(*c*) *i.e.* as appears by his introducing the Story, *in the Time* betwixt the Parliament in *Auguſt* 1560, and the Convention in *January* 1560-1.

"licy, for the Order that ſhould be obſerved in Preaching, in the Adminiſtration of the Sacraments, Election of Paſtors, Proviſion for their Maintenance, "and other Things belonging to Diſcipline; the Care hereof had been committed to Mr. *John Spottiſwood* Superintendant of *Lowthian*, Mr. *John Willocks* Superintendant of *Glaſgow*, Mr. *John Winrame* Sub-Prior of St. *Andrew*'s, Mr. *John Douglas* Rector of the Univerſity of St. *Andrew*'s, and "to Mr. *John Row* and *John Knox* Miniſters. Divers of this Number perſwaded the retaining of the ancient Policy, and to purge it from the Corruptions "and Abuſes *only* that were crept into the ſame, foraſmuch as they were not to "make up a new Church, but only to reform it, and to reduce Things unto "that Perfection from which they had ſwerved. Wiſdom, they ſaid, would "require that as little Change ſhould be made therein as might be, becauſe the "ſmalleſt Alterations in any State are perillous, and Government once looſed is "not eaſily again faſtned. But theſe Advices took no Place; *John Knox* "(who then carried the chiefeſt Sway) liking that Courſe beſt which ſtood in "extreme Oppoſition againſt the Church of *Rome*, and ſtudying by all means "to conform the Government of the Church with *that* which he had ſeen in "*Geneva*. The reſt ſuffering themſelves to be led by his Opinion, a "Draught of the Policy was made, and preſented to the Convention."

Mr. *Knox* will not hearken to moderate Meaſures therein.

This Book of Diſcipline which was now formed is pretty large, and may eaſily be ſeen by ſuch as have any Curioſity; and therefore I ſhall only mention ſome few particular Places of it that may be noticed above others.

In the third Head, touching the *aboliſhing of Idolatry*, are theſe Words, "We cannot ceaſe to require Idolatry, with all Monuments and Places of the "ſame, as Abbeys, Monkeries, Frieries, Nunneries, Chapels, Chanteries, Cathedral Churches, Chanonries, Colleges, others than preſently are Pariſh-Churches or Schools, to be utterly ſuppreſſed [*i. e.* as appears by the former and future Practice of thoſe Days, *pulled down*] in all Bounds and "Places of this Realm; except only Palaces, Manſions, and Dwelling-places "adjacent thereto, with Orchards and Yards of the ſame."

Some Parts of the Diſcipline ſubject to Animadverſion.

In the fourth Head, concerning *Miniſters*, 'tis ſaid, that "ordinary Vocation conſiſteth in Election, Examination and Admiſſion —— Other Ceremonies than the publick Approbation of the People, and Declaration of the "chief Miniſter [meaning, I fancy, the Superintendant] that the Perſon there "preſented is appointed to ſerve the Church, we cannot approve; for albeit "the Apoſtles uſed Impoſition of Hands, yet ſeeing the Miracle is ceaſed, the "uſing of the Ceremony we judge not neceſſary." A manifeſt Renverſement in the Appointment of Miniſters in the Church! 'Tis ſomewhat ſtrange, that Mr. *Knox*'s and his Brethrens Judgment ſhould excel the Judgment of ſo many worthy Perſons that had been in the Church fifteen hundred Years before him! But ſome Men are fond of their own Inventions; and provided they be *new*, no matter how extravagant otherwiſe.

In the Article concerning *Burial*, it is ſaid, "For avoiding of all Inconveniences, we judge it beſt, that neither ſinging nor reading be at the Burial; "for albeit Things ſung and read may admoniſh ſome of the *Living* to prepare "for Death, yet ſhall ſome Superſtitious think, that ſinging and reading of the "*Living* may profit the *Dead*." Such *may-be's* can never be wanting in any Point; nor is it poſſible to guard againſt Superſtition in ſome one Shape or other.

In the Article that concerns *the Puniſhment of thoſe that prophane the Sacraments*, &c. it is declared, "The Papiſtical Prieſts have neither Power nor "Authority to miniſter the Sacraments of *Chriſt Jeſus*, becauſe that in their "Mouth is not the Sermon of Exhortation *(a)*: And therefore to them muſt

"ſtrait

(*a*) And in the 22d Article of the *Confeſſion* preſented to the Parliament are theſe Words, —— "lauchfull Miniſteris, quhom "we affirm to be only thai that ar appointit to the preiching of the Word, or into quhoſe Mouthes God hathe put ſum Sermone "of Exhortatioun, thai being Men lauchfullie chuſin thairto be ſum Kirk —— We flie the Society with the Papiſticall Kirk —

"be

1560. “ ſtrait Inhibition be made, notwithſtanding any Uſurpation they have made in the Time of Blindneſs, not to preſume upon the like hereafter; as likewiſe, to all others who are not lawfully called to the holy Miniſtry. It is neither the clipping of their Crowns, the croſſing of their Fingers, nor the blowing of the dumb Dogs called the Biſhops, neither the laying on of their Hands, that maketh true Miniſters of *Chriſt Jeſus:* But the Spirit of God inwardly firſt, moving the Heart to ſeek to enter into the holy Calling, for *Chriſt*'s Glory, and the Profit of his Kirk; and thereafter, the Nomination of the People, the Examination of the Learned, and publick Admiſſion, as before is ſaid, make Men lawful Miniſters of the Word and Sacraments. We ſpeak of the ordinary Vocation in Kirks reformed, and not of that which is extraordinary, when God, by himſelf, and by his only Power, raiſeth up to the Miniſtry ſuch as beſt pleaſeth his Wiſdom.” I have already made ſuch a Reflexion as might be applicable here; and ſhall only here add, that no Set of Men ever denied the Neceſſity of the Spirit of God's inwardly moving the Heart: So there is nothing new in this Diſcipline as to that Qualification (a).

I have purpoſely reſerved the ſixth Head to be taken notice of in the laſt Place; a great part of which, becauſe of its Singularity, I ſhall here ſet down. “ With the Griefe of our Hearts we heare that ſome Gentlemen are now as cruel over their Tenants as ever were the Papiſts, requiring of them the Tiends, and whatſoever they afore payed to the Kirk; ſo that the Papiſtical Tyrannie ſhall only be changed into the Tyrannie of the Lord and Laird——The Gentlemen, Barons, Earls, Lords, and others, muſt be content to live upon their juſt Rents, and ſuffer the Kirk to be reſtored to her Right and Liberty.——The Summes able to ſuſtain the forenamed Perſons, [*viz.* the Miniſters of the Word, the Poor, together with the Schools] and to furniſh all Things appertaining to the Preſervation of good Order and Policie within the Kirk, muſt be lifted of the Tenths; to wit, the tenth Sheaf of all ſorts of Corn, Hay, Hemp and Lint; tenth Fiſh, tenth Calf, tenth Lamb, tenth Wool, tenth Foal, tenth Cheeſe. And becauſe that we know, that the Tenth reaſonably taken, as is before expreſſed, will not ſuffice to diſcharge the former Neceſſity, we think that all Things doted to Hoſpitality, and annual Rents, both in Burgh and Land, pertaining to the Prieſts, Chanteries, Colleges, Chappellanries, and the Frieries of all Orders, to the Siſters of the *Seenes*, and ſuch others of that ſort, be retained ſtill in the Uſe of the Kirk or Kirks within the Towns and Pariſhes where they were doted. Furthermore, to the upholding of the Univerſities, and Suſtentation of the Superintendants, the whole Revenue of the Temporality of the Biſhops, Deans and Archdeans Lands, and of all Rents of Lands pertaining to the Cathedral Kirks whatſoever. And further, we think that Merchants

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“ becaus thair Miniſteris ar na Miniſteris of *Jeſus Chriſt.*” The weakneſs of theſe Arguments here made uſe of are too palpable. It was ſurely a Fault not to have inſtructed the People by Diſcourſes; but even this could not be laid to the Charge of *all* the Kirkmen who adhered to the Pope. And now that I have mentioned this Part of the *Confeſſion of Faith* preſented to the Parliament, I may likewiſe, ſince I omitted the doing it formerly, touch at another Part or two thereof. The 16th Article ſays, *the Catholick Kirk is inviſible, knawn only to God*: But ſure the *whole* Catholick Church is not inviſible. The 18th Article gives theſe for the Marks of the true Kirk, *viz.* “ *Firſt*, The trew preiching of the Worde of God. *Secundlie*, The right Adminiſtration of the Sacramentis of *Chriſt Jeſus*. *Laſtly*, Eccleſiaſtical Diſcipline uprightly miniſtred.” And what Church will not pretend to all theſe? Again, in the ſame Article, “ The Interpretation of Scripture neyther aperteinethe to any private nor publick Perſon, neyther yet to any Kyrk, for any Preheminence or Prerogative perſonal or local which one hath above another, [This is added, no doubt, againſt the Biſhop of *Rome*] bot aperteinethe to the Spirit of God, by the which alſo the Scripture was writtin. When Contraverſy then hapneth for the right underſtanding of any Place or Sentence of Scripture, or the Reformation of any Abuſe within the Kirk of God, we ought not ſamekill to look what Men befoir us have ſaid or done, as unto that which the Holy Ghoſt uniformly ſpeikethe within the Body of the Scripture, and unto that which *Chriſt Jeſus* himſelf did, and commandit to be done.” But unleſs the Holy Ghoſt was audibly to ſpeak, Men muſt always be the Interpreters. Or if Mr. *Knox* ſhould ſay, that the Holy Ghoſt ſpake and interpreted Scripture through him, yet another Man may deny the ſame; and 'tis certain that both he did affirm this Thing, and others did deny it. Therefore all this is but looſe Work, ſubject to much Cavil and Uncertainty.

(a) In the Place to which I here refer, as containing a proper Reflexion upon this Article, *viz.* *p.* 150, I took too much Freedom to ſay, that the *former Clergy* were, by the Act aboliſhing the Maſs, declared to be nothing elſe but *uſurped Miniſters*. It is indeed ſo ſaid upon the Matter, but in ſo many expreſs Words it is not ſaid ſo; however the Reader ſees their *Uſurpation* is here named. In this Article of the Diſcipline the Compilers do own, that they would wiſh Death to be inflicted upon the former Clergy, if they attempt to adminiſter the Sacraments.

1560. “ and rich Craftſmen in free Burghs, having nothing to do with the manuring of the Ground, muſt make ſome Proviſion, in their Cities, Towns and Dwelling-places, for to ſupport the Need of the Kirk. The Receivers and Collectors of the Rents and Duties, muſt be Deacons or Theſaurers appointed from Yeare to Yeare, in every Kirk, and by the common Conſent and free Election of the Kirk. The Deacons muſt diſtribute no Part of that which is collected, but by Command of the Miniſters and Elders; and they may command nothing to be delivered, but as the Kirk hath before determined, *to wit*, the Deacons ſhall of the firſt Part pay the Summes, either quarterly, or from halfe Yeare to halfe Yeare, to the Miniſters which the Kirk hath appointed. The ſame they ſhall doe to the Schoolmaſters, Readers, and Hoſpitall, if any be, receiving alwayes an Acquittance for their Diſcharge.

“ If any extraordinary Summes be to be delivered, then muſt the Miniſters, Elders and Deacons conſult whether the Deliverance of ſuch Summes doth ſtand with the common Utilitie of the Kirk or not; and if they do univerſally condeſcend and agree upon the Affirmative or Negative, then becauſe they are in Credite or Office for the Yeare, they may do as beſt ſeems: But if there be any Controverſy amongſt themſelves, the whole Kirk muſt be made privy; and after that the Matter be proponed, and the Reaſons heard, the Judgment of the Kirk, with the Miniſter's Conſent, ſhall prevaile.

“ The Deacons ſhall be compelled and bound to make Accounts to the Miniſter and Elders of that which they received, as oft as the Policie ſhall appoint; and the Elders when they are changed, which muſt be every Yeare, muſt cleare their Count before ſuch Auditers as the Kirk ſhall appoint: And both the Deacons and Elders being changed, ſhall deliver to them that ſhall be new elected, all Summes of Money, Cornes, and other Profites reſting in their Hands; the Tickets whereof muſt be delivered to the Superintendents in their Viſitation, and by them to the great Councell of the Kirk, that as well the Aboundance as the Indigence of everie Kirk may be evidentlie known, that a reaſonable Equality may be had throughout this whole Realm. If this Order be perfectly kept, Corruption cannot ſuddenly enter: For the free and yearly Election of Deacons and Elders ſhall ſuffer none to uſurpe a perpetuall Domination over the Kirk; the Knowledge of the Rentall ſhall ſuffer them to receive no more then whereof they ſhall be bound to make Accounts; the Deliverance of Money to the new Officers ſhall not ſuffer private Men to uſe in their private Buſineſs that which appertaineth to the publick Affaires of the Kirk.”

The great Complaint had been, that the Church in former Times had enjoyed too large Poſſeſſions. The Complaint ſeems indeed to have had a juſt Foundation, ſince we perceive by the publick Records, that in time of a new Taxation or Aſſeſſment to the King, no leſs than one Third of the whole was paid out of the Church-lands. And it has been oft-times ſaid, and perhaps with equally good Foundation too, that had it not been for the Envy which the Poſſeſſions of the Church created to its Office-bearers, very few of the landed Men, either Nobility or Gentry, would have acted ſo keenly in overturning the ancient Form of Religion in this Realm. Mr. *Knox*, who was at the Head of this new Regulation, was of Opinion (as we ſee by this Article of the Diſcipline) that all the former Rents belonging to the Church (Manſes and Gleibs included) muſt ſtill continue in Poſſeſſion of the Church; with this Difference in the manner of collecting or uplifting, that annual Deacons were ſurrogated into the Room of the former legal Proprietors, and theſe Deacons were to diſtribute the Incomes according to Warrands ſigned by the Miniſters, Elders, *&c.* Mr. *Knox*, it may be, thought all his Party as diſintereſted as himſelf; but he ſoon found he had been miſtaken, as we ſhall afterwards have occaſion to obſerve. Abp. *Spottiſwood* informs, that a certain “ Nobleman being ask'd his Opinion of this new Device of annual Deacons, anſwer'd, it was a devout Imagination; at which Mr. *Knox* was highly offended: Yet, ſays the Archbiſhop,

1560.

“ biſhop, it was no better than a Dream, for it could never have taken Effect.” And here is added in the printed Hiſtory of this Prelate a pretty remarkable Story concerning the then Archbiſhop of St. *Andrew*'s *(Hamilton)* his employing *John Brand* to offer his Advice to Mr. *Knox*. But the Story, according to the MS. Hiſtory, is to be found in a different Place, and narrated likewiſe at ſomewhat greater length; and Mr. *Spottiſwood* ſays likewiſe, that he has often heard the Story from *John Brand*: I ſhall therefore take the Freedom to inſert the ſame here word by word, *viz.*

“ The Hiſtory of Reformation which I go now to write [This is the Beginning of the Archbiſhop's *Third* Book, according to the MS.] will let us ſee great Changes made in the Church. What, do I ſay Changes? We ſhall ſee the State of the Church quite overturned, and with the Reformation that was much deſired, (and was indeed moſt needful) many Things done extremely hurtful both to the Church and Kingdom; as, Temples demoliſhed, Religious Places ruined, the Rents and Rights of the Church ſacrilegiouſly uſurped, and the external Policy *(than which a more wiſe Form of Government could not be deviſed) (a)* utterly overthrown. Thus (as it falleth out ſometimes in Bodies repleniſhed with corrupt Humours) the Remedy intended for purging one Diſeaſe, brought with it many Infections, ſuch as this Age, perhaps the ſucceeding, ſhall not ſee fully cured and put away *(b)*. It comes to my Mind what I have often heard related by *John Brand* (who ſerved many Years with good Commendation in the Miniſtry at *Halirudhouſe*,) that he was employed by the Archbiſhop of St. *Andrew*'s, in the Time this Work was adoing, to *John Knox*, and willed to ſay from him, That howſoever he had introduced another Form of Religion, and reformed the Doctrine of the Church, whereof it might be there was ſome Reaſon; yet he ſhould do well not to ſhake looſe the Order and Policy received, which had been the Work of many Ages, till he were ſure of a better to be ſettled in Place thereof. And to this purpoſe he told of a Cuſtom kept amongſt the Highlanders in breaking wild Colts, how they were wont to faſten them with two ſtrong Tethers *; and when they let looſe the one, they kept the other faſt, till the Colt was made tame, and brought in Subjection to his Rider: For the Beaſt otherwiſe finding itſelf at Liberty, flinging him off that ſat on it, would run to the Hills, and put them to ſome Days, perhaps to ſome Months travel, before they catched it again. So People, ſaid he, are wild for the greater Part, and hardly kept in Subjection of their ſpiritual Governours; and being once caſt looſe, would not be eaſily brought again into Order. Such I remember was his Diſcourſe; and no doubt the wiſer ſort wiſhed the Work to have proceeded with Advice and by the Direction of lawful Authority. But it was the Fault of them in Place, that would give no Ear to the Petitions for Reformation often preferred, and drave the People unto the deſperate Reſolution they took, which was, to do the Work by themſelves, that was denied by others, whoſe Care chiefly it ought to have been” *(c)*.

* *Ropes.*

Indeed not only Mr. *Knox*, but thoſe that have come after him, have found the Archbiſhop's Words to contain ſound Truth and wholeſome Advice. Mr. *Knox* was not ſo well acquainted with the World as the Primate: He was too wiſe in his own Eyes to accept the Prelate's Advice: He imagined he had no more ado to ſettle the Revenues of the Church in what Form he pleaſed to chalk out, than to go hither and thither with a Mob of People at his Heels, and order them to pull down the Fabricks of the Churches; for in this he got ready Obedience: He imagined that new Acts of Parliament, and new Charters transferring the Rights of the Church-lands to his annual Deacons, were to be

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(*a*) Theſe are the Archbiſhop's preciſe Words, tho' not a Syllable thereof is to be found in the Print.

(*b*) The Prelate here has been but too true a Prophet.

(*c*) Tho' this might have been ſome Excuſe during a Part of the Lifetime of the Queen-Regent, yet ſure it was none at all, after the Authority was aſſumed into the Hands of theſe levelling Reformers.

1560-1. as eaſily obtained as he could declaim againſt the corrupt Practices of the Church-Officers; but he was even forced to ſee his Error, when thoſe *good* Men, whom he calls *Saints* and *Profeſſors*, could hardly be prevailed with to allow himſelf Bread to his Belly, after they had entred into the Poſſeſſions of the Church. But it was then too late for him to look back; and he muſt content himſelf ſecretly to ſee that the Archbiſhop was wiſer than he. The Nobles were willing to let Mr. *Knox* redreſs the *Spirituality*; but they would take care to *reform* the *Temporality* of the Church by themſelves: And the Truth is, they reformed clean and low: They left no Superfluities, no not bare Neceſſaries. But it may not be improper to hear Mr. *Knox* give his own Account concerning the Reception the Book of Diſcipline met with from the Nobility.

“ Sum (ſays he) approvit and willit the ſam to haif bein ſet furth as a Law;
“ utheris perceaving thair carnall Liberty and warldly Commodity ſumquhat
“ to be impaired thairby, grudged in ſa mekill that the Name of the *Buik of*
“ *Diſcipline* became odious unto thame. Every thing that repugned to thair
“ corrupt Affectiouns was tearmed in thair Mockage, *devoit Imaginatiounis*;
“ the Caus we haif befoir declaired: Sum were licentious; ſum had gredily
“ grippit the Poſſeſſiounis of the Kirk; and utheris thocht thai wald not lack
“ thair Parte of *Chriſt*'s Cote; yea and that befoir that ever he was hanged,
“ as be the Preicherours thai wer oft rebuiked——— Thare war nane within
“ the Realme mair unmercifull to the puir Miniſteris thane war thai that had
“ the grittest Rentes of the Kirkes *(a)*. Bot in that we haif perceaved the
“ auld Proverbe to be trew, *Nothing can ſuffice a Wretche*; and agane, *The*
“ *Bellie has no Earis*. Yit the ſam Buik of Diſcipline was ſubſcryved by a
“ grit Parte of the Nobility, to wit, the Duikes Grace, &c. ——— in the
“ Tolbuythe of *Edinburgh* the 27th Day of *Januar* 1560 Yeirs, be thair Ap-
“ probatioun *(b)*, in theſe Words *(c)*:

Act of ſecret Counſell, 17th *(d)* of *Januar*, *Anno* 1560-1.

The Diſcipline is approved by an Act of Council.

WEE which have ſubſcribed thir Preſents, having adviſed with the Articles herein ſpecified, as is above mentioned from the Beginning of this Book, thinkes the ſame good and conforme to God's Word in all Points, conforme to the Notes and Additions hereto eiked; and promiſes to ſet the ſame forward to the uttermoſt of our Powers: Providing that the Biſhops, Abbots, Priors, and other Prelates and beneficed Men which els have adjoined themſelves to us, bruik the Revenues of their Benefices during their Lifetimes, they ſuſtaining and upholding the Miniſtry and Miniſters, as herein is ſpecified, for the preaching of Word, and miniſtring of the Sacraments (e).

James *Duke of* Chatellerault, James *Earl of* Arran, Archbald *Earl of* Argyle, James Steuart *Prior of St.* Andrew's, Andro *Earl of* Rothes, *Earl* Marſhal, Jhone

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(a) Abp. *Spottiſwood*'s Account of this Matter from that Part of the MS. which was ſet down *p.* 492, may perhaps be agreeable to ſome. ——*preſented it to the Convention*; “ which ſome ſcornfully rejected, calling it *devoute Imaginatiounis*: And
“ the whole [Members] deferred to allow [it] till Matters were better conſidered. Yet was the ſame by the Church ſo vehement-
“ ly urged to be confirmed [*i. e.* by *Knox*'s Faction] that a Number of the Nobility and others meeting in the Town-houſe of
“ *Edinburgh*, did ratify it by their Subſcriptions, with this Proviſion, That Biſhops, Abbots, Priors, and other Prelates and be-
“ neficed Men who had joined themſelves to the Religion, ſhould enjoy the Rents of their Benefices during their Lifetimes, they
“ ſuſtaining the Miniſtry and Miniſters for their Parts, as was preſcribed in the Book of Diſcipline. The Subſcribers were
“ the Duke of *Chattlerault*, &c. [as in the Print exactly] all theſe did promiſe their uttermoſt Aſſiſtance to the furthering of
“ the Policy deviſed: But all turned to no Effect, the Contrivers thereof after a little time growing ſenſible of their own Errors,
“ eſpecially in that which concerned the Rents and Patrimony of the Church; and divers of the Subſcribers getting into their
“ Hands the Poſſeſſions of the Church, became greater Enemies thereto than any others.”

(b) Mr. *Petrie* very well obſerves, that the Book of Diſcipline was *approved* by the Council for their own Part, but not *authorized*.

(c) Tho' there be but a ſmall Variation only, yet I have made Choice to inſert the Approbation as it is contained in the firſt printed Copy of the Diſcipline in the Year 1621, and reprinted at *Edinburgh* 1722; and to which is prefixed a Title, bearing it to be an *Act of ſecret Council*.

(d) 'Tis not eaſy *now* to judge whether the Date here or in *Knox* be right; the Miſtake of the Figure was very caſual; nor is it of any moment to us at all.

(e) Mr. *Knox* ſays, “ How this Promiſe was illuded from tyme to tyme, we will efter heir.” Thus we ſee the Noblemen have *illuded* the Clergy on both Sides; but this Writer complains only, when the Thing hurts himſelf or his own Party. It was an heroick Deed when it affected the Antichriſtian Maſs-mongers!

1560.

Jhone *Earl of* Monteith, James *Earl of* Mortoun, *Earl of* Glencairn; *Lord* Boyd, William *Lord* Hay, Alexander Campbell *Dean of* Murray, Alexander Gordon *Biſhop of* Galloway, *Lord* Uchiltrie, *Lord* Sanquhare, *St.* Jhones, William *of* Culroſs, Drumlangrig, Jhone *Lord* Lindſay, *Maiſter of* Lindſay, Bargannie *younger*, Lochinvar, Garleiſs, Cuninghamhead, James Haliburtoun, Jhone Lockhart *of* Bar, Jhone Schaw *of* Halie, Scot *of* Haning, *Maiſter of* Maxwell, George Fentoun *of that Ilk*, Andro Ker *of* Fadownſide, Andro Hamiltoun *of* Lethane *(a)*.

The firſt General Aſſembly of the Kirk of *Scotland.*

On the 20th Day of *December* 1560 began the Firſt General Aſſembly of the Kirk at *Edinburgh:* And becauſe I could not proceed ſo regularly in the new Eccleſiaſtick Affairs of this Kingdom, as by following forth the Records of this and the ſubſequent Aſſemblies; I ſhall therefore inſert the ſame here, ſo far as we have Acceſs *(b)* thereunto; a Thing which hitherto has not been attempted

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(*a*) The following *Nota* is ſubjoined here in the Edition 1722, *viz.* "The Duke of *Chatellerault*, the Earls of *Marſhal*, *Monteith* and *Mortoun*, the Lord *Lindſay* and the Laird of *Garleis*, are not in the Edition printed 1621: But *Knox*, *Spottiſwood* and *Calderwood* number them amongſt the Subſcribers to this Book of Diſcipline. The Maſter of *Lindſay* is added from *Knox* and *Calderwood.*" The Difference in the Subſcriptions ariſes, I ſuppoſe, from this, that tho' the Act of Council bears, *We which have ſubſcribed*, yet there have been no more preſent at firſt but theſe only contained in the Edition 1621. The other Subſcribers may have been purchaſed at different times.

(*b*) The Readers are here to be informed, that in the Aſſembly which ſat down by the Royal Authority at *Glaſgow* in the Year 1638, ſeveral Books of Regiſter were preſented, and voted by the Members to be the true original Records of all the preceding Aſſemblies, according to the Tenor of theſe following Acts agreed upon at that Time, *viz.* "*Act Seſſ. 6. November* 27th, 1638, The Teſtimonie of the Committie, for Tryall of the Regiſters, ſubſcribed with their Hands being produced, with ſome Reaſons thereof in another Paper, and publickly read; *My Lord Commiſſioner* profeſſed that it had reſolved him of ſundry Doubts, but deſired a Time to be more fully reſolved. The Moderatour deſired, that if any of the Aſſembly had any thing to ſay againſt the ſaid Teſtimonie for the Books, that they would declare it; and finding none to oppon, yet he appointed the Day following, to any to object any thing they could ſay; and if then none could object, the Aſſembly would hold the Regiſters as ſufficiently approven. *Act Seſſ. 7. November* 28th, *Act approving the Regiſters.* Anent the Report of the Aſſemblies Judgement of the Authority of the Books of Aſſembly; The Moderatour having deſired, that if any of the Aſſembly had any thing to ſay, they would now declare it, otherwiſe they would hold all approven by the Aſſembly. The Commiſſioner his Grace proteſted, that the Aſſemblies *approving theſe Books, or any thing contained in them*, be no wayes prejudiciall to his Majeſtie, nor to the Archbiſhops and Biſhops of this Kingdome, or any of their Adherents; becauſe he had ſome Exceptions againſt theſe Books. My Lord *Rothes* deſired theſe Exceptions to be condeſcended on, and they ſhould be preſently cleared; and proteſted that theſe Books ſhould be eſteemed authentick and obligatorie hereafter. The whole Aſſembly all in one Voice approved theſe Books, and ordained the ſame to make Faith in Judgement, and out-with, in all time comming, as the true and authentick Regiſters of the Kirk of *Scotland*, conform to the Teſtimonie ſubſcribed by the Committie, to be inſert with the Reaſons thereof in the Books of Aſſemblie: Whereof the Tenour followeth, We Under-ſubſcribers, having Power and Commiſſion from the Generall Aſſembly now preſently conveened, and ſitting at *Glaſgow*, to peruſe, examine and cognoſce upon the Validity, Faith and Strength of the Books and Regiſters of the Aſſembly under-written, *to wit*, A Regiſter beginning at the Aſſembly holden the twentie Day of *December* 1560, and ending at the fourth Seſſion of the Aſſembly holden the twentie eighth of *December* 1566. *Item*, Another Regiſter beginning at the Generall Aſſembly holden the ſecond Day of *June* 1567, and ending at the fourth Seſſion of the Aſſembly holden at *Perth* the ninth Day of *Auguſt* 1572; which Regiſter is imperfect, and mutilate in the End, and containeth no Leaf nor Page, after that Page which containeth the ſaid Inſcription of the ſaid fourth Seſſion, which two Regiſters bears to be ſubſcribed by *John Gray* Scribe. *Item*, A Regiſter of the Aſſembly holden at *Edinburgh* the ſeventh Day of *Auguſt* 1573, and ending with the twelfth Seſſion, being the laſt Seſſion of the Aſſembly 1579. *Item*, Another Regiſter beginning at the Aſſembly holden at *Edinburgh* the tenth of *May* 1586, and ending in the ſeventeenth Seſſion of the Aſſembly holden in *March* 1589. *Item*, Another Regiſter, being the fifth Book and greateſt Volume, beginning at the Aſſembly holden in *Anno* 1560, and ending in the Year 1590. Having carefully viewed, peruſed and conſidered the ſaids Regiſters, and every one of them, and being deeply and maturely adviſed, as in a Matter of greateſt Weight and Conſequence, do atteſt before God, and upon our Conſcience declare to the World and this preſent Aſſembly, that the ſaids foure Regiſters above expreſſed, and every one of them, are famous, authentick and good Regiſters; which ought to be ſo reputed, and have publick Faith in Judgement, and out-with, as valid and true Records in all Things: And that the ſaid fifth and greateſt Book, beginning at the Aſſembly 1560, and ending 1590, being margined by the Hand-writs of the Clerk, and Reviſer of the Regiſters, cognoſced and tryed, and agreeable to the other foure Regiſters, in what is extant in them, ought alſo to be free of all Prejudice and Suſpicion, and received with Credit. And in teſtimonie of our ſolemne Affirmation, we have ſubſcribed theſe Preſents with our Hands. *Sic ſubſcribitur*, Mr. *Andrew Ramſay*, Mr. *John Adamſon*, Mr. *John Row*, Mr. *Robert Murray*, Mr. *Alexander Gibſon*, Mr. *James Boner*, Mr. *Alexander Peerſon*, Mr. *Alexander Wedderburn.*" To theſe two Acts are ſubjoined nineteen *Reaſons proving the five Books and Regiſters produced before the Aſſembly to be authentick*; all which Reaſons, for Brevity, are here omitted. When the Reſtoration of the Royal Family in the Year 1660 had reſtored likewiſe the Epiſcopal Government of the Church, the forementioned Books of Regiſter were carefully preſerved by ſome of the Presbyterian Form, until one Day a Search having been appointed within the City of *Edinburgh*, for apprehending of ſuſpected Perſons, theſe Records, together with many other Papers pertaining to the Kirk, chanced to be ſeized in a private Corner. The Biſhop of *Edinburgh* (*John Paterſon*) had Allowance by the Privy Council (of which himſelf was a Member) to convey theſe Books of Regiſter, *&c.* to his Dwelling-houſe, and they continued in his Cuſtody even till after the Revolution in 1688. Some time afterward that Prelate put theſe Regiſters into the Hands of the Honourable Maſter *Archibald Campbell*, a Couſin of the Family of *Argile*, now reſiding in *London:* And to this Gentleman thoſe of the preſent Eſtabliſhment have lately made Propoſals for recovering them; but hitherto they are, as I am informed, come to no Agreement in the Matter. By this Account the Readers will eaſily diſcern that the Regiſters now in the Poſſeſſion of Mr. *Campbell* do contain all the original Minutes, Overtures, *&c.* according as they have occurred in the Courſe of Buſineſs. And from theſe Books it is that the preſent Regiſter of Aſſemblies (abuſively ſo ſtiled) has been extracted, which contains nothing elſe but an Abbreviate of ſuch Acts, Overtures, Minutes, *&c.* as have been deem'd proper for the publick View, digeſted into Form and Method. Several MS. Copies of this Extract

1560. attempted by any Hiſtorian: Yet ſhall I not ſo rigidly and ſolely tie my ſelf to theſe Records, as not to interſperſe ſuch Information beſides, as may be gathered elſewhere for the more extenſive Knowledge concerning theſe Eccleſiaſtical Matters.

Firſt General Aſſembly, according to Calderwood.

The Record thereof.

“ The Firſt General Aſſemblie of the reformed Kirk of *Scotland* was holden
“ in *Edinburgh* the 20 Day of this ſame Moneth of *December*.

“ The Names of the Miniſters and Commiſſionars of particular Kirks (*a*);
“ *Johne Knox* Miniſter, *James Baron* and *Edward Houp* Commiſſionars,
“ for *Edinburgh*; *Chriſtopher Gudman* Miniſter, *David Spence* and Mr.
“ *Robert Kynpont*, for *St. Andrews*; Mr. *Johne Row* Miniſter, for the
“ Kirk of *Perth*; *Williame Daroch* and *Williame Norvell*, for *Stirline*;
“ *Charles Drummond* Proveſt, *James Witherſpoone* and *Androw Mill*, for
“ *Linlithgow*; *Hew Wallace* of *Carnall*, *Johne Foularton* of *Dreghorne*
“ and *Charles Campbell* of *Skeldum*, for the Kirks of *Kyle*; *George Hume* of
“ *Spott*, for the Kirks of *Eaſt-Lothiane*; *David Lindſay* Miniſter, *Androw*
“ *Lambe* and *Patrik Boyman*, for *Leith*; *Williame Harlaw* (*b*) Miniſter,
“ and *Robert Fairlie* of *Braid*, for the *Weſt-Kirk* beſide *Edinburgh*; *Wil-*
“ *liame Chriſtieſone* Miniſter, *George Lowell* and *Williame Carmichaell*,
“ for *Dundie*; *Alexander Guthrie* of *Halkerton* and *Williame Durhame*
“ of *Grange*, for *Forfar*; *Johne Areskine* of *Dun* and *Androw Mill*, for
“ *Montroſe*; The Lairds of *Tullyvarde* and *Fethercarne*, for the Kirks of
“ the *Merns*; The Laird of *Garroleis* zounger, for the Kirks of *Nithiſdaill*;
“ Mr. *David Wemes*, for the Kirk of *Carnbie*; Mr. *Walter Balfoure*, for
“ the Kirk of *Linton*; *Johne Brown*, *Thomas Boyd* and *James Polwart*,
“ for *Torphichen*; *Williame Lambe*, *Williame Bonkle*, for *Dunbar*; *James*
“ *Douglas*, *James Moir*, for *Calder Comitis*; Mr. *Robert Winrame*, for
“ *Ratho*; *Johne Kincaid*, for *Kirkliſtoun*.

“ The Names of ſuch as war thoght beſt qualified for the preaching of the
“ Word, and miniſtring of the Sacraments, and reading of the Commoun
“ Prayers publictlie in all Kirks and Congregations, given up be the Miniſters
“ and Commiſſionars within their own Bounds. In *Kyle*, for reading; *Ran-*
“ *kene Davidſoun*, *Richard Bannatyne*, *Robert Campbell*, *Hew Wallace*,
“ *Androw Lokhart*, *Androw Chalmer*, *James Dalrumpell*, *Adame Lan-*
“ *dels*, all Readers; and *Johne Chalmer* apt to teache. In *Sainct Andrews*,
“ for miniſtring and teaching; Mr. *Johne Rutherfurde*, Mr. *Williame Ram-*
“ *ſay*, Mr. *James Wilkie*, Mr. *Robert Hammiltoun*, Mr. *Patrik Couſtone*,
“ Mr. *Williame Rynde*, Mr. *Williame Skeene*, Mr. *Archibald Hammiltoun*,
“ Mr. *Alexander Arbuthnet*, Mr. *James Kirkaldie*, Mr. *David Collaſſe*,
“ Mr. *Williame Scott*, Mr. *David Wemes*, Mr. *Thomas Buchanan*, Mr. *Da-*
“ *vid Spence* (*c*), Mr. *Robert Kynpont*, *Johne Winrame* of *Kirkneſs*, Mr.
“ *Alexander Spence*, Mr. *Johne Wood*, Mr. *David Guild*, Mr. *Robert Pa-*
“ *terſone*.

“ Others thoght apt and able, be the Miniſters and Commiſſionars for-
“ ſaid, to miniſter; *Johne Areskine* of *Dun*, *Johne Foularton* of *Kynna-*
“ *ber*, *David Forehous*, *Patrik Kininmonth*, Mr. *James Melvill*, *Ri-*
“ *chard*

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tract (made moſt probably after the Year 1638) are to be found in our publick Repoſitories and elſewhere, and which I ſuppoſe will be found likewiſe to agree pretty uniformly, as having been all copied from *one*. But then beſides this Regiſter (I call it ſo ſtill for Conformity of Speech only) there is another more large than the former which Mr. *Calderwood*, who lived in the Time, and inſpected no doubt the original Books, preſented to the Aſſembly in 1638, has for the Embelliſhment of his large Church Hiſtory copied out and inſerted into the ſame: Both which Records, *viz.* that in the publick Repoſitories, and this of *Calderwood*, I am here to make uſe of; yet, as I ſaid before, I ſhall not confine my ſelf ſo cloſely to one or other of theſe Records, as not to take in likewiſe the publick Acts of Privy Council, and any thing elſe that may come in my way, and can ſerve for a further Illuſtration of theſe Affairs.

(*a*) “ The Names of the Miniſters and Commiſſionars [according to the *Regiſter*; by which I mean the Record of the General Aſſemblies as it ſtands in our Libraries, *&c.*] “ of the particular Kirks of *Scotland*, conveinit to conſult upon theſe Things whilk “ are to ſett fordward God's Glorie and the Weill of his Kirk in this Realme, in *Edinburgh* the 20 Day of *December* 1560 “ Zeiris.”

(*b*) This is the Perſon I have formerly mentioned, a Taylor in *Canongate* of *Edinburgh*.

(*c*) The four preceding Names not in the *Regiſter*.

1560. “*chard Melvill*, Mr. *Johne Kello*, Mr. *Robert Montgomrie*, Mr. *Johne Hepburne*, Mr. *Thomas Hepburne*, Mr. *George Hepburne*, *Williame Lambe*.

“ Mr. *Johne Ramſay* was preſented be Sir *Johne Borthwik* as Miniſter for the Kirk of *Aberdour* and *Fyvie (a)*.

“ Upoun the 21 of *December* it was found, That the Parochiners of *Reſtalrig* repaire to *Leith-Kirk*; and that the Kirk of *Reſtalrig* be razed and utterlie deſtroyed, being a Monument of Idolatrie.

“ The Queſtioun being proponed anent Mariage in the ſecond and other Degrees of Conſanguinitie forbidden be the Pope to be ſolemnized betwixt Parties, it is foundin, That by the Law of God Mariage may be ſolemnized betwixt Parties in the ſecond, thrid and fourth Degrees of Affinitie and Conſanguinitie, and ſuch others as are not prohibite expreſlie be the Word; and therfore it was thoght good that the Eſtaites ſhould interpone their Authoritie, and approve the ſame by Law.

“ Upoun the 27 of *December* this Aſſemblie appointed the Electioun of the Miniſters, Elders and Deacons to be made publictlie in the Kirk, and the Premonitioun to be made upoun the Lord's Day preceeding the Day of Electioun.

“ That Parties for carnall Copulatioun betwixt the Promiſe and Solemnizatioun of Mariage, ſall make Confeſſioun publictlie of their Offenſe *(b)*.

“ The Petitioun of Weights and Meaſures was referred to the Parliament *(c)*.

“ It was ordained, That ſuch as had borne Office in the Popiſh Church, if their Converſatioun was honeſt *(d)*, that they ſould be ſupported with the Almes of the Kirk as other Poore.

“ It was thoght expedient that earneſt Supplicatioun ſould be made to the States in Parliament, and unto the Lords of ſecreit Counſell, That none be ſuffered to be Lords of the Seſſioun, Shireffs, Stewarts, Bailiffes, or other ſuch Judge ordinar, bot theſe who war Profeſſors of the reformed Religioun *(e)*.

“ *Item*, To deſyre the States in Parliament to take Order with the Confirmatioun of Teſtaments, that Pupils and Orphans be not defrauded, and that Lawes may be made therupoun in their favour *(f)*.

“ *Item*, To ask and deſyre the ſaids States of Parliament and Lords of ſecreit Counſell, to inflict ſharpe Puniſhment upoun Perſonis whoſe Names war to be preſented to them, and other Idolaters and Maintainers of Idolatrie, in Contempt of God, his trew Religioun, and Acts of Parliament, who ſay Maſſe, or cauſe Maſſe to be ſaid, or ar preſent therat within the Places, the Names wherof war to be preſented unto them *(g)*.

(*a*) The Regiſter carries *Aberdour* and *Torrie*; which ſeems to be moſt likely, ſince theſe two Places do both ly on the North-ſide of the River or Frith of *Forth*, at about eight Miles diſtance. But 'tis likewiſe true, that *Aberdour* and *Fyvie* are two Places in the Shire of *Aberdeen*, about twelve Miles diſtant.

(*b*) “ Publick Repentance,” *Regiſter*.

(*c*) Nothing of this in the *Regiſter*.

(*d*) “ Pope's Kirk, good and well conditioned Perſons——with the Number of Poore,” *Regiſter*.

(*e*) “ Conſentit be the Kirk, that nane be putt in judiciall Offices to be Magiſtrates, as Proveſt, Baillies and Officers of Townes, exceptand thame who is knowin to be plaine and true Profeſſours of the Evangell. It is alſo thoght expedient, that earneſt Supplication be made to the Eſtates of this Realme in Parliament, and to the Lords of ſecreit Counſell, that all Sheriffis, Stewarts, Baillies, and uther Judges ordinarie, be Profeſſours of the Treuth of the true Word of God; and all Miniſters therof [*viz.* of the Word of God] to be removit fra ſick Offices, according to the Civill Law,” *Regiſter*.

(*f*) Not in the *Regiſter*.

(*g*) “ To aske at the Eſtates of Parliament and Lords of ſecreit Counſell, for eſchewing of the Wrath and Judgement of the Eternall God, and removing of the Plagues threatned in his Law, that ſharp Puniſhment may be made upon the Perſones underwrittin, and uthers Idolaters and Mantainers therof, in Contempt of God, his true Religioun, and Acts of Parliament, whilk ſayes and confeſſis Meſſe to be ſaid, and are preſent there, within the Places following: In *Netheſdale* and *Galloway*, the Pryor of *Whitherne*, and his Servants in *Crugletoune*, the Laird of *Corſwell* in *Corſwell*, the Lord *Cairleill*, the Laird of *Kirmithaell*, who cauſes Meſſe to be ſaid, and Images to be holdin up, and Idolatrie to be mantened within his Bounds. In *Fyſe*, the Lairds of *Balwerie* and *Lathrisk*, and Mr. *Johne Scrymgeour*'s Wife. In *Kyle*, *Carrick* and *Cunninghame*, the Erles of *Eglintoun* and *Caſſillis*, *William Hamiltoun* of *Cambuskeith*, the Abbot of *Corſraguell*, the Parochiners of *Mayboill*, *Girvan*, *Oſwald*, *Dulay*, within the Kirk wherof Meſſe is openly ſaid and mantened. In *Eaſt-Louthiane*, *Johne Carkettle* in *Margill* cauſſes Meſſe daylie to be ſaid, the auld Ladie *Hoome* in *Thornetoun*, the Curate of *Currie* for abuſing the Sacramentis. In the *Foreſt* of *Etrick*, the Goodman of *Gallowſcheilds*, who not only cauſes Meſſe to be ſaid, but alſo mantenes the Sayers therof, who are Enemies to God and his Trueth, and therfore were exylit out of *Edinburgh*,” *Regiſter*.

1560.

“This Aſſemblie was continued to the 15 Day of *Januarie* nixt to cum, and it was appointed that one Commiſſionar at leaſt ſould be ſent from each Kirk, for requiring of ſuche Things of the Parliament *(a)* as ſall be thoght profitable for the Weale of the Kirk. *Item,* To bring with them a Row of the whole Tithes, Lands, Annuels, Profites and Emoluments of the Pariſh-Kirk nixt adjacent to them, and of the Names of the Taxemen, and what Duetye they payed for their Tack. Everie Commiſſionar preſent promiſed to come to *Edinburgh* at the ſaid Day themſelves, or cauſe ſome others to be ſent from the Kirks.”

Notwithſtanding the preceding Order for Commiſſioners of the Kirk to attend the Parliament (as 'tis here ſtiled) or Convention of Eſtates in the Month of *January* following; yet it is obſervable that no Notice is at all taken in any Record concerning an Eccleſiaſtical Meeting in the ſaid Month of *January.* Only Mr. *Knox* has acquainted us, that at that Time his Book of Diſcipline was preſented to the Nobility; the Fate whereof has been already narrated. And in that ſame Aſſembly (meaning ſtill I ſuppoſe the Convention of the Nobility) he informeth concerning a famous Diſputation relating to Matters of Religion; the Ground and Occaſion whereof is better given to us by Bp. *Leſlie* toward the Cloſe of his Hiſtory. This Author then informs, that many of the Nobility having continued in *Edinburgh* the greateſt part of the Winter which ſucceeded the Parliament in *Auguſt* 1560; they employed themſelves much in eſtabliſhing the new Form of Religion. For which purpoſe, he ſays, they diſpatched publick Meſſengers into the principal Cities and Towns of the Kingdom, to warn in ſeveral Perſons to give an Account of their Faith and Religion. From the Univerſity of *Aberdeen,* he tells, were ſummoned four Perſons, namely, himſelf who was Official or Commiſſary of the Dioceſe, *Patrick Myretoun* the Theſaurer, *James Strachan* a Canon, and *Alexander Anderſon* Profeſſor of Theology; theſe four were brought before the Council of the Kingdom in the Town-houſe of *Edinburgh,* and queſtioned by *John Knox, John Willock* and *Chriſtopher Goodman:* And he ſays, that after they had all ſeparately made a moſt ſolemn Profeſſion of the Catholick Faith, and had declared their firm Reſolution of abiding by it, Mr. *Anderſon* diſcourſed in particular ſo learnedly and piouſly concerning the Verity and Ceremonies of the Euchariſt and Sacrifice of the Altar, that by means of his Diſcourſe, the Catholicks were greatly confirmed in the Faith, and the Hereticks ſo ſtunned, that from that Time forth no one of them durſt ever attempt a Diſputation either with him, or any other Catholick, about the weightier Myſteries of Religion. Then he tells how the Noblemen ordered theſe four Perſons not to ſtir from *Edinburgh,* nor to abſent themſelves from the Sermons of their Miniſters, as if, this Author obſerves, thoſe Men could have been driven from the Catholick Faith by the painted Diſcourſes of theſe puny Orators, who could not only not be ſhaken by all the Batteries of their Arguments, but appeared in the Eyes of all ſenſible Perſons, far ſuperior to them.

Several Perſons are ſummoned to appear, upon account of their Religion.

Such is the Account Bp. *Leſlie* gives of this Matter; but Mr. *Knox* relates it indeed in a quite different Light: And tho' it ſhould be alledged that the former ſpeaks too favourably of his own Party; ſurely Mr. *Knox*'s Narration can by no means be reckoned genuine. He repreſents Mr. *Leſlie* in particular as a complete Dunce and *Ignorant,* tho' that Gentleman appears to have been by many Degrees ſuperior to himſelf; and his impertinent and ſatyrical Reflexions on this as well as on many other Heads, ſeem deſervedly to make Bp. *Leſlie* ſay concerning him, that he had an unbridled Licentiouſneſs in ſpeaking, mixed with a virulent Fluency of Words.

Notwithſtanding Bp. *Leſlie* had ſaid, that after this Time none of the Hereticks durſt venture into Diſputation with any of the Catholicks, yet he ſo far

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(a) This could be nothing elſe but the Convention in *January* 1560-1. See the Civil Part.

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forgets himſelf, as to tell of two or three ſeveral Conteſts that fell out after, the firſt whereof was at *Edinburgh* before the Queen's Return into *Scotland* in the Month of *Auguſt* 1561, between *John Willock* formerly a Dominican, and *John Black* of the ſame Order of Black Friars. The Controverſy, he ſays, held two Days, concerning the Sacrament of the Euchariſt and Sacrifice of the Altar; after which Space, and a very hot Debate, they parted without yielding on either Side, inſomuch that the common People were at a loſs which Party to believe. The ſame Author makes Mention likewiſe of a Controverſy maintained by four of his own Party, *viz. Ninian Winzet* * Schoolmaſter at *Linlithgow*, againſt *John Knox* and *John Spottiſwood* the Superintendant; *Robert Maxwell* Schoolmaſter at *Glaſgow*, (as would appear) againſt *John Willock*; *Quintin Kennedy* Brother to the Earl of *Caſſils* and Abbot of *Corſraguel*, againſt *John Knox*; and *James Tyrie* a Jeſuit, againſt *John Knox*: In all which Diſputations (but this laſt was only by Writ, for the Jeſuit was beyond Sea all the time) the Biſhop aſſigns the Superiority ſtill to his own Friends. And particularly he tells, that when *Ninian Winzet* was buſied in printing at *Edinburgh* a Challenge, &c. againſt *John Knox*, the Magiſtrates came and rifled the Printing Preſs, fined and impriſoned *John Scot* the Printer, but that Mr. *Winzet* happily eſcaped without being apprehended, tho' they met him at the Door of the Printing-houſe.

And ſeveral Diſputations are held thereupon.

* *Wingate.*

Mr. *Knox* acquaints us, that his Diſputation againſt Mr. *Kennedy* (in the Harveſt-time of the Year 1562) was publiſhed in Print: And there are two or three Pieces of Mr. *Kennedy*'s and Mr. *Winzet*'s remaining to this Day, all of them very rare to be found; ſome of which at leaſt I may perhaps take the Freedom to ſubjoin as an *Appendix* to theſe Church Matters. To return now to the Aſſemblies.

Second General Aſſembly, according to the Regiſter.

Second General Aſſembly.

To this Aſſembly Mr. *Knox*, and from him *Calderwood*, affix ſuch a Preamble, that their Readers would be ready I ſuppoſe to reckon *It* a haſty and tumultuary Concourſe as much as any thing elſe. But indeed the *Regiſter* takes ſpecial Care not to diſcover any ſuch Matter: And ſeeing the Buſineſs of this Aſſembly (if it muſt be termed ſo) as narrated by Mr. *Calderwood*, is in all Points the ſame with Mr. *Knox*'s Account, I have therefore made Choice of the *Regiſter*, thereby to afford my Readers the larger Information.

" At *Edinburgh* the 26 of *May* 1561, The whole Kirks convenit in the
" Tolbuith of *Edinburgh*, hes diſcernit and thoght good, that ane humble
" Complaint be made and givin in in their Names, tuitching the Suppreſſion
" of Idolatrie, and uther Points after following, to the Lords of ſecreit Coun-
" ſell.

" In the *Firſt*, For ſuppreſſing of Idolatrie throughout the whole Realme,
" and puniſching the Uſers therof, Maintainers of the ſamen, Haunters and
" Frequenters therto.

" *Item*, For maintaining and ſpeciall Proviſion to be made for Superinten-
" dents, for the erecting and eſtabliſhing of moe in Places convenient, and for
" puniſhing of the Contemners of the ſaid Superintendants and Diſſobeyars of
" them.

" *Item*, For Ordour to be taken anent the Abuſers of the Sacraments and
" Contemners of the ſamen.

" *Item*, That no Letters of the Seſſioun be givin to anſwer or pay to any
" Perſon their Teinds, without ſpeciall Proviſioun that the Parochiners retaines
" ſo meikle in their Hands as is appointit to the Miniſter; and that all ſick as
" are els givin be callit in and diſchargit, and likewayes that no Sheriff give
" Precepts to that Effect.

" *Item*, That the Seſſion, nor no uther Judges proceid upon ſick Precepts
" or Warnings paſt at the Inſtance of them that hes obtained Fews of lait, of
" Vicarages, Parſonnes Manſis and Kirk-yeards.

1561. “ *Item*, That no Letters take Place, whill the Stipends contained in the Book of Diſcipline, for Suſtentation of the Miniſters, be firſt conſignit in the Hands, at the leaſt, of the principall of the Parochiners.

“ *Item*, For Ordour to be takin for the Puniſhment of ſuch as purchaſes and brings home, and executes within this Realme the Popes Bulles.

“ 28 *May* 1561, The Kirk convenit after that they heard the Supplication and Articles forſaid, beand preſented in Forme, red in the Preſence, at lenth advyſit therwith, ordainit the ſamen to be preſented to the ſecreit Counſell; and for preſenting therof, and obtaining of Anſwers therto, nominat and ordained thir Brethren after mentioned to awaite theron: The Maſter of *Lindſay*, the Laird of *Fernihirſt* elder, *Thomas Meinzies* Proveſt of *Aberdeen*, the Laird of *Lochinvar*, the Laird of *Wittinghame*, and *George Lovell* Burges of *Dundie*.

“ Upon the whilk Supplication, Articles and Sute theroff was grantit and followit be the Lords of ſecreit Counſell, ane Act and Ordinance therupon, with Letters therupon, anſwering to every Heid of the ſaid Articles and Supplication at lenth ſpecified in the Act of ſecreit Counſell made therupon, whilk is to be had in the Hands of *Johne Johneſtone* Scrybe theroff, and Letters and Publication paſt therupon.”

The Tenor of the Supplication here pointed at, was in theſe Words as we have it ſet down by Mr. *Knox*.

“ PLeis your Honours, and the Wiſdome of ſick as ar preſently conveined with yow in Counſaill, to underſtand, that be mony Argumentis we perceave quhat the peſtilent Generatioun of that *Romane* Antichriſt within this Realme pretendis, *to wit*, That they wald of new erect thair Idolatry, tak upoun thame to impyre above our Conſcience; and ſo to comand us, the trew Subjectes of this Realme *(a)*, and ſick as God of his Mercy hes (under our Soverane) ſubjected unto us, in all Things to obey thair Apetites. Honeſty craveth, and Conſcience movethe us, to mak the very Secreits of our Hairts patent to your Honours in that Behalf, quhilk is this, *That befoir that evir theſe Tyrantes and dum Dogis impyre above us, and above ſick as God hes ſubjected unto us (b), that we the Barones and Gentilmen profeſſing Chriſt Jeſus within this Realme, have fullie determined to hazard Lyfes, and quhatſoever we have receaved of our God in temporall Thingis.* We maiſt humely tharefoir beſeik your Honours, That ſick Ordour may be taiken, that we have not Occaſioun to tak agane the Sword of juſt Defence into our Handis *(c)*, quhilk we have willingly (efter that God hes gevin Victory bothe to your Honours and us) reſigned over into your Hands; to the end that God's Evangell may be publictly, within this Realme, preiched; the trew Preicheours thareof reſſonably ſuſteined, Idolatry ſuppreſſed, and the Comitteris thareof puniſched according to the Lawes of God and Man. In doing quhareof *(d)*, your Honours ſall find us, not onely obedient unto yow in all Things lawfull, bot alſo redy at all Tymes to bring under Ordour and Obedience ſick as wald rebell againſt your juſt Authority, quhilk, in Abſence of our Soverane *(e)*, we acknawlege to be in your Hands; beſeiking your Honours, with upricht Jugement and Indifferency, to luik upoun theſe our few Artickles, and, by theſe our Brethrein, to ſignifie unto us ſick An-

“ ſwer

(*a*) This is a very ſingular manner of ſpeaking, as if their Adverſaries were not *true Subjects*; tho' perhaps theſe Adverſaries would pretend they had been equally as true, if not truer Subjects than their Neighbours.

(*b*) A Clauſe ſubject ſurely to much Diſputation. It was not long afterward that *their Subordination to the Sovereign* was very little regarded. But they are fond to talk of *Subjection* to themſelves, and to call in GOD for the Author of it.

(*c*) Theſe *true* Subjects take into their Hands the Sword of *juſt Defence*, reſign it up, and take it again, *to the end that God's Evangell*, &c. A plain Acknowledgment that the new *Form* was introduced by the *Sword*.

(*d*) *i. e.* in *not* doing whereof, *your Honours ſall* not *find us*, &c.

(*e*) Our Sovereign's *juſt Authority* was little regarded after ſhe was preſent.

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" ſwer agane, as may declair your Honours worthy of that Plaice (*a*), quhareunto God (efter ſum Dangers ſuſteined) in his Mercy hath called yow. And let theſe Enemies of God aſſure thameſelfis, that if your Honours put not Ordour unto thame, that we ſall ſchortely tak ſick Ordour (*b*), that they ſall neyther be abell to do quhat they liſt, neyther yit to leve upoun the Sweit of the Browes of ſick as ar no Detteris unto thame. Let your Honours conceave nothing of us, bot all humill Obedience in God (*c*). Bot let the Papiſtes be yit ance agane aſſured, that thair Pryde and Idolatry we will not ſuffer.

" Direct fra the Aſſembly of the Kirk, the 18th of *Maij* 1561. And ſent be theſe Brethrein, the Maiſter of *Lindeſay*, the Laird of *Lochinvar*, the Laird of *Phernihirſt*, the Laird of *Quhittinhame*, *Thomas Menzeis* Proveiſt of *Aberdene*, and *George Lewell* Burges of *Dundie*."

It has been ſeen in the former Part of this Hiſtory, that at this Time a Convention of the States was kept in the Month of *May*, in which Abp. *Spottiſwood* ſays an Act was paſſed at Deſire of the Church; and becauſe there is ſome ſmall Variation here between the Print and the MS. I have therefore made uſe of the latter. " ——— In the ſame Convention an Act was paſſed at Deſire of the Church, for demoliſhing all the Abbeys of Monks and Friars, and for ſuppreſſing whatſomever other Monuments of Idolatrie were remaining in the Realm, the Execution whereof in the Weſt-Parts was committed to the Earls of *Arrane*, *Argile* and *Glencarne*; to Lord *James* in the North; and to ſome others of Note and Credit in the In-Countries. Hereupon enſued a pitiful Vaſtation of Churches and Church-buildings throughout all the Parts of the Realm; for every Man made bold to put to his Hand, (the meaner ſort imitating the greater, and thoſe who were in Authority.) They rifled all Churches indifferently, making Spoil of every thing they found. The Veſſels appointed for Service of the Church, and whatſoever elſe made for Decoration of the ſame, was taken away and applied to prophane Uſes. The Buildings of the Church defaced; the Timber, Lead (*d*), Bells, put to Sale, and alienated to Merchants. The very Sepulchres of the Dead were not ſpared, but digged, ript up, and ſacrilegiouſly violated. Bibliothecks deſtroied, the Volumes of the Fathers, Councells, and other Books of humane Learning, with the Regiſters of the Church, caſt into the Streets, afterwards gathered in Heapes, and conſumed with Fire. Shortly *, all was ruined, and what had eſcaped in the Time of the firſt Tumult, did now undergo the common Calamitie; which was ſo much the worſe, that the Violences committed at this Time were ſhadowed with the Warrant of publick Authority. Some ill-adviſed Preachers did likewiſe animate People in thoſe their barbarous Proceedings, crying out, That the Places where Idols had been worſhipped, ought by the Law of God to be deſtroyed, and that the ſparing of them, was the reſerving of Things execrable; miſtaking the Commandment given to *Iſrael*, for deſtroying the Places where the *Canaanites* had worſhipped their falſe Gods; which was given upon a ſpecial Reſpect to that People, and did not concern all the Nations and People of the World. The Report went alſo, that *John Knox* (whoſe Sayings were at that Time of great Authority) ſhould in one of his Sermons have affirmed, That the moſt ſure way to keep theſe Rookes from returning to their Places, was to pull down the Neſts which they had built with ſuch Coſt and Care; yet his

A fearful Demolition of Abbeys, Libraries, &c.

* *In ſhort.*

(*a*) *viz.* by ſupporting us in all our Demands; otherwiſe we will quickly find that God hath called you, not in his *Mercy*, but in his *Wrath*.

(*b*) A frank Profeſſion that theſe Magiſtrates were the Miniſters of a Faction, deputed to execute their Orders; which if they ſhould not perform, then ———

(*c*) A Phraſe that leaves a Back-door for perpetrating all manner of Impiety. GOD's Name is profaned by more ways than pronouncing it careleſly in Converſation.

(*d*) 'Tis moſt likely this is the Act of Parliament referred to in the Act of Council 14th *February* 1567-8, concerning the taking down and ſelling the Lead of the Cathedral Churches of *Aberdeen* and *Murray*. See the Civil Part.

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" Words (if any ſuch he uttered) were to be underſtood of the Cloiſters of " Monks and Friars only, according to the Act paſſed thereof in Councell. " But popular Fury once armed, maketh no Difference; nor doth it any thing " with Advice and Judgement."

CHAP. II.

Containing Eccleſiaſtick Affairs from the Queen's Arrival into this Kingdom from France, *in the Month of* Auguſt 1561, *till the Battle of* Corrichie *in the End of* October 1562.

A great Commotion about he Queen's Maſs.

IT will be remembred that when Lord *James* (then Prior of St. *Andrew's* only) was appointed by the Convention in *January* 1560-1, to repair into *France* to the Queen, immediately upon the News of the Death of her Huſband the King of that Nation, and was admoniſhed (a) not to conſent that Maſs ſhould be allowed either in private or publick within this Realm; the Prior ſhould have anſwered, *That ſche ſuld have Mes publikly, he ſould never conſent; bot to have it ſecreitly in her Chalmer, quha culd ſtope her?* And accordingly on *Sunday* the 24th Day of *Auguſt*, being the Feſtival of St. *Bartholomew*, and ſome two or three Days only after the Queen's Arrival from *France*, her Majeſty had Maſs ſaid in the Chapel of *Holy-rood-houſe*. " Quhilk perceaved, ſays Mr. *Knox*, the Hairts " of all the godlie began to bolden," *&c.* But a greater Piece of Mortification it was to theſe *Godly*, to ſee the Lord *James* ſtand and keep the Door of the Chapel; under Pretext, himſelf ſaid, to ſtop all *Scottiſhmen* from going to Meſs. " Bot it was, adds this Author, and is ſufficiently knawin, that the Dure was " kepit, that nane ſould have Entreſs to truble the Prieſt." And after Maſs was over and done, the *Godly* had ſtill an additional Diſpleaſure to find the Prieſt committed to the Protection of the Lord *John* Abbot of *Coldingham*, and of the Lord *Robert* Abbot of *Holy-rood-houſe*; ſo that the Queen's three baſtard Brothers, tho' otherwiſe Members of the new Congregation, were all ſerviceable in affording her the private Uſe of her own Form of Religion. " And ſo the godlie departed with Grif of Hairt. Bot in the Afternoone " they repaired agane to the Abbey in grit Cumpanies, and gave plane Si- " gnification that they culd not abyde that the Land quhilk God in his " Power had purged from Idolatry, ſould in thair Eyes be polluted agane." The Queen's Council was hereupon called, and ſome politick Perſons (Lord *James* probably might be one) were employed to pacify the Complainers with theſe and the like Expreſſions, *Why alace will you chaſe our Soverane from us? May we not ſuffer her a little quhyle?* And with theſe Words, Mr. *Knox* obſerves, the Fervency of the Brethren was quenched, and an Act was framed and publiſhed the very next Day; the Tenor whereof here follows.

Apud Edinburgh, 25. *Auguſti* 1561.

Proclamation following hereupon;

Forſamekle as the Quenes Majeſtie hes underſtude the grit Inconvenience that may cum, throw the Diviſioun preſentlie ſtanding in this Realme, for the Difference in Matters of Religioun,

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(a) " By the Aſſemblie of the Kirk then convened at *Edinburgh*," ſays Abp. *Spottiſwood*; but herein 'tis moſt probable this Prelate has been in a Miſtake by taking the Aſſembly of the Nobility which was at that Time, for the Aſſembly of the Kirk. The Word *Aſſembly* was not as yet become appropriated to the Kirk Meetings. See *Knox p.* 261 at the Top, *Edit.* 1732, where he calls this ſame Meeting of the Nobles a *Convention* and an *Aſſemblie*, in the ſpace of two Lines. This much is certain, that there is no Record of any Church-Meeting in this Month of *January*, nor in general about this Time at all; and yet this Inſtruction to the *Prior* would indeed appear to ſmell the Air of that Quarter. Mr. *Knox* may have been the Admoniſher.

ligioun, that hir Majeſtie is maiſt deſyrous to ſie it pacyfied be ane gude Ordour, to the Honour of God and Tranquillitie of hir Realme, and meanis to tak the ſam be Advyſe of hir Eſtaites ſa ſone as convenientlie may be, and that hir Majeſties godlie Reſolutioun therein may be gritlie hindered, in cais any Tumult or Seditioun be rayſed amongs the Lieges, if any Alteratioun or Novatioun be preaſſed at or attempted, befoir that the Ordour may be eſtabliſched: Thairfoir, for eſchewing of the ſaids Inconvenience, hir Majeſtie ordains Letteris to be directed, to charge all and ſundry hir Lieges, be oppin Proclamatioun at the Mercat Croce of Edinburgh, and uther Places neidfull, That thay and every ane of thame contene thameſelfis in Quyetnes, keip Peice and civill Society amongs thameſelfis; and in the mene tyme, quhill the Eſtaites of the Realme may be aſſembled, and that hir Majeſtie have takin ane finall Ordour be thair Advyſe and publict Conſent, quhilk hir Majeſtie hopes ſall be to the Contentment of the haill, that nane of thame tak upoun hand, privatly or oppinly, to mak any Alteratioun or Innovatioun of the Stait of Religioun, or attempt any thing agains the ſame, quhilk hir Majeſtie fand publicklie and univerſallie ſtanding at hir Majeſties Arryvall in this hir Realme, under the Pane of Deyth. With Certificatioun, that if any Subject of the Realme ſall cum in the contrare heirof, he ſall be eſtemed and haldin ane ſeditious Perſone and Raiſer of Tumult, and the ſaid Pane ſall be execut upoun him with all Rigour, to the Exemple of uthers. Attour hir Majeſtie, with the Advyſe of the Lords of ſecreit Counſell, comands and charges all hir Lieges, that nane of thame tak upoun hand to moleſt or truble any of hir domeſticall Servands, or Perſones quhatſumever cum furth of France in hir Graces Cumpany at this tyme, in Word, Deid or Countenance, for any Caus quhatſumever, either within hir Palace or without, or mak any Diviſioun or Invaſioun upoun any of thame, under quhatſumever Cullor or Pretence, under the ſaid Pane of Deyth. Albeit hir Majeſtie be ſufficientlie perſuaded, that hir gude and loving Subjects wald do the ſame, for the Reverence thay bear to hir Perſone and Authoritie, notwithſtanding na ſick Comandement wer publiſched.

No ſooner was this Proclamation finiſhed, but the Earl of *Arran*, an imprudent young Man, and ſpirited up no doubt by other People, declared, in the very hearing of the Herauld, that he noway aſſented to the Protection of the Queen's Domeſticks; and afterwards gave in this following formal Proteſtation.

against which a Proteſtation is entred:

IN ſa far as be this Proclamatioun it is underſtude to the Kirk of God, and Members thairof, that the Quenes Grace is mindit that the trew Religioun and Worſchipping els eſtabliſched, proceid fordward, that it may daylie increſs, unto the Parliament, that Ordour then may be takin for Extirpatioun of all Idolatrie within this Realme. We rainder maiſt hairtie Thanks to the Lord our God for hir Graces gude Mynd, earneſtlie praying that it may be encreſſed in hir Hienes, to the Honour and Glory of his Name, and Weill of his Kirk within this Realme. And as twiching the Moleſtatioun of hir Hienes Servands, we ſuppone that nane dare be ſa bauld as anes to move thair Finger at thame, in doing of thair lefull Buſines: And as for us, we have leirned at our Maiſter Chryſts *Schole,* To keap Peace with all Men. *And thairfore for our Part we will promiſe That Obedience to hir Majeſtie (as is our Duety) that nane of hir Servands ſall be moleſted, trubled, or anes twiched, be the Kirk, or any Member thairof, in doing thair lawfull Effaires. Bot ſen that God hes ſaid,* That the Idolater ſall

1561. dye the Deyth; *We proteſt ſolemnedlie, in the Preſence of God, and in the Eares of the hale Peple that hears this Proclamatioun, and ſpeciallie in Preſence of yow Lyoun Herauld, and the reſt of your Collegues,* &c. *Makers of this Proclamatioun, That if any of hir Servands ſall comitt Idolatrie, ſpeciallie ſay Meſs, participat thairwith, or tack the Defence thairof, (quhilks we war laith ſuld be in hir Graces Cumpany) in that Caſe, that this Proclamatioun be not extended to thame in that Behalf, nor be a Saveguard nor Girth to thame in that Behalf, na mair nor if thay comitt Slauchter or Murther, ſeing the ane is meikle mair abhominable and odious in the Sicht of God then is the uther: Bot that it may be lefull to inflict upoun thame the Paines conteined in God's Word againſt Idolaters, quhairever thay may be apprehendit, bot Favour. And this our Proteſtatioun we deſyre yow to notifie unto hir, and give hir the Copy heirof, leſt hir Hienes ſuld ſuſpect an Vproar, if we ſuld all cum and preſent the ſame. At* Edinburgh *the Day and Yeir foirſaid.*

Mr. *Knox*, to whom we owe the Copies of both the preceding Papers, takes Notice, that this Boldneſs in the Earl of *Arran* did ſomewhat exaſperate the Queen; but he takes Notice likewiſe, that the very principal Perſons of the Congregation, even the moſt fervent among them, ſeemed to be willing that the Queen ſhould not be reſtricted from having a private Maſs, for ſome Time at leaſt: Yet all this Moderation which that Party ſhewed, was no way ſufficient to reſtrain that *Preacher*'s Tongue, who on the laſt Day of *Auguſt*, being *Sunday*, inveighed in his Sermon againſt Idolatry, and ſaid among other Things, that "one Maſs (and he owns that no more was then ſuffered) was "more frightful to him, than if a thouſand armed Enemies were landed in any "Part of the Kingdom to ſuppreſs the whole Religion," &c. at which Words, he ſays, "the Guydars of the Court mocked," (*i. e.* ſome of his own Party; for he had before told, that in the Queen's Council Papiſts had neither Power nor Vote) and plainly ſpake, *That ſuch Fear was no Poynt of thair Fayth; it was beſyde his Text, and was a very untymely Admonitioun (a).* This Sermon made ſo much Noiſe in the Court as well as in the City, that the Queen thought proper to ſend for Mr. *Knox*, with whom ſhe expoſtulated both with reſpect to the preſent Sermon and ſome of his former Performances *(b)*. The Conference which paſſed between her Majeſty and him on this Occaſion is ſet down by himſelf at great length: And ſeeing there is no other Author beſides that pretends to give an Account thereof, nor indeed could do it to ſo good Purpoſe, we muſt reſt ſatisfied with the Detail he gives of it.

and Mr. Knox is called before the Queen.

Another Buſtle there was about a high Maſs having been celebrated on *All Saints Day*, the 1ſt of *November* following; and the ſame Author informs us, that when the Miniſters declared the Inconvenience that thereupon ſhould enſue, the Nobility and others who ſeemed to be very firm Men before, began *now* to call in Doubt a Point wherein very lately they had ſeemed to be moſt clear on the affirmative Side, *viz. Whether the Subjects might put hand to ſuppreſs the Idolatry of thair Prince?*

On the 10th Day of *September* we ſee the following remarkable Act of Privy Council, *viz.*

Apud

(*a*) Let Mr. *Knox* form what Judgment he will concerning the Advice and Deportment of his Friends at this Juncture, yet we are informed by Bp. *Leſlie*, who was not inferior to the other in Judgment, and underſtood very well the Situation of his own Party, that from the foregoing Act of the 25th *Auguſt* enſued the entire Ruin of the ancient Form of Religion within *Scotland*; the new Modellers ſupporting themſelves and their novel Form afterwards, by the Royal Authority, which hitherto had ever been wanted.

(*b*) Probably his Book called the *Blaſt of the Trumpet againſt the Regiment of Women*, and his Letter to her Majeſty's Mother the Queen-Regent.

Apud Palatium S. D. N. R. prope Edinburgum 10. *Septembris*, *Anno* 1561.

1561.

Act diſcharging Suits in the Court of *Rome* for Kirk-lands.

FOrſamekle as be occaſioun of the lait Troublis, the maiſt part of the Clergy and Eccleſiaſtical Eſtait hes in thair pretendit maner ſet the Lands unite and annexit to the Kirk in Few-ferme and Heretage, to the greit Hurt nocht onlie of the Quenis Majeſtie, bot als of the pure Tennentis thairof, hir Liegeis of this Realme. And the Perſonis Obtenaris of the ſaids Fewis thinkand to mak thame the mair ſuire thairof, dailie ſendis to Rome and bringis hame Commiſſionis for Confirmationis of the ſaids Fewis, conſumand, waiſtand, and thairthrow in vane ſpendand the Gold, Sylver and uther Money quhilk ſuld have Courſe, Paſſage and Change within the Realme, to the greit Hurt of the comone Weill thairof and hale Liegeis of the ſamyn, and expres aganis Juſtice: Thairfoir the Quenis Majeſtie ordanis Letteris to be direct to Meſſingeris, Sheriffis in that Part, chargeing thame to paſs to all Mercat Croces of the Burrowis of this Realme, and utheris Places neidfull, and thair be oppin Proclamatioun, in hir Hienes Name and Autoritie, command and charge hir Liegeis, That nane of thame tak upoun hand to purcheſs or ſend for Commiſſionis to Rome for Confirmatioun of ony Fewis maid of Kirk-lands to quhatſumevir Perſonis ſen the vi Day of Marche the Zeir of God 1558 Zeiris: And als, to charge all maner of Perſonis to quhome the ſaids Commiſſionis ar or ſall happin to be direct, to deſiſt and ceis fra all accepting of the ſamyn upoun thame, proceding or uſing of ony Proces, or confirming of ony of the ſaids Fewis be vertew thairof; and all utheris Perſonis fra all ſuting or perſewing of the ſaids Confirmationis, under the pane of Barratrie *(a)*. With Certificatioun to thame and thai failzie, thai ſalbe declarit Barratoris, and the ſaids Fewis and Confirmationis ſalbe of nane Avale, Force nor Effect in tyme cuming.

By this Act we can plainly diſcern the Method which the beneficed Clergy of the ancient Form had fallen upon, to ſecure to themſelves ſo much of their Benefices as goodly they could. They foreſaw by this time what would be the Upſhot of the new Reformation, and that themſelves would be thruſt by an overflowing Speat from their Benefices; and therefore they began to diſpone their Lands in the manner mentioned in this Act. All this was agreeable enough to the Nobility and Gentry, who had always had it in their View to get into their Hands the Rents of the Church; but the manner of ſecuring the Diſpoſitions made by the Clergy, namely, the obtaining Confirmations thereof from *Rome*, could not fail to be diſpleaſing to many, ſince thereby was kept up a Dependence upon, and Intercourſe with the Pope or Biſhop of that See, whoſe Authority was now declared to be uſurped and unlawful. The Fewing therefore of the Church-Rents is, by this Act, very evidently ſuſtained *(b)*.

(*a*) This is a ſort of Simony; the Puniſhment whereof was Baniſhment and Infamy.

(*b*) Abp. *Spottiſwood* in the Cloſe of his Reflexions concerning Mr. *Knox*'s Book of Church Policy, has theſe Words, "The "Popiſh Churchmen who were in a fooliſh Pity ſuffered to enjoy their Livings, (partly out of Malice to Religion, [he means the "Reformation] and partly of a Fear they conceived to be ſpoiled of their Benefices) made away all their Rents, Manſes, Gleibs, "Tithes, and whatſoever elſe belonged to the Church, unto ſome great Ones that were their Friends and Kinſmen, who found "the Means, by making corrupt Laws, to ſtrengthen their Titles; and ſo from time to time have under Colour of Right de-"frauded the Church of her due Patrimony," MS. Beſides that *Fewing* might be the readieſt way for the great Ones to get into the Benefices; the *fooliſh Pity* has been all in the Queen, without whoſe Conſent in Parliament the Clergy could not be deprived. The Rents of the Church were deſtroyed by the Titular Biſhops and Abbots after the great Change of Religion fell out, that is, by preſenting Laymen to the Biſhopricks, *&c.* a more flagrant and ſhameful Inſtance whereof can be no where afforded than in the Advancement of *Alexander Campbell*, a Son of the Family of *Ardkinlas*, to the Biſhoprick of *Brechin* after the Death of Bp. *Sinclair*; whoſe Grant to the Biſhoprick contains this new and hitherto unheard of Power, *viz. Ac cum poteſtate ſibi, dare & diſponere ſingula beneficia* [*tam ſpiritualitatis quam temporalitatis*, as the preceding Clauſe bears] *dignitatis, aut alia infra Diœceſin Brechinen. nunc vacan. aut quando eadem vacare contigerit, quæ prius donationi Epiſcoporum Brechinen. pertinuerunt.* That is, *And with Power to him to diſpone and alienate the Benefices as well of the Spirituality as Temporality of the Biſhoprick*, &c. This Grant from King *Henry* and Queen *Mary* is dated the 6th *May* 1566, and is to be ſeen in the

Regiſters

1561.

Third General Aſſembly.

When the *Third* General Aſſembly was to convene in *December* (a), the Courtiers and ſome other Noblemen refuſed to aſſemble with the reſt of their Brethren. About this Difference a pretty ſharp Altercation aroſe, which I think not neceſſary to be inſerted here, ſince Mr. *Knox* has taken Care to repreſent it after his Manner. Hereafter was the *Book of Diſcipline* deſired to be ratified by the Queen; but this likewiſe was neglected, and Secretary *Lethington* uttered ſome vilipending Words concerning it.

As there had been a Convention of ſeveral Noblemen at this Time in *Edinburgh*, " The Barones (ſays Mr. *Knox*, meaning thoſe only that ſat in the Aſſembly of the Kirk, tho' he ſpeak in theſe general Terms) perceaving that the Buik of Diſcipline was refuſed, preſented to the Nobility certane Artickles, requyring Idolatry to be ſuppreſſed, the Kirks to be planted with new Miniſters, and ſome certane Proviſioun to be maid for thame, according to Equity and Conſcience;——And ſo devyſed thay, that the Kirkmen [*i.e.* the former Clergy] ſould have Intromiſſioun with the twa Parts of thair Benefices, and that the third Part ſould be lifted up by ſick Men as thairto ſould be appointed, for ſuch Uſes, as in theſe ſubſequent Acts ar more fully expreſſed." But for the Satisfaction of my Readers, I have put into the *Appendix* (b) more complete Copies of theſe Acts, and from a ſurer Canal than Mr. *Knox*: And by the Peruſal of them, the Readers will eaſily diſcern from what Fund it was reſolved to ſupport the new Miniſters, whoſe Stipends were appointed to be modified by the Earls of *Argile*, *Morton* and *Mar*, [Prior of St. *Andrews*,] Secretary *Lethington*, the Juſtice-Clerk, and Clerk of Regiſter; and *Wiſhart* Laird of *Pittarrow* in the Shire of *Mearns* was named to be the Paymaſter. All theſe Perſons were known to be firſt-rate Men among the *Godly*, earneſt Subverters of the ancient Eſtabliſhment, and keen Prompters of the new Diſcipline. And " quho wald have thocht, that quhen *Joſeph* reulled in *Egypt*, his Brethren ſould have travellit for Victualles,——ſo buſie and circumſpect wer the Modificators that the Miniſters ſould not be over-wanton, that thre hundreth Merks was the hieſt that was apoynted to any (c)," &c.

Much more to this purpoſe, and many ſore Grievances, may be ſeen in Mr. *Knox*, who might now have perceived his own Error in not hearkning in time to the good and wholeſome Advice offered him by the Primate; but that Preacher was too wiſe in his own Conceit, and his Blood boiled too hot in his Veins, ever to liſten to another, or allow himſelf to think ſoberly on the Head. When he is talking of this Matter, he roundly ſays, that none of the Church-rents " pertained to any of the Queen's Predeceſſors within this Realme theſe thouſand Yeirs bypaſt;" but I'm afraid he has herein been a bad Chronologer.

He obſerves likewiſe, " that the Biſchops begane to grip agane to that quhilk moſt unjuſtly thay called thair awn:" If there be any thing in the World that can be called *Own* or *Property*, certainly the Rents of the Clergy were ſo, as having been inveſted in their Perſons by all the Forms of Right and Property a Nation is able to confer; and it is equally certain that the Donors of theſe Rents meant they ſhould be paid to ſuch Clergy as profeſſed and believed all or moſt of thoſe Articles which were now condemned, and for the maintaining of which the preſent Biſhops within *Scotland* were deprived of their Livings and Benefices.

Beſides

Regiſters of the Privy Seal; where is likewiſe to be ſeen a Licence to this Biſhop by the Queen, the 7th *May* 1567, to depart and continue forth of the Realm the Space of ſeven Years. And conformable to this Licence, there is a particular Inſtruction in the Book of *Aſſumptions*, now in the Hands of the noble Family of *Panmure*, that this Titular Biſhop was abroad at his Studies in *Geneva* ſo late as the Year 1573; ſo the Readers may judge what Age he has been at the Time of the extravagant Grant of the Biſhoprick of *Brechin*; and what unaccountable Management has been uſed in the dilapidating of the Church Rents. And indeed this Gentleman made ſufficient Uſe of this Power inveſted in him; for he alienated a great part of the Lands and Tithes of the Biſhoprick to his Chief and Patron the Earl of *Argile*, who had very likely obtained this Grant for him.

(a) *Calderwood*'s Account of this Aſſembly is preciſely the ſame with *Knox*'s; and the *Regiſter* contains nothing at all except the Supplication alone concerning the Marquis *d'Elbeuf*, without ſo much as the Queen's Anſwer being annexed.

(b) Numb. 1.

(c) Mr. *Knox* is not at all here diminiſhing the Sum; for the original Books of *Aſſignation* to the Miniſters, which now ly before me, aſcertain the Truth of what he ſays.

Beſides the former Buſineſs of this General Aſſembly, with which Mr. *Calderwood* ſhuts up his Account thereof; beſides that, I ſay, Mr. *Knox* ſets down a Supplication to the Queen (contained likewiſe in the *Regiſter*) upon account of a ſort of Diſturbance raiſed within the Town of *Edinburgh*, in the Night-time, by her Majeſty's Uncle the Marquis *d'Elbeuf*, &c. " This Winter (*ſays he*) the Erle *Bothwell*, the Marqueſs *d'Albuf*, and Lord *Jhone* of *Coldinghame* playit the Ryote in *Edinburgh*, miſordoured the hole Toune, brak *Cuthbert Ramſays* Yetts and Dures, ſocht his Houſe for his Gudedochter *Aliſone Craik*. And this was done in deſpyt of the Erle of *Arrane*, quhoſe Hoore the ſaid *Aliſone* was ſuſpectit to have bene. The Horrour of this Fact, and the Rarity of it hiely comoved all godly Hairts. The Aſſembly, and alſo the Nobility, for the maiſt pairt wer in the Toune; and ſo thay concludit to crave Juſtice, as that thay did, as by this ſubſequent Supplicatioun does appeare.

To the Quenes Majeſtie, and hir ſecrete and grit Counſall, hir Graces faythfull and obedient Subjects, the Profeſſours of Chriſt Jeſus his holie Evangell, wiſch the Spirit of rychteous Jugement.

" THe Feare of God conceaved of his holie Word, the naturall and unfeaned Love we beare unto your Grace, the Dewtie quhilk we aw unto the Quyetnes of our Countrey, and the terribill Threatnings quhilk our God pronunces againſt every Realme and Ciety, in the quhilk horribill Crymes ar comitted oppinly, and then be the Comitters obſtinatly defended, compell us, a grit Pairt of your Subjects, humlie to crave of your Grace uprycht and trew Jugement againſt ſick Perſones as have done quhat in thame ly to kendle God's Wrath againſt this hole Realme. The Impiety be thame comitted is ſo heynous, and ſo horribill, that as it is a Fact moſt vyle and rare to be hard of within this Realme, and principally within the Bowells of this Ciety; ſo ſould we think ourſelves gilty in the ſame, if negligently, or yit for warldly Fear, we pas it over with Silence; and thairfore your Grace may not think that we require any thing (quhill that we crave oppin Malefactours condingly to be puniſched) bot that quhilk God hes comandit us to crave, and alſo hes comandit your Grace to give to every ane of your Subjects; for by this Link hes God knit togidder the Prince and the Peple, that as he comands Honour, Fear and Obedience to be gevin to the Powers eſtabliſched be him; ſo doeth he in expreſſe Words comand and declare quhat the Prince aweth unto the Subjects, *to wit*, that as he is the Miniſter of God, bearing the Sword for Vengance to be takin on evill Doers, and for the Defence of peacible and quyet Men; ſo aucht he to draw the ſame without Partiality, ſo oft as in God's Name he is requyred thairto. Seing ſo it is, Madame, that this Cryme, ſo recently comitted, and that in the Eyes of your hole Realme now preſently aſſembled, is ſo heynous (for quho heirtofore hes hard within the Bowells of *Edinburgh*, Yettes and Dures under Silence of Nicht bruſt up, Houſes ryped, and that with Hoſtility, ſeaking a Woman, as appeareth, to oppreſſe hir?) ſeing, we ſay, that this Cryme is ſo heynous, that all godly Men fear not only Goddis ſore Diſpleſour to fall upoun you and your hole Realme, bot alſo that ſick Liberty breads Contempt, and in the end Seditioun, if Remedie in tyme be not provydit, quhilk in our Jugement is impoſſibill, if ſevere Puniſchment be not executed for the Cryme comitted. Thairfore we maiſt humlie beſeich your Grace, that all Affectioun ſett aſyde, you declare yourſelf ſo uprycht in this Caſe, that ye may give evident Demonſtratioun to all your Subjects, that the Fear of God, joyned with the Love of comoun Tranquility, hes principall Seat and Dominioun in your Graces Hart. This farther, Madame, of Conſcience we ſpeik, that as your Grace in God's Name does crave of us Obedience (quhilk to rander in all Things lawfull, we ar moſt willing) ſo in the ſam Name do

1562. "we, the hole Profeſſours of Chryſt's Evangell, within this your Graces "Realme, crave of yow, and of your Counſaill, ſcharp Puniſchment of this "Cryme; and for Performance thareof, that without all Delay the principall "Actours of this moſt heynous Cryme, and the Perſewars of this pretendit "Villany, may be called befoir the cheif Juſtice of this Realme, to ſuffer ane "Aſſyſe, and to be puniſched according to the Lawes of the ſame. Your "Graces Anſwer maiſt humlie we beſeich."

To this Supplication the Queen returned ſuch Anſwer as might (ſome People would think) have been deem'd ſatisfactory, namely, *That hir Uncle was a Stranger, and that he had a young Cumpany; bot ſche ſuld put ſick Ordour unto him, and unto all uthers, that heirefter thay ſuld have no Occaſioun to complene.* And Mr. *Randolph* in one of his Letters takes Notice, that *the Queen reproved the Doers in Words ſharp enough (a).* But Mr. *Knox*'s Obſervation on the Queen's preceding Anſwer is, *And ſo deludit ſche the juſt Petitioun of hir Subjects.* And then that Writer proceeds to inſert ſuch unſeemly and offenſive Traſh, as in my Opinion did little become his Character to repeat, and far leſs to introduce into a Book of Hiſtory, but eſpecially into the Hiſtory of an Eccleſiaſtical Reformation. Such Scandal might have paſſed better in a Book of the amorous Intrigues of a Court.

On the laſt Day of *May* this Year, I find this Proclamation in the Regiſter of Privy Council, whereof Mr. *Knox* has not thought fit to take the leaſt Regard.

Apud Edinburgh, ultimo Maij 1562.

Proclamation againſt any Alteration in the new Form of Religion.

The quhilk Day, the Quenis Majeſtie remembring that ſone eftir hir firſt Arryvell and hame-cuming in this Cuntrie, and underſtandand the greit Inconvenientis that mycht cum from the Diviſioun ſtanding in this Realme be Differrence in Materis of Religioun, and being deſyrous to ſe the ſame pacifit be ane gude Ordoure, to the Honoure of God and Tranquillitie of the Realme, mynding to tak the ſame be the Advyis of the Eſtaitis ſa ſone as convenientlie thai mycht be aſſemblit; Directit hir Majeſties Letteris, Proclamationis and Chargeis throughout hir haill Realme, ſtraitlie comanding all hir Liegis, That thai, and every ane of thame, ſuld contene thameſelfis in Quietnes, and kepe Peace and civile Societie amangis thameſelfis: And in the mein tyme quhill the Eſtaitis of the Realme mycht be aſſemblit, and that ane finall Ordoure be thair Advyis and publict Conſent mycht be takin in the ſaids Materis; That nane of the ſaids Liegis ſuld tak upoun hand, privatlie nor oppinlie, to mak ony Alteratioun or Innovatioun of the Stait of Religioun, or attempt ony thing aganis the Forme quhilk hir Majeſtie fand publictlie and univerſallie ſtanding at hir Arryvall in this Realme, under the Pane of Deid: With Certificatioun, that gif ony ſuld cum in the contrair thairof, he ſuld be haldin ane ſeditious Perſoun and Raſer of Tumult. And albeit the ſame wes dewlie proclamit, ſua that nane can pretend Ignorance thairof; Nochttheles it is quhiſperit and murmurit that ſum ſuld forzett thair Devoyr ſa fer as to attempt to controvene the ſame, be innovating of the Religioun and Miniſtratioun of the Sacramentis utherwyis than be the publict Forme foirſaid quhilk wes at hir Majeſties Arryvall: And becaus the Controventioun, gif it be permittit to proceid unpuniſſit, may nocht onlie engander maiſt hie Contempt of hir Majeſties Authoritie, but als rais Tumult and Seditioun within the Realme, to the greit Hinder of hir Hienes gude Mynd and Purpois intendit for pacifying of ſik Materis, and taking of Ordour thairin be Advyis of the Eſtaitis, as ſaid

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(*a*) See *p.* 210.

1562.

ſaid is; Thairfoir ordanis Letteris to be direct, chargeing ʒit as of befoir, all and ſindry hir Liegis of quhatſumevir Eſtait, Qualitie or Conditioun thai be of, be oppin Proclamatioun at the Mercate-croces of all Burrowis of the Realme, and utheris places neidfull, That thai, and every ane of thame, ſa fer as in thame lyis, endevour thameſelfis to obſerve and keip the ſaid formar Proclamatioun in every Point and Conditioun, and that nane of thame preſume to attempt or to do ony thing that may tend to the Violatioun or breking thairof, be the meanis foirſaid, or ony utheris privatlie or quietlie, under the Paine contenit in the ſame: Certiefying thame, that as hir Majeſtie maiſt lovinglie will imbrace all hir Subjectis obeyand hir Comandmentis, ſa can ſcho nocht of hir Honour and Dewtie bot hait and puniſche the Contempnaris and Tranſgreſſouris thairof, ſpecialie in this Point quhair the Mater concernis the keiping of gude Ordour, comoun Peace and mutuall Societie, quhairof thai may maiſt certanlie aſſuir thameſelfis quhen thai ſall feill the ſamyn, and obtene the Reward that is dew unto Subjectis that makis ony Defectioun frome thair Soveranis Obedience.

Fourth General Aſſembly.

Fourth General Aſſembly.

Regiſter.] “ The Convention of the Kirk of *Scotland* gatherit in *Edinburgh* the penult Day of *Junij* 1562, in the quhilk wer preſent the Superintendents, Miniſters and Commiſſionars after-written.

“ Superintendents; Mrs. *Johne Spottiſwood* of *Louthiane*, *Johne Wynrhame* of *Fyſe*, *Johne Willock* of *Glaſgow*. *Johne Areskine* of *Dun* of *Angus*, *Johne Carſwell* of *Argyle*.

“ Miniſters and Commiſſionars; *Johne Knox* Miniſter of *Edinburgh*, *James Barron* and *Edward Hope* Commiſſionars; *James Zong*, Mr. *David Lindeſay* Miniſter at *Leith*, *Patrick Cockburne* and *Johne Brown* Commiſſionars; Mr. *Johne Craig* Miniſter at *Halieruidehouſe*, *Johne Hart* and *Williame Oſwald* Commiſſionars; *Williame Harlaw* Miniſter of St. *Cuthberts Kirk*, *Johne Barroun* Miniſter of *Muſſilburgh*, Mr. *Thomas Cranſtoun* Miniſter at *Tranent*, *Alexander Forreſter* Miniſter of *Libertoun*, Mr. *George Fuird* Miniſter of *Dummanie*, Mr. *David Weymis* Miniſter of *Ratho*, *David Cunninghame* Miniſter of *Lanerick*, *James Walker* Miniſter of *Steinſtoun*, *Paul Methven* Miniſter of *Jedburgh*, Mr. *George Hay* Miniſter at *Eddilſtoun*, *Chriſtopher Gudman* Miniſter at *St. Andrews*, Mr. *George Leſlie* Miniſter at *Straithmiglow*. *Richard Melvill* Miniſter at *Inchbruock* and *Marit*; *Johne Douglas* of *Pumfreſtoun* and *Johne Douglas* in *Howden* Commiſſionars of the Kirk of *Calder*; the Laird of *Spot* Commiſſionar for *Dunbar*, and diverſe in the *Merſe*; *James Fleyming* Elder and Commiſſionar of *Glaſgow*, the Laird of *Lye* Commiſſionar of *Lanerick*, the Laird of *Barre* Commiſſionar of *Kyle*, *Johne Cathcart* of *Cariltoun* Commiſſionar of *Carrick*, Mr. *Robert Pont* Elder and Commiſſionar of *St. Andrews*, *Thomas Scott* of *Hayning* Commiſſionar for *Selcraig* and *Melros* (a).

“ The quhilk Day the fornameit convenit in Mr. *Hendrie Laws* Houſe, and after Prayere the Heids and Articles following wer treated.

Calderwood.] “ In the firſt Seſſion, for the Tryell of Miniſters and Superintendents, it was ordained, That Miniſters ſould be firſt tryed in their Lyfe and Converſation and Doctrine; and therfore after the Tryell of the Superintendents, the Elders of everie Kirk to be charged in God's Name to declare their Conſcience what they know tuiching their Miniſters Doctrine, Lyfe, Maners, Diligence in execution of their Office. If anie be accuſed or convicted of anie notable Crime, he muſt be ſubject to the Cenſure of the

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(a) This Liſt is more large than that in *Calderwood*.

1562. "Kirk, and ſuffer Puniſhment and Admonition as the Aſſemblie ſall think good. 2. After the Miniſters, the Elders of everie Kirk muſt be tried, if anie Man have ought to lay to the Charge of anie of them. 3. The Accuſed, whether he be Miniſter or Elder, is to be removed out of the Aſſemblie till his Cauſe be tryed: If he be convict, he ſall have no Vote till the Aſſemblie receive Satisfaction.

"After Tryell taken of the whole Number, then muſt everie Superintendent, with the Miniſters and Elders within his Diocie, expone to the Aſſemblie the Eſtate of the Kirks in their Bounds, the Offences and Crimes they know, to the end ſome Remedie may be diviſed, at leaſt Supplication made to the ſuperior Powers for Redreſſe of the ſame: And for avoiding Confuſion, Lotes are to be caſt what Diocie ſhould firſt be heard; what nixt, and ſo furth of the reſt.

"It was ordained, That if Miniſters be diſobedient to Superintendents in anie thing belonging to Edification, that they muſt be ſubject to Correctione.

"It was ordained, That ane Charge ſould paſſe from everie Superintendent to all Miniſters within their Bounds, to warne their Kirks of the Order taken, to witt, That the ſaid Superintendents, Miniſters, Elders and Deacons doe willinglie ſubject themſelves to Diſcipline; and if anie Man have anie thing to laye juſtlie to their Charge, that they doe the ſame at the nixt Aſſemblie, which is to be holden in *December:* And that no Miniſter leave his Flock for coming to the ſaid Aſſemblie, except he have Complaints to make, or ellis be complained upon, or at the leaſt be warned thereto be the Superintendent.

"In the ſecond Seſſion, holden the laſt Day of *June*, it was anſwered be the Aſſemblie, to the Petition of Mr. *Alexander Gordon*, anent the Superintendentſhip of *Galloway*; *1ſt*, That they underſtand not how he hath anie Nomination or Preſentation ather by the Lords of ſecret Counſell or Province of *Galloway*. *2dlie*, Albeit he had Preſentation of the Lords, yet he hath not obſerved the Order keeped in the Election of Superintendents, and therefore cannot acknowlege him for anie Superintendent lawfullie called for the preſent; but offered unto him their Aid and Aſſiſtance, if the Kirks of *Galloway* ſall ſute, and the Lords preſent: And requireth that before he depart, that he ſubſcrive the Book of Diſcipline. Further, it was concluded, That Letters ſould be ſent to the Kirkes of *Galloway* to learn whether they required anie Superintendent or not, and whom they required.

"It was enacted, That Miniſters ſall be ſubject to the Superintendents in all lawfull Admonitions, as is preſcrived as well in the Book of Diſcipline as in the Maner of Admiſſion of Superintendents. 2. That ſo manie Miniſters as have been accepted of their Kirks, after Triall offered and Libertie granted to them to receave or refuſe, ſall remaine as lawfull Miniſters, unleſs from that tyme they have been found criminall in Life or Doctrine: And that ſuch as ſerve in the Kirks without publict and free Admiſſion, it ſall be free for the Kirks to receave or refuſe them as they be able to render the Cauſe why they refuſe. 3. That the Examination of all theſe who have not been examined alreadie ſall be in the Preſence of the Superintendent, and of the beſt reformed Kirk within his Bounds, neareſt the Place where the Miniſter is to be eſtabliſhed; providing alwayes that the Judgement of the beſt learned being preſent be ſought in the Examination and Admiſſion; and that he who ſall be ſo admitted, ſall not be removed, according to the Order of the Booke of Diſcipline. 4. That Superintendents tak Accompt what Bookes the Miniſter hath in ſtore the time of their Viſitation, and how the ſaid Miniſter and everie one of them doe profite from time to time [in reiding and audying the ſamen, *Regiſter.*]

"In this Seſſion the Aſſemblie ordained the Superintendent of *Louthiane* to ſummond *Michael Smith* pretended Miniſter of *Strabroke*, to purge himſelf of certaine Crimes layed and to be layed to his Charge; and Mr. *George*

1562. *Hepburn* Parſone of *Hawick*, to anſwer to ſuche Things as ſould be layed to his Charge. The Slander raiſed upon Mr. *Robert Hamilton* Miniſter of *Hamilton*, was remitted to the Triall of the Superintendent of *Glaſgow*, to remove him out of the Miniſtrie, if he thoght expedient. The Aſſemblie decernes Letters to be directed to the Elders, Deacons and whole Kirk of *Craill*, to require them, as they would anſwere in the Preſence of God, to ſignifie to the Aſſemblie with all Diligence, whether Mr. *Johne Melvill* their Miniſter was accuſed be the whole Kirk, or be anie private Faction; whether the whole Kirk requireth his Removall, or the moſt part, or onlie ſome particular Perſone.

“In the third Seſſion holden the firſt Day of *Julie*, concerning the Diſſobedience and Negligence of Elders in aſſiſting Miniſters to correct Offenſes, and ſometimes the whole People refuſing to be ſubject to Diſcipline; it was concluded, That the Miniſter ſall diligentlie require his Elders, and everie one of them, to aſſiſt him in all their lawfull Meetings; wherein if they be found negligent, then ſall he proceed to Admonitions according to *Chriſt's* Rule; which if they or anie of them obey not, then ſall the Miniſter, with ſa manie of the Kirk as will ſubſcrive with him, notifie the ſame to the Superintendent; and if he be his Admonitions can profite nothing, that then be his Advice the Diſobedients be excommunicat; and that the Magiſtrates ſubjects to *Chriſt's* Rule be not exeimed from the ſame Puniſhment. 2. Tuiching Perſones to be nominat to Kirks, that none be admitted without the Nomination of the People, and dew Examination and Admiſſion of the Superintendent, and who have been otherwiſe intruſted ſince the Year 1558, to make Supplication for their Proviſion according to the forſaid Act.

“After the Miniſters, Exhorters and Readers had complained of the Smalnes of their Stipends, it was concluded, That everie one of them ſould give in their particular Complaint to their Superintendents, ſhowing as wiel the Valour of their Stipend, as why they cannot live reaſonablie thereupon, that the Aſſemblie may make Supplication to the Queen's Grace and Counſell for Redreſſe of the ſame; and this to be done before the laſt Day of *September* nixt to come. And in like maner, becaus manie Miniſters complaine of not Payment of their Stipends, in default of the Thrid of diverſe Perſones given be the Queen's Grace to theſe who are in Poſſeſſion of the Kirks preſentlie; it was thoght good to require of her Hienes and Counſell, Order might be taken how the ſaids Complainers might be payed. Alſua in conſideration that the Miniſtrie in certaine Burrowes complaine for want of their Stipends allowed unto them, becaus of the Smalnes of the Thrid-part of the Teinds given to her Hienes, pertaining to the ſaids Burrowes; it was thoght good to crave at her Majeſtie and Counſell, how the ſaid Miniſters ſould be ſuſtained. Attour to make Supplication for the Manſe and Akers or Glebe, where the Miniſters may make Reſidence according to the Book of Diſcipline. *Item*, That decayed Kirks be repaired, according to the Act of the Lords of ſecret Counſell made before her Hienes home-coming. In like maner, to prefer Supplication for the Poore and their Support, for Maintenance of Schooles for Inſtruction of the Youth in everie Pariſh, and the ſamen to be taken off the Twa-part of the Teinds, and within Burrowes of the Annualrents, and other ſuch Things as before ſerved to Idolatrie.

“In the fourth Seſſion holden the ſecond Day of *Julie*, at the Deſire of the Aſſemblie, compeared Mr. *Johne Scharp*; and after long Reaſoning be the ſaid Mr. *Johne*, it was asked, Whether he wold ſerve in the Kirk of God in ſuch Place as the Aſſemblie wold place him into? He anſwered, he was content to beſtow the Gifts he had to the Comfort of the Kirk of God; bot for ſo muche as that Charge required the preaching of the Evangell and Miniſtration of the Sacraments, the Conſideration of his preſente Ignorance in the Scriptures, could not accept the ſame till the Time of farther Knowledge. The Aſſemblie finding him able to preache the Word and miniſter the Sacra-

1562. “ ments, as he had done before times, charged him to re-enter to the Miniſtrie, the Place where he ſould miniſter being reſerved to farther Deliberation. In this Seſſion it was ordained that Mr. *Craig* ſould be joined with Mr. *Knox* in the Miniſtrie of *Edinburgh*; that Mr. *James Greg* ſould aſſiſt the Superintendent of *Glaſgow* till *Michaelmas* next to come, and thereafter to teache in the Pariſhes belonging to the Lord *Areskine* till the next Aſſemblie. Mr. *George Hay*, the Superintendent of *Glaſgow*, Mr. *Robert Hamilton* Miniſter of *Machlin* and *Vchiltrie*, war appointed to preache in the unplanted Kirks of *Carict* ſucceſſivelie one after another monethlie, till the next Aſſemblie. Mr. *James Pont* was appointed to miniſter the Word and Sacraments in *Melros* till the next Aſſemblie. Mr. *Robert Pont* appointed to miniſter, till the next Aſſemblie, in *Dumblaine*. [The Raritie of Labourers, and the Greatneſs of the Harveſt, required at this Time ſuch a kind of Supplie and Help.]

“ In the fifth Seſſion, *David Forreſt* was requeſted to take on the Miniſtrie. Mr. *Johne Scharp* and *Robert Wilſon* war ordained to ſerve in ſuch Kirks as the Aſſemblie ſould appoint in the next Seſſion.

“ In the ſixth Seſſion, it was concluded, That Mr. *Johne Scharp* ſould reenter in the Miniſtrie, and to ſerve in the Kirk which the Superintendent of *Lowthian* ſould appoint; and if he refuſed, that the Cenſures of the Kirk be execute againſt him. *David Forreſt*'s Anſwere was referred to the Superintendent of *Lowthian* and Kirk of *Edinburgh*. Mr. *Patrick Cockburne*, Mr. *Thomas Hepburne*, Mr. *David Lindſay*, or ellis Mr. *Johne Craig*, was appointed to teache in the unplanted Kirks of the *Merce* their Moneth by Courſe.

“ *Johne Douglas* of *Pumferſtone* complaining in Name of the Kirk of *Calder*, That they ar defrauded diverſe times of the preaching of the Word ſince their Miniſter was elected Superintendent of *Lowthian*; deſired the ſaid Superintendent to be reſtored to them again, or ſome qualified Miniſter to be provided to them. It was anſwered, The Profite of manie Kirks was to be preferred to the Profite of one particular, and that the Kirk of *Calder* ſould either be occupied be himſelf, or be ſome other qualified Perſone in his Abſence, which culd not be otherwiſe helped in this Raritie of the Miniſtrie; and they ſould have complained, when the publict Edict was ſett forth twentie Dayes before his Admiſſion.

“ The Aſſemblie being informed, that Mr. *David Spence* gave Inſtitution, be vertew of the Popes Bulles, to Mr. *Robert Auchinmoutie*, of the Prebendrie of *Ruſſell* the 25 of *June* laſt bypaſt; Ordained that the Superintendents of *Fyfe* and *Lowthian* take Order *reſpective* with the forſaids Perſons, and to enforme the Juſtice-Clerk to call them to particular Dietts for breaking of the Queins Acts, if they find the Mater cleerlie tried; and that the Superintendent of *Lowthian* ſignifie the Mater to the Duke.

“ It was concluded, That Supplication ſould be given to her Hienes for removing of Idolatrie; bot the maner how, they referred to the Adviſe of the godlie of her Majeſties privie Counſell. *Item*, That Supplication be made to her Hienes for puniſhing of all Vices commanded by the Law of God to be puniſhed, not puniſhable by the Lawes of the Realme, to witt, Blaſphemie of God's Name, Contempt of his Word and Sacraments, Profanation of the ſame by ſuch as war not lawfullie called to the Miniſtration thereof; Perjurie, and taking the Name of GOD commonlie in vaine; Breache of the Sabbath, by keeping common Mercats; Adulterie, Fornication, filthie Speeches: And further, that Tranſgreſſors of the laſt Proclamation made againſt Meſſemungers and Hearers of the Meſſe, be puniſhed accordinglie. *Item*, That Sute be made to the Juſtice-Clerk for Order to be taken with Mr. *William Scott* of *Balwerie*, for Diſobedience to the Superintendent of *Fyfe*; and Mr. *James Makvert* in *Bute*, for Diſobedience to the Superintendent of *Argyle*. *Item*, That Supplication be made to the ſecret Counſell

1562.

" for Aſſiſtance of the Superintendent of *Angus* to viſite the Sheriſdomes of
" *Aberdeen* and *Bamf*, according to the Commiſſion given to him be the Aſſemblie
" in *December* laſt bypaſt. This Aſſemblie joyned to him as Aſſociates,
" Mr. *Chriſtopher Gudman* and Mr. *Johne Row*. Anent the Action
" of Divorcement, it was thoght good to make Supplication to the ſecret
" Counſell, that ather they transferre the Judgement of Divorcement to the
" Kirk and their Seſſions, or ellis eſtabliſhe Men of good Lives, Knowledge
" and Judgement to order the ſame, providing the ſaids Lords provide how
" the guiltie Perſons divorced ſalbe puniſhed.

Regiſter.] " And ſwa diſſolves this Aſſemblie, and appointit to convenie agane
" the 25 of *December* nixt tocum in *Edinburgh*.

Sic ſubſcribitur, JOHNE GRAY.

Calderwood.] " The Tenour of the Supplication which was to be preſented
" to the Queins Majeſtie and her Counſell, was read in open Audience of the
" Aſſemblie, and approved."

The Tenor of this Supplication may be ſeen in Mr. *Knox* as drawn up by himſelf, together with the Objections made againſt the ſame by ſeveral Perſons in the Aſſembly: I ſhall here only take notice, that Secretary *Lethington* objecting much againſt the harſh Expreſſions couched therein, it was agreed that the Secretary ſhould make another Form of the Supplication, which was delivered to the Queen by the Superintendents of *Lothian* and *Fife*; and her Majeſty ſaid concerning it, *Here are many fair Words, I cannot tell what the Hearts are.*

Mr. *Knox* is ſent into the Weſt Country, where he promotes a ſeditious Band.

By Authority of this Aſſembly, Mr. *Knox* informs, that himſelf was ſent into *Kyle* and *Galloway*, (as was Mr. *George Hay* into *Carrick* and *Cuningham*.) Beſides Preaching and a Diſputation held with Mr. *Quintin Kennedy* Abbot of *Croſraguel*, this politick Miniſter acknowledges he ſpirited up the People in theſe Bounds to ſubſcribe the following Bond.

WE, quhais Names ar under-written, do promeis, in the Preſence of God, and in Preſence of his Son our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, That we, and every one of us, ſall and will manteyne and aſſiſt the Preaching of his holly Evangell, now of his mere Mercy, offered unto this Realme: And alſo will manteyne the Miniſters of the ſame againſt all Perſones, Power and Authority, that will oppone the ſelf to the Doctrine proponed, and by us receaved. And further, with the ſame Solemnity, we proteſt and promeis, that every ane of us ſall aſſiſt uthers; yea and the hole Bodie of the Proteſtants within this Realme, in all lawfull and juſt Actions, againſt all Perſones: So that quhoſoever ſall hurt, moleſt or truble ony of our Body, ſall be reputed Enemy to the hole, except that the Offendare will be content to ſubmitt himſelf to the Judgement of the Kirk now eſtabliſched amongſt us. And this we do, as we deſyre to be accepted and favoured of the Lord Jeſus, and reaccompted worthie of Credite and Honeſtie in the Preſence of the Godlie. At the Bourgh of Aire, *the ferd Day of* September, *the Yeir of God* 1562. *Subſcryved be all thir with thair Hands, as follows.*

Mr. *Michaell Wallace* Proveſt of *Air*, *James Lockhart*, *William Montgomery*, *Johne Crawfurd* of *Wolſtoun*, *Johne Mure* in *Wole*, *Hew Wallace* of *Carnell*, *James Chalmer* of *Gathgirth*, *Hew Montgomery* of *Heſheilhead*, *Johne Fullartoun* of *Dreghorne*, Sir *William Cunninghame* with my Hand, *Skledoun*, *Farguſhill*, Maiſter of *Boyd*, *Johne Lockhart* of *Barr*, *William Cunninghame* of *Capringtoun* younger, *Robert Ker* of *Carſland*, *Robert Crawfurd*, *David Crawfurd*, *William Cunninghame*, *Charles Campbell* Burges of *Air*, *James Dalrymple* of *Stayre*, *Mungo Mure*, *James Reid*, *James Kennedie* Burges of *Air*, *George Lockhart* Burges there, *Robert Schaw* Burges there, *Johne Dunbar* of *Blantyre*, *Robert Chalmer* of *Martuein*, *Robert Huntar* of *Huntarſtoun*, *Robert Rankin*, *Archibald Boyle*, *Alexander*

1562. *der Nysbet*, *James Lockhart*, *William Stewart* of *Halrig*, *Hector Dunbar* of *Clouſtang*, *James Campbell* of *Houthley*, *Adam Cathcart* of *Bardarot*, *George Reid* of *Chapelhous*, *Hew Wallace* of the *Meanfurd*, *Glencairne*, *R. Boyd*, *R. Failfurd*, *Matthew Campbell* of *Lowdon* Knicht, *Allane* Lord *Cathcart*, *Johne Cunninghame* of *Capringtoun*, *Cunninghameheid*, *Uchiltrie*, *George Crawfurd* of *Leſnoreiſs*, *Johne Mure* of *Rowallane*, *Hew Cunninghame* of *Watterſtoun*, *Robert Cunninghame*, *Akynharvye*, *Myddiltoun*, *Johne Wallace* of *Cragie*, *Johne Boyd* of *Narſtoun*, *Robert Campbell* of *Kingzeancleuch*, *Gilbert Eales*, *Thomas Cathcarte* with my Hand, *Allane Cathcarte* of *Clawance*, *Adam Reyd* of *Barskying*, *Johne Cathcart* of *Gibiſyard*, *Johne Reid* with my Hand, *Johne* ———, *Robert Boyd* of *Pemont*, *William Campbell* of *Horſcleuch*, *William Cathcart* Brother to the Lord *Cathcart*, *Johne Mackquſidaill*, *George Corry* of *Kelwood*, *William Kennydie* of *Terngnoth*, *Johne Kennydie* of *Kirkmichaell*, *Thomas Mackalexander* of *Corſeclais*, *Robert Campbell* of *Craydow*, *Andro Neven* of *Monkredden*, *William Cathcart*, *David Crawfurd* of the *Kers*, *Johne Kennydie* of *Terngnothe*, *Patrick Kennydie* of *Daljaroch*, *Allane Cathcart* of *Carltoun*. With mony uther Gentilmen of Worth and Burgeſſes.

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CHAP. III.

Containing Church Affairs from the Battle of Corrichie *in the End of* October 1562, *till the Parliament in* December 1564.

The Preachers accuſed of Railing by their own Party.

IMMEDIATELY after the Death of the Earl of *Huntly* in the Battle of *Corrichie*, and the Execution of his Son at *Aberdeen*; the Queen left the North, and came to *Dundee*, St. *Johnſtoun*, *Stirling*, and then to *Edinburgh*, where the Court remained for the moſt part of the Winter. In which time "the Precheours, Mr. *Knox* ſays, wer wonderous vehement in reprehenſioun of all maner of Vice, quhilk then began to abound," &c. This made the Courtiers (who he owns were Proteſtants) pick Quarrels againſt the Preachers, and affirm that all their Preaching was turned into Railing. And that there has been very probably too good Ground for this Complaint, it will be remembred that the Reſident of *England* even took Notice in his Letters, that Mr. *Knox* deborded too far in the Pulpit from Decency and Sobriety. However this Author, after he has narrated the preſent Story in hand, is at Pains, after his wonted manner, to make his Readers take up the Matter in ſuch ſort as if himſelf had been endued with the Spirit of Prophecy. But we may all know how eaſy a Matter it is to denounce Judgments; and ſtill eaſier ſo to frame a poſterior Narration, as to make Denunciations and Judgments correſpond together: And yet neither will it be found that Mr. *Knox*'s pretended Prophecies were always attended with correſponding Events.

Fifth General Aſſembly.

Fifth General Aſſembly.

Calderwood.] "The Generall Aſſemblie conveined the 25 of *December* "1562, where war preſent Superintendents, Miniſters and Commiſſionars in "*Edinburgh* in the old Counſell-houſe. [*Johne Knox* Miniſter of *Edinburgh* "callit upoun Godis Name for the Aſſiſtance of his holie Spirit, *Regiſter*.]

"In the firſt Seſſion Mr. *Robert Cuming* Schoolemaſter of *Arbrothe* was "complained upon be the Laird of *Dun* Superintendent of *Angus* and *Mernes*, "for infecting the Youth committed to his Charge with Idolatrie.

1562.

“In the ſecond Seſſion [28 of the ſaid Moneth, *Reg.*] according to the Order taken at the laſt Aſſemblie, becaus the Superintendent of *Lowthian* was abſent, who ſould firſt have been tried; the Superintendent of *Fyfe* was removed, and the Miniſters and Commiſſionars of the ſaid Diocie, who war preſent for the tyme, war required, If they, or anie of them had anie thing to lay to his Charge tuiching his Maners, Converſation, Doctrine and Execution of his Office, that they wold declare it. It was murmured by ſundrie Miniſters, That he was ſomewhat ſlacke in his Viſitations, and remained not at the Kirks for ordering ſuch Things as war neceſſar for the ſame; That he was too much given to worldlie Affairs, ſlacke in Preaching, raſhe in Excommunication, ſharper nor became him in making Acts for Payment of ſmall Tithes. The Superintendent of *Angus* was removed nixt: It was layed to his Charge, That there war manie Popiſh Prieſts, unable and of wicked Life, admitted to reading at Kirks within his Diocie. 2. That ſome young Men war raſhlie admitted to the Miniſtrie, and to be Exhorters, without ſuch Tryell and Examination as is required in the Booke of Diſcipline. 3. That Gentlemen of vitious Life war choſen to be Elders in diverſe Kirks. 4. That ſundrie Miniſters under his Juriſdiction remaine not at their Kirks, viſite not the ſicke in their Extremitie; and als, that the Youth is not inſtructed. 5. That ſome Miniſters come over late to the Kirks where they ſhould preache on the Lord's Day, ſo that the Peiple doeth wearie ſtaying upon them; and incontinent, the Sermon being ended, they depart. 6. That the Miniſters reſort not to the Exerciſe according to the Order ſett down in the Book of Diſcipline. The Superintendent, after he come in againe, randered up the Commiſſion he received frome the Aſſemblie for viſiting the North, and eſtabliſhing Miniſters, Elders and Deacons in the Kirk. Therafter the Miniſters of *Fyfe* war removed, and the Superintendents and Commiſſionars war required to declare what they knew to be layed to their Charge. Then the Miniſters of *Mernes* and *Angus* war removed and tried. Then the Superintendent of *Lowthiane* now being preſent was removed and tryed. It was required be the Commiſſionars of *Edinburgh*, that he wold ſometimes preache in their Kirks, as the principall Roume within his Juriſdiction: and others required, that he wold viſite *Muſſilburgh* and *Stirling* oftener. Therafter the Miniſters of *Lowthiane* and *Stirling-ſhire* war removed and tried.

“It was concluded, That the Superintendent ſall cauſe preſent the Names of Miniſters, Exhorters and Readers, to the Lords appointed be the Queen's Majeſtie for aſſigning of their Stipends, and that in thir Preſentations be ſpecified the Entrie of theſe that ar preſented, to be at *Alhallowmes*, *Lambmes*, *Candlemes* or *Beltan*, togither with the Year of God, that they may receive Payment at the Terme after their Entrie, and ſua furth quarterlie. And if it ſall happen that anie Miniſter, Exhorter or Reader depart at the Pleaſure of God, the Intrant ſall receive Payment *pro rata ſervitii*; that the Executors of the Defunct ſall receive Payment for the Time he hath ſerved: And this Order to be obſerved hereafter. Anent the Suſtentation of Miniſters, Exhorters and Readers within Burrowes, the Comptroller required the Commiſſionars of Burrowes who war preſent to ſignifie to him be Word or Writt, within a competent Space, what Relief they wold make to the Suſtentation of the Miniſters forſaid, in reſpect they war before burthened with upholding of ſuche as called themſelves Miniſters in the abuſed Kirk.

“In the third Seſſion [29 *December*, *Reg.*] it was ordained, according to the fourth Head of the Book of Diſcipline, that all Perſons ſerving in the Miniſtrie who had not entred into their Charges according to the Order appointed in the ſaid Book be inhibited; that is to ſay, if they have been ſlanderous before in Doctrine, and have not ſatisfied the Kirk; if they have not been preſented be the People, or a Part thereof to the Superintendent; and he after Examination and Tryall hath not appointed unto them their

1562. “Charges. And that this Act have Strenth als weill againſt theſe who ar called Biſhops as others: And ordaineth the ſame Act to be promulgat be the Superintendents in their Diocies; and where there ar not Superintendents, be Commiſſioners ſent from the Aſſemblie, the Copie thereof to be affixed upon the principall Kirk-doores. And if anie Perſon after Inhibition made, contemptuouſlie continue in his Miniſtrie, the Aſſemblie ordaines to proceed againſt him be Cenſures, to Excommunication, unleſs be his Letters to the Commiſſioners, or nixt Superintendent, he give Signification of his Obedience and Promiſe to accept the ſame Charge according as they ſall command him. And in that Caſe the Aſſemblie decerned, that with Libertie and Freedome of Conſcience, and alſo without Danger of the former Paine, he may continue in his Miniſtrie till the nixt Aſſemblie; at which Time it is ordained, that they preſent themſelves before the Aſſemblie. And that this Act comprehend alſo Exhorters and Readers.

“Becaus it is complained, That the North Countrie for the moſt part was deſtitute of Miniſters, and that the Order of the Election and Admiſſion of the Superintendent of *Aberdeen* was not putt in Execution; the Aſſemblie appointed Mr. *George Hay*, Mr. *Johne Row* and *Adam Heriot*, to be proponed in Lites to the ſaid Kirk, and Edicts to paſs furth thereupon with all Expedition; and committed the Charge of Inauguration of the Perſon elected, to the Superintendents of *Fyfe* and *Angus*, and ſuche learned Men as they ſall choſe; and appointed the Kirk of *Old-Aberdeen* to be the Place of Admiſſion. And in caſe ather Mr. *Johne Row* and *Adam Heriot* ſalbe elected to the ſaid Office, the Aſſemblie nominat Mr. *James Wilkie*, *Patrick Couſton* and *Robert Hamilton*, to be proponed in Lites to the Kirks deſtitute of their Miniſtrie.

“A Commiſſion was given to Mr. *Johne Hepburne* Miniſter of *Brechin*, to paſs to *Murray*, and there to preache the Goſpell; and if it ſall chance that he ſall find anie qualified Perſons apt to be Miniſters, Exhorters or Readers, that he ſend them to the Superintendent to be appointed for *Aberdeen* and *Bamf*, to be tried, and admitted to their Offices *reſpective*: And it was ordained this Commiſſion ſould endure till the nixt Aſſemblie.

“*David Forreſt*, notwithſtanding he objected his owne Inabilitie, was charged by the whole Aſſemblie, as he wold avoide Diſobedience to their Voices, without farther Delay, to addreſſe himſelf to enter in the Miniſtrie where he ſalbe appointed, ſeing it was knowen ſufficientlie that he was able for that Function. He and Mr. *Patrick Cockburne* war proponed in Lites for the Superintendentſhip of *Jedburgh*. It was decerned, that Edicts ſould be ſett furth for their Admiſſion againſt the firſt Lord's Day of *Marche* nixt to come in the Kirk of *Jedburgh*. The Superintendent of *Lowthiane*, Mr. *Knox*, and ſuch other learned Men as they ſould chooſe to aſſiſt them, war appointed to inaugurate the Perſon elected.

“For the planting of Kirks in the Shirefdomes of *Dumfries*, *Galloway* and *Nithiſdaill*, and the reſt of the Weſt Daills; the Aſſemblie nominat in Lites for the Superintendentſhip, Mr. *Alexander Gordon* entituled Biſhop of *Galloway* and Mr. *Robert Pont* Miniſter of *Dunkell*: Ordained Edicts to be ſett furth for the Admiſſion upon the firſt Lord's Day of *Aprile*, and appointed the Superintendent of *Glaſgow*, Mr. *Knox* Miniſter of *Edinburgh*, Mr. *Robert Hamilton* Miniſter of *Vchiltrie* and *Mauchlin*, and other learned Men, to be preſent at the Inauguration of the Perſon elected; the Place of Admiſſion to be the Pariſh-kirk of *Drumfries*. In the meane tyme the Aſſemblie giveth Commiſſion to Mr. *Alexander* to admitt Miniſters, Exhorters and Readers, and to doe ſuch other Things as war before accuſtomed in planting of Kirks.

Regiſter.] “Mr. *Archibald Keith* Miniſter of *Logie* and *Balmerinoch*, was diſcernit be the Kirk to be tranſlated fra the foirſaids Kirks to ſick Place as where his Stipend ſould be more aboundantlie given him, in cais he be not

“ reaſon-

1562. “reaſonablie ſatisfiet be the Lords appointit to modifie the Miniſters Stipends; provyding that he change not at his awin privat Opinioun, bot to have thairin the Judgement and Appointment of the Kirk, who ſall give thair Judgement heir or this Aſſemblie be diſſolvit.

Calderwood.] “In the fourth Seſſion [30 *December*, *Reg.*] Commiſſion was given to Mr. *Knox* to goe to *Jedburgh*, and to take Triell upon the thrid Day of *Jannarie* nixt to come, of the Slander raiſed againſt *Paul Methven* late Miniſter of the ſaid Burgh; and after Triell, to report to the Seſſion or Conſiſtorie of the Kirk of *Edinburgh*, to whom with the Superintendent of *Lowthiane* the Aſſemblie giveth Power to decerne, and pronounce Sentence.

“This Aſſemblie giveth Power to everie Superintendent within their own Bounds in their Synodall Aſſemblies, with Conſent of the moſt part of the Elders and Miniſters of Kirks, to tranſlate Miniſters from one Kirk to another, as they ſall conſider the Neceſſitie: And in like manner chargeth the Miniſters to obey the Voice and Commandement of their Superintendent anent their tranſlating. It was ordained further, That Superintendents indict their Synodall Conventiones twiſe in the Year, to witt, in the Moneth of *Aprile* and *October*, at ſuch Days within the ſaid Moneths as the Superintendents ſall think good; and that they give ſufficient Advertiſement to the particular Kirks, that the Miniſter, with ane Elder or Deacon, may repaire toward the Place appointed be the Superintendents at the Dayes that ſalbe affixed be them, to conſult upon the commoun Effaires of their Dioces.

“In this Seſſion ſome Miniſters war appointed for particular Places; Mr. *James Pont* for my Lord *Areskine*, Mr. *James Foullis* for *Dunkell*, Mr. *James Wilkie*, or Mr. *Patrick Couſton*, if he be not choſen for *St. Johnſton*, for *Aberdeen*; Mr. *Robert Hamilton* for *Hamilton*, Mr. *Johne Keith* to be placed by the Superintendent of *Aberdeen* in *Buchan*, Mr. *Robert Narne* for *Deir*, Mr. *Arthure* to be placed at the Diſcretion of the Superintendent of *Fyſe* and Rector of St. *Andrews*, Mr. *James Greg* for *Carict*, if the Lord *Areskine* could be moved to conſent.

“In the fifth Seſſion [laſt Day of *December*, *Reg.*] Commiſſion was given to the Superintendents of *Angus*, *Lowthiane*, *Glaſgow*, *Fyfe*, and *David Forreſt*, to travell with the Lords of the ſecreit Counſell, to know what Cauſes ſall come in Judgement to the Kirk, and what Order of Executioun ſall be taken therein. *Item*, To travell for aboliſhing of Mercats holding upon the Lord's Day throughout the Realme. *Item*, Commiſſion given to Mr. *Knox* to make Supplication both by Word and Writt to the Queen's Majeſtie, for Support of the Poore.

“Notwithſtanding of the Nomination of Superintendents for *Aberdeen*, *Bamf*, *Jedburgh* and *Dumfries*, made before in the thrid Seſſion, the Aſſemblie remitted farther Adviſement and Nomination of the Perſons to the Lords of ſecreit Counſell, providing the Dayes for the Admiſſion be not altered.

“It was concluded, That ane uniforme Order ſould be keeped in Miniſtration of the Sacraments, Solemnization of Mariages and Buriall of the Dead, according to the Booke of *Geneva* (a). *Item*, That the Communion be miniſtred foure tymes in the Yeere within Burrowes, and twiſe in the Yeere in Countrie Pariſhes. The Superintendents war appointed to confer with the Lords of ſecreit Counſell, anent the Charges to be beſtowed for the Elements at the Lord's Supper. It was concluded, That na Miniſter, nor others bearing Office within the Kirk, take in hand to cognoſce and decide in the Actions of Divorcement, except the Superintendents and theſe to whome they ſall give ſpeciall Commiſſion betwixt ſpeciall Perſons. After Invocation of

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(a) “By this Book (ſays Mr. Petrie) is meant that Book called *The Common Order*, which was conform to the *Engliſh* Church in *Geneve*, and was uſually printed before the Pſalms in Metre.”

1562-3.

" of the Name of God made be Mr. *Knox* Miniſter of *Edinburgh*, the Aſ-
" ſemblie diſſolved.

" In this Aſſemblie great Complaints war made, that Miniſters lacked Sti-
" pends, and Kirks lacked Miniſters. The Comptroller, Juſtice-Clerk and
" Clerk-Regiſter required everie Superintendent to give to them the particular
" Complaints, that their Stipends might be augmented. Where the Thrids
" war remitted to the Poſſeſſors be the Queen's Majeſtie, they promiſed to
" cauſe charge the principall Intromettors and Poſſeſſors of the Teinds to pay
" the Miniſters Stipends; becaus the Manſes war ather detained be Parſones
" or Vicars, or ſett in Feu, or otherwayes to Gentlemen. The Clerk of Re-
" giſter and Juſtice-Clerk deſired the Superintendents to ſignifie unto the Clerk
" of the Rentalls where the ſaid Manſes lay, and in what Cuntrie, to the end
" they might be aſſigned to the Queen's Grace Thrid-part, that ſo the Mini-
" ſters might come to the Poſſeſſion of them.

Regiſter.] " Forſameikle as it was heavilie lamentit be the maiſt pairt of
" the Miniſters, that they can have no Dwelling-places at their Kirks, becauſe
" the Manſis are either deteinit be the Parſons or Vicars of the ſamen, or els
" ſett in Few, or utherwayes to Gentlemen. The Clerk-Regiſter and Juſtice-
" Clerk deſyres the Superintendents to ſignifie to the Clerk of the Rentales,
" where the ſaids Manſis are, and in what Countrey, to the Effect that the
" ſaids Manſis may be aſſignit to the Third-part; and thereafter that the ſaids
" Miniſters complein, and may be ſtaiked and helped to the ſamen for their
" Commoditie and remaining with their Flocke.

Calderwood.] " It was complained, That Idolatrie was erected in diverſe Pla-
" ces of the Realme: For Redreſſe hereof ſome thoght beſt, that humble Suppli-
" cation ſould be preſented to the Queene; others demanded what Anſwere was
" received to the former. The Superintendent of *Lowthiane* who preſented it,
" ſaid he received no Anſwere. It was anſwered for the Queen's Part, (for
" her Supports war ever there) That it was well known to the whole Realme
" what Trubles had fallen furth ſince the laſt Aſſemblie; and therefore it was
" no wonder that the Queene had not anſwered: Bot betwixt and the nixt
" Parliament, which was to be holden in *May*, they doubted not but ſuche
" Order ſould be taken as ſould content all honeſt Men.

The Readers will obſerve, that by the Act of Privy Council 22d *December* 1561, it is ſtatuted, *that na maner of Perſone nor Perſonis*, &c. (as in the *Appendix*, *Numb.* 1.) In conſequence of the which Act, there is another to the ſame purpoſe as here followeth.

Apud Edinburgh, 11. *Februarij* 1562-3.

SEDERUNT

Jacobus *Dux de* Chatellarault, Jacobus *Comes de* Mortoun, Jacobus Moraviæ *Comes*, Alexander *Comes de* Glencarne, Joannes *Dominus* Erskin; *Theſaurarius*, *Rotulator*, *Secretarius*, *Clericus Regiſtri*, *Clericus Juſticiariæ*.

Act diſcharging the Ejection of the Tenants of Kirk-lands.

Forſamekill as be Act and Statute maid be the Quenis Majeſtie, with Avyis of the Lordis of hir ſecrete Counſale and Nobilitie thairin aſſemblit, it wes ordanit of befoir, That na maner of Perſone nor perſonis ſuld be removit fra thair Rowmes or Steidingis of quhatſumevir Kirk-landis ſet in Few ſen the vi Day of Marche the Zeir of God 1558 Zeris, bot bruke and jois the ſamyn without Danger of Violence quhill the Feiſt of Witſunday the Zeir of God 1563 Zeris, that in the mein tyme Ordoure mycht be takin thairin be the Eſtaitis in Parliament, for the Weill of the Cuntrie, as the ſaid Act beris. And becaus of ſik Beſines as hes occurrit ſen the

1563.

the making of the ſaid Act, and that na Parliament ſenſyne hes bene haldin, nor Ordoure as zit is takin thairanent: Thairfoir the Quenis Majeſtie, with Avyis of the ſaidis Lordis of hir ſecreit Counſale, zit as of befoir, ſtatutis and ordanis, That na maner of Perſone or Perſonis be removit fra thair Rowmes and Steidingis of quhatſumevir Kirk-landis ſet in Few ſen the ſaid vi Day of Marche 1558 Zeris, bot bruke the ſamyn without Danger of Violence, quhill the Feiſt of Witſunday 1564 Zeris, that in the mene tyme Ordoure may be takin thairin be the Eſtaitis in Parliament for the Weill of the Cuntrie, as ſaid is. And ordanis the Lordis of Seſſioun, and utheris Jugeis of this Realme, to deſiſt and ceis fra all proceding aganis ony of the ſaidis Perſonis callit for violent Occupationis of the ſaidis Landis ſet in Few ſen the ſaid vi Day of Marche, as ſaid is, quhill the Feiſt of Witſunday the Zeir of God 1564 Zeris, diſchargeing thame thairof, and of thair Offices in that Part in the mene tyme; and ordanis Letteris to be direct heirupoun, gif neid beis.

At the Feaſt of *Paſch* or *Eaſter* this Year 1563, the Archbiſhop of St. *Andrew*'s, the Prior of *Whitern*, and ſome others were delated for having ſaid Maſs, and were brought before a Court of Juſticiary at *Edinburgh* on the 19th Day of *May*; the Earl of *Argile*, hereditary Lord High Juſtice, ſitting himſelf in Judgment by the particular Solicitation of *John Knox*: The Reſult whereof was, that the Pannels ſurrendred themſelves up to the Queen's Will, and her Majeſty committed them to Ward in different Places.

Archbiſhop of St. *Andrew*'s, and others, impannelled for ſaying of Maſs.

On ſome one or other of the following Days of the ſame Month of *May*, the Parliament of this Kingdom met *(a)*, wherein four ſeveral Acts were paſſed, relating to Church Matters, as may be ſeen in the printed Acts of Parliament, *viz.* 1. *Gleibes or Manſes may not be ſet in Few, or lang Tackis: The Manſe pertanis to the Miniſter.* 2. *Anentis Adulterie.* 3. *Anentis the reparelling and uphalding of Paroche-Kirkes and of Kirk-Zairdes of the ſamin, for Buriall of the Dead.* 4. *Anent Tennentis and uther lauchfull Poſſeſſouris of Kirk-landes, and ſelling of Fewis of the ſamin Kirk-landes for the Space of thrie Zeirs thairefter (b).*

Four Acts of Parliament concerning Church-Matters.

(*a*) During the ſitting of this Parliament, Mr. *Knox* made a Speech to the Lords from the Pulpit concerning the Queen's Marriage, which he records himſelf, and which he acknowledges gave much Offence both to Papiſts and Proteſtants, and that for it his moſt familiar Friends diſdained him. In that Part of it wherein he undertakes to defend the Lawfulneſs of the Parliament in *Auguſt* 1560, and the Settlement of Religion in that Parliament, he ſeems indeed to argue in a very particular manner; *Our Religioun being commanded*, (ſays he) *and ſo eſtabliſched by God, is accepted within this Realme in publict Parliament.* The ſame very thing could have been ſaid in Defence of the ancient Form of Religion a hundred Years before. —— *That Parliament was als lawfull as ever any that paſſed before it within this Realme*, &c. It might be ſo, or not ſo; but in every Event that Parliament was expreſly tied down from doing any thing as to religious Matters, and conſequently what that Parliament acted therein was altogether illegal. However, be the Matter as it will, I ſuppoſe if the Sanction of a Parliament had gone *againſt* Mr. *Knox*, he would have been ready enough to exclaim againſt the Power or Right of a Parliament to appoint the Form of Religion; and for the Verification of this, the Readers may conſider the whole Tenor of his Book during the former Adminiſtration; and yet no Man is fonder than he to build upon the Force of an Act of Parliament when it makes *for* him. Strange that Men ſhould thus waver in their Ratiocinations! Upon Account of this Sermon Mr. *Knox* was called to the Queen's Preſence; and in his Conference with her Majeſty he ſets down theſe remarkable Words, " without [out of] the Preiching-place, Madame, I think " few have Occaſion to be offended at me; bot there, Madame, I am not Maſter of my ſelf, bot man [muſt] obey him who com" mands me to ſpeik plane," &c. Mr. *Knox* would fain make us fancy, that in the Pulpit he had been always under the Influence of the Holy Ghoſt, and conſequently that all his Ribauldry had proceeded from that Source. What a low Eſtimation does this Preacher force Men to have of the Dictates of the Holy Ghoſt, by his talking ſo extravagantly! And what a Pity is it that Mortals ſhould ſo deceive themſelves, and be deceived!

(*b*) The Nobility and Gentry who obtained from the Clergy Feu-farms of the Kirk-lands, had, by virtue of thoſe Feus, warned the Tenants and kindly Poſſeſſors of theſe Lands (*i. e.* ſuch Tenants as had eaſy Leaſes of their Rooms and Steadings) to remove from thence, with a View that they might let out theſe Poſſeſſions at a higher rate. And this Act prohibites any of the new Feuers to oblige the kindly Tenants to remove, but that all ſuch Poſſeſſors ſhall remain in their Rooms for the Space of three Years, *viz.* until *Whitſunday* 1566. And it prohibites likewiſe all the Clergy, and ſuch new Feuers as poſſeſſed Kirk-lands under the Name and Title of Kirk-men (tho' in reality they were only Lay-men) to let any Kirk-lands in Feu during the foreſaid Space of three Years. As the Kirk-lands were a great Part of the whole Lands of the Kingdom, ſo the Clergy had been always in uſe to let their Lands to Farmers (who were generally the younger Sons of Gentlemen) at a moderate Price: Theſe Farmers being a great Body of Men diſperſed up and down in all Parts of the Nation, began now to murmur againſt the new Lay-Feuers of the Kirk-lands, who wanted either to remove them from their Poſſeſſions, or raiſe their Farms; and it has not been judged adviſable to irritate this *great Body*. Some People think that the eaſy Leaſes granted by the Kirk-men to the *kindly* Tenants (*i. e.* ſuch as poſſeſſed their Rooms for an indetermined Space of Time, provided they ſtill paid the Rents) is the Reaſon that the Kirk-lands throughout the Kingdom were generally the beſt *Grounds*.

1563.

Sixth General Aſſembly.

Sixth General Aſſembly.

Calderwood.] “ The General Aſſemblie was holden at *Sanct Johnſton* the 25 Day of *June* 1563.

“ In the firſt Seſſion, after Invocation of the Name of God made be Mr. *Willocke* Superintendent of the Weſt, the Superintendents war tried. The Triell of the Superintendent of *Fyfe* was delayed till the Day following, at the Deſire of the Miniſters and Commiſſioners of *Fyfe.* Mr. *Alexander Gordon*, ſtiled Biſhop of *Galloway*, having gotten Commiſſion before to plant Miniſters, Exhorters, Readers, and other Office-bearers requiſite for a reformed Kirk within the Bounds of *Galloway*, was removed to be tried. The Laird of *Gairlies* younger complained, that the ſaid Commiſſioner had not miniſtred Juſtice to *Margaret Murrey*, complaining upon her Husband *Godfride Makulloch* for None-adherence. Bot the Commiſſioner could not ſatisfie the Aſſemblie with anie ſufficient Excuſe. In the Triell of the Miniſters, Mr. *Knox* reported the Triell of *Paull Methven*, his Removall frome the Miniſtrie, and how he was excommunicate. *David Ferguſon* Miniſter of *Dumfermline* reported how ſorrowfull he was, and how that he had offered to underly anie Puniſhment for his Offence, ſuppoſe it war the Loſſe of ſome Member of his Bodie. After long Reaſoning, it was agreed that he ſhould have a confortable Anſwere, and that the Lords of privie Counſell ſould be ſpoken thereanent. Mr. *Johne Balfour* uſurping the Place of a Miniſter of a Kirk whereunto he was not admitted, was removed, and placed in an obſcurer Congregation, according to the Meaſure of his Gifts.

“ Commiſſions war given to the Biſhops of *Galloway*, *Orknay* and *Catneſs (a)* for the Space of a Yeere, to plant Kirks, &c. within their owne *Bounds*, and that the Biſhop of *Galloway* haunt aſweill the Shirefdome of *Wigton* as the Stewartie of *Kirkubrigh*, reckoned to be within his owne Bounds. It was ordained lykewayes, That qualified Men ſould be putt in Election for a Superintendentſhip in *Teviotdaill*, *Nithiſdaill*, *Annandaill* and *Selkirk*, or that Commiſſion be given to ſome qualified Men for the Yeere nixt to come, to plant Kirks in the ſaid Bounds; and in like maner to requeiſt the ſecreit Counſell to provide for Superintendents or Commiſſioners to plant Kirks in the South Parts.

Regiſter.] “ Prayer is made be Mr. *Johne Willock* Superintendent of the Weſt. Superintendents and Miniſters are tryed.

“ The ſame Day *Johne Knox* Miniſter of *Edinburgh* having Commiſſioun given to him and certaine Elders and Deacons of the Kirk of *Edinburgh*, to take Cognitioun of the Slander raiſit agains *Paul Methven* late Miniſter at *Jedbrut*, anent Adulterie comitted be the ſaid *Paul* with ane ——— his Servant. The ſaid Mr. *Knox* declairit the haill Cauſe, quhat he had found in the foirſaid Slander, *viz.* The ſaid *Paul* to have comitted the ſaid abhominable Cryme of Adultere, and therefoir with Advyce of the Kirk of *Edinburgh*, Superintendent of *Lowthiane*, and Collegues above mentioned, had removed him fra all Miniſtrie, and alſo excomunicat him, &c. And ſwa having putt his ſaid Commiſſioun to Executioun, rendred up the ſame to the Generall Aſſemblie, fra quhom he received it.

“ Mr. *Johne Rutherfuird* Principall of *Salvators* Colledge complained, That Mr. *Johne Balfour* uſurpit the Miniſtrie at *Cultis*, being unqualifiet to diſcharge the ſame; and ſeing the Kirk pertainit to him as Principall, he offerit himſelf to miniſter according to the Talent given him be God. The Kirk heiring his Complaint and Offer, ordainit the ſaid Mr. *Johne* to accept the Office, quho in Preſens of the Aſſemblie accepted the ſame.

“ The ſaid Day *David Ferguſone* Miniſter of *Dumfermling* declared in the publict Aſſemblie, That he had ſpokin to *Paul Methven* latelie excomunicat,

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(*a*) Theſe were *Alexander Gordon*, *Adam Bothwell*, and *Robert Stewart*: They had joined the Congregation; but none of them had been conſecrated Biſhops, except the firſt.

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“ quhom he fand verie ſorrowfull for his grievous Offence committed be him in
“ maner above rehearſed ; and alſo ſick Repentance for the ſame, that he wald
“ underly whatſoever Puniſhment the Kirk of God would lay upon him, even
“ if it were to loſe any Member of his Bodie to ſatisfie the ſame. After long
“ Reaſoning of the whole Aſſemblie of the ſaid Repentance and Offer, reportit
“ be the ſaid Miniſter ; the Kirk condiſcendit, That the ſaid *Paul* ſould have
“ a confortable Anſwer ; and attour, that they in the meane tyme ſould ſpeake
“ the Lords of the privie Counſell thereanent.

Calderwood.] “ In the ſecond Seſſion [26 *June*, *Reg.*] it was ordained,
“ That no Contract of Mariage alledged to be made ſecretlie, carnall Copulation
“ following, ſall have Faith in Judgement in time coming, till the Contracters
“ ſuffer as Breakers of good Order, and offenſive to the Kirk by their
“ Slander ; and thereafter, that Faith ſall not be given to that Promiſe, till famous
“ and unſuſpect Witneſſes affirme the ſame, or ellis both the Parties confeſſe
“ it : And in caſe that Probation or Confeſſion follow not, that the ſaids
“ Offenders be puniſhed as Fornicators.

“ Concerning Appellations, it was ordained, That if anie Perſon findeth
“ himſelf wronged be anie Sentence given be the Miniſters, Elders and Deacons
“ of their Kirk, it ſalbe leſume to the Partie ſo wronged to appeale to the
“ Superintendent of the Diocie and his Synodall Convention within ten Dayes
“ after ; and the ſaid Superintendent ſall take Cognition, whether it was weill
“ appealed or not, and give Sentence thereupon. Iff the Partie yitt alledge
“ himſelf wronged be the Superintendent and his Convention, it ſalbe lawfull
“ to appeale to the Generall Aſſemblie of the whole Kirk immediatlie thereafter
“ following within ten Dayes as before ; and that the ſaid Aſſemblie take
“ Cognition of the ſaid Appellation, whether it was weill appealed or not,
“ and thereafter pronunce Sentence, from the which it ſall not be lawfull to
“ the ſaid Partie to appeale, bot that the ſaid Sentence ſall have Execution according
“ to the Tenor of the ſame. *Item*, If the Appellant juſtifie not his
“ Appellation before the Superintendent and his Convention foreſaid, that he
“ ſall inflict a Paine upon the ſaid Appellant as he ſall think good, above the
“ Expenſis to the Partie ; which Penaltie ſalbe delyvered to the Deacons of the
“ Kirk where the firſt Sentence was given, to be diſtributed to the Poore.
“ And in like maner the Generall Aſſemblie finding it evill appealed be the ſaid
“ Partie frome the foreſaid Superintendent and Convention, ſall, as of before,
“ impoſe a Penaltie arbitrarie, to be diſtributed as ſaid is ; together with the
“ Expenſis to the Partie, as is above ſpecified.

“ It was ordained, That the Inſtruction of the Youth be committed to none
“ within the Realme, nather in nor out of Univerſities, bot to ſuche as profeſſe
“ *Chriſt*'s true Religion now publicklie preached ; and that ſuche as now
“ occupie the Places in that Profeſſion as ſaid is, be removed from the ſame ;
“ [and that ſic as now occupie the Places not profeſſing as ſaid is, be removed
“ fra the ſamen : And to remember that ſame Ordour be made for the Suſtentatioun
“ of poore Scholers, *Reg.*]

“ Anent the Execution of the Act of Parliament, tuiching the repairing of
“ Kirks, it is thoght neceſſar that Letters, conforme to the ſaid Act, be delivered
“ to the Superintendents *gratis* ; and that everie Superintendent ſall conſider
“ what Kirks within his Bounds need Reparation or Re-edificing, and
“ thereafter deliver the ſaids Letters to the Collectors of the *Thrids* within the
“ ſame Bounds, to be executed be an Officer of Armes at ſuche Kirks as ſalbe
“ needfull, and the Superintendent ſall think good : And thereafter the ſaid
“ Collector ſall deliver the ſaids Letters duelie executed, to the Superintendents
“ foreſaids, to the Effect that they may, where the Diſobedience ſall happen to
“ be, crave Remeed frome the Lords of ſecreit Counſell.

“ Commiſſion was given to Mr. *Johne Hepburn* Miniſter of *Brechin*, to
“ plant Miniſters, Exhorters, Readers, Elders, Deacons, and other Members
“ requiſite and needfull for a reformed Kirk, in *Murrey*, *Bamf* and the Coun-

1563. "treis adjacent, and to place Schoolmaſters. The like Commiſſion was given to Mr. *Robert Pont* to plant Kirks in *Inverneſſe*, and to Mr. *Donald Monro* to doe the like within the Bounds of *Roſſe*, and to aſſiſt the Biſhop of *Cathnes* in preaching of the Goſpell and planting of Kirks. And theſe Commiſſions war to endure onlie for a Yeere.

"Supplications ordained to be made to the ſuperior Powers for conſtituting Judges in everie Province to heare the Complaints of Parties, alledging Adulterie to be committed be the Husband or the Wife, and the ſaid Judges to take Cognition in the Mater, and puniſche according to the Act of Parliament. *Item*, That when anie Benefice ſail vaike, qualified Perſons may be preſented to the Superintendent of the Province where the Benefice vaiketh, that they may be admitted in the Places deſtitute. *Item*, That where two or three Kirks ar diſtant two or three Miles, they may be united, and the Inhabitants cauſed to reſort to the ſaid Kirks, to heare the Word and receave the Sacraments; becaus the rare Number of Miniſters ſuffereth not everie Kirk to have a ſeverall Miniſter, and the Smalnes of the Pariſhes require not the ſame. *Item*, For remitting the Thrids, or a Part thereof to the Biſhops appointed be the Aſſemblie to be Commiſſioners to plant Kirks within their owne Bounds. The Comptroller being preſent, was requeſted to aſſume and aſſigne to himſelf ſo much of the Thrids of the Benefices remitted by the Queene to the Poſſeſſors, as may ſufficientlie ſuſtaine the Miniſtrie; and to cauſe his Collector to intromitt therewith, and diſtribute the ſame to the Miniſters, aſweill for Times bypaſt as to come. The Colledges and Kirks of Univerſities, whoſe Thrids are remitted, not to be herein comprehended; which he promiſed to doe. The Comptroller, Juſtice-Clerk and Clerk-Regiſter being preſent, promiſed to give Letters *gratis* to all Miniſters requiring the ſame, and cauſe to be executed upon the Comptroller's Expenſis, to charge all Poſſeſſors of Manſis to reſtore the ſame to the Miniſters, or to build a ſufficient Houſe to them againſt a ſett Day, as the Partie ſall deſire, under the Paine of Horning.

"In the third Seſſion [27 *June*, *Reg.*] it was ordained, That no Work ſould be ſett furth in Print, or publiſhed in Writt, tuiching Religion or Doctrine *(a)*, before it be preſented to the Superintendent of the Diocie, reviſed and approved be him, and ſuch as he ſall call of the moſt learned within his Bounds; and if they, or anie of them, doubt in anie Point, ſo that they cannot reſolve cleerlie in the ſame, they ſall produce the ſaid Worke to the Generall Aſſemblie, where Order ſalbe taken for Reſolution of the ſaid Doubt.

"Commiſſion given to the Superintendent of the Weſt to viſite *Nithiſdaill*, and plant Kirks there for a Yeere. To Mr. *Thomas Drummond* Miniſter at *Creich* and *Johne Duncanſone* Miniſter of *Stirling*, *conjunctim & diviſim*, for a Yeere, to plant Kirks in *Monteith*.

"The Superintendents of *Angus* and *Fyfe* war deſired to draw the Townes of *Dundie* and *Sainct Johnſtone* to Agreement.

"The Superintendent of *Lowthiane*, the Miniſters, Elders and Deacons of the Kirks of *Edinburgh*, *conjunctim & diviſim*, Mr. *James Makgill* Clerk of Regiſter, Sir *Johne Spence* of *Condie* the Queene's Advocate, *Thomas Makcalzeane*, *David Borthwike*, *Clement Littill*, *Richard Strang*, or anie two of them, war appointed to take Cognition of Mr. *Magnus Haltra* and *Margaret Sinclair*'s Appellation from the Biſhop of *Orknay*'s Sentence in a Cauſe of Divorce.

"In this Seſſion the Aſſemblie, after mature Deliberation, and diſcuſſing of the Articles, for the which Proceſſes war led, and Sentence given be umquhill *James* Biſhop of *Roſſe* Commiſſioner to *James* Archbiſhop of *Sanct*

" *Andrews*,

(*a*) If this had any View to the prohibiting the Publication of Controverſy in Matters of Religion (ſuch as Mr. *Ninian Wingate* had publiſhed this ſame Year) it would be conſtrued to proceed from a Conciouſneſs of ſomething we need not name.

1563.

" *Andrews*, at *Halyrudhous* the 26 of *Auguſt* 1534 *(a)*, againſt *James Hamilton* of *Kincavell* Shireff of *Linlithgow*, pronunced the ſaid Articles to be good and godlie, and nowiſe hereticall; and Sentence given be the ſaid *James* Biſhop of *Roſſe* Commiſſioner, to have been wrongouſlie led, and given againſt the ſaid *James in pœna contumaciæ*, and therefore to be caſſe and null, with all that followed thereupon, and he to be reſtored *in integrum* to his Honour, Fame and Dignitie. [The Articles for which he was condemned war theſe, *That umquhill Mr.* Patrik Hammilton *died a good Chriſtian and catholick Man, howbeit he was condemned as an impenitent Heretick, and burnt be them*; *and was content to die the Death, that there is no Purgatorie: That we ought not to pray for the Deid: That Man hath not Free-will, as the Papiſts meane: That he uſed the Lord's Prayer in the vulgar Tongue publictlie: That he had Books condemned and ſuſpected of Hereſie: That he contemned and cauſed to contemne the preaching of preaching Friers*, and ſo furth.] Afternoone compeired *James Gibb* of *Carruder*, one of theſe who wer ſummoned for their Intereſt, to heare the ſaid Articles to be approven: He proteſted whatſoever Thing were done in this Aſſemblie in favours of *James Hammilton* of *Kincavell* Sheriff of *Linlithgow*, ſould not be prejudiciall to him and his Rights whatſoever.

" In the fourth Seſſion [28 *June*, *Reg.*] Commiſſion was given to Mr. *Gudman* Miniſter at *Sanct Andrews*, *Williame Chriſtieſone* Miniſter at *Dundie*, Mr. *Williame Cock*, Mr. *Williame Scott*, and Mr. *Johne Douglas* Rector of the Univerſitie, to take Cognition of the Complaint given in be the Superintendent of *Fyfe* againſt Mr. *George Leſlie* Miniſter of *Strameglo*, and to decide therein; and to notifie their Sentence and Decreitt to the Superintendent of *Angus*. The Superintendent of *Fyfe* had complained, that he had not execute his Summons againſt ſome Perſons in *Auchtermochtie*, where he was alſo Miniſter, and that he had not miniſtred the Sacraments ſince *December* laſt bypaſt. [Where we may ſee that Miniſters war appointed Judges betwixt Superintendents and Miniſters.]

" It was ordained, That everie Superintendent within his owne Juriſdiction ſould cauſe warne the Shires, Townes and Pariſh-Kirks, to ſend their Commiſſioners to the Aſſemblie in times cuming, declaring to them the Day and Place; and that the Superintendents repaire to the Aſſemblie the firſt Day, under the Paine of a certaine Penaltie to be diſtribute to the Poore. [Fourtie Shillings to be diſtribute to the Poore without Remiſſion therof, *Reg.*]

" Mr. *Knox* was requeſted to putt in order the Forme and Maner of Excommunication. He was requeſted be the Superintendent of *Angus* to viſite the North, and preache the Word in theſe Countries for a Seaſon, becaus the preaching of the Word was pretious in theſe Places."

On the 13th Day of *September* this Year is the following Act of Privy Council, *viz.*

Apud Striviling 13. *Septembris*, *Anno* 1563.

SEDERUNT

Jacobus Moraviæ *Comes*, Jacobus *Comes de* Mortoun, Joannes *Dominus* Erſkin; *Secretarius*, *Rotulator*, *Clericus Regiſtri*.

Act for Reparation of Churches.

The quhilk Day, the ſaids Lordis of ſecreit Counſale underſtanding that the Paroche-Kirkis of this Realme, partlie be Sleuth and Negligence of the Parochinaris, and partlie be Overſicht of the Parſonis, dailie decayis and becumis ruynous, and part of

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(*a*) This Paſſage will at leaſt ſerve to diſcover, if not rectify, the wrong Account of former Hiſtorians, on whoſe Credit I have narrated this Matter in a different manner. See *p.* 8, *&c.* Book 1.

1563. thame ar alreddy fallin down, the Parochinaris nawyis cauſand the ſamyn be mendit, nor ȝit the Parſone doand that apperteins to him for Uphald thairof; quhairthrow the preiching of the Word of God, Miniſtratioun of the Sacraments and reiding of the comone Prayers ceiſſis, and the People thairthrow becumis altogidder without Knawlege and Feir of God: Thairfoir the ſaids Lordis ordanis all Paroche-Kirkis within this Realme quhilkis ar decayit and fallin downe, to be reparit and upbiggit; and quhair thai ar ruynous and faltie, to be mendit: And eftir that thai be ſufficientlie mendit in Windowis, Thak, and uther Neceſſars, to be mentained and uphaldin upoun the Expenſis of the Parochinaris and Parſone, in maner following; that is to ſay, the Twa-part of the Expenſis thairof to be maid be the Parochinaris, and Thrid-part be the Parſone: And that the ſamyn may tak Effect with Expeditioun, ordanis Letteris to be direct to Officiars of the Quenis, Sheriffis in that Part, to pas and charge the Parochinaris of the Paroche-Kirkis within this Realme, to elect and cheis certane of the maiſt honeſt qualifyit Men within thair Parochins to taxt every ane of thame efferand to thair Subſtance, for furneſſing of the Twa-part of the Expenſis to be maid in bigging and reparing of thair ſaids Paroche-Kirks, and that the ſaids Taxtaris to be choſin mak the ſaid Taxations, to the Effect foirſaid, within twelve Dayis nixt eftir thai be chargit thairto; and eftir the ſaid Taxations be maid, that the ſaids Parochinaris mak payment of the Sowmes that thai ſalbe taxt, to the Kirk-maſteris or Deaconis of the Parochin, to be appointit be thame for reſſaving thairof, to the Reparatioun of the ſaids Paroche-Kirkis; ſicklike within twelve Dayis nixt eftir thai be chargit thairto, under the Pane of Rebellioun, and failȝieing thairof, to put thame to the Horne. And als, that the ſaid Meſſengeris pas and ſequeſtrat the Fruits, Teinds and Profittis of the ſaids Parochins, ſa fer as may extend to the Parſonis part of the ſamyn, to remane in the Parochinaris Hands quhill the ſaid Parſone depone and put in the Hands of the ſaid Kirk-maiſter and Deaconis his part of the Expenſis to be maid upoun bigging and reparing of the ſaid Kirk, extending to the Thrid-part thairof; and the ſaids Sowmes being put in the ſaid Kirk-maiſter or Deaconis Hands, that thai incontinent thaireftir caus the ſaids Kirkis, ilk ane within thair awin Parochins, be reparit, biggit and mendit ſufficientlie, efferand to the Sowmes that ſalbe conſignit and put in thair Hands to that Effect, under the ſaid Pane of Rebellioun, and failȝieing thairof, to put thame to the Horne.

Seventh General Aſſembly.

Seventh General Aſſembly.

Calderwood.] “ The Generall Aſſemblie conveined at *Edinburgh* the 25
“ of *December* 1563, in the New-Tolbuith, where war preſent, *James* Duke
“ of *Chattelerault*, *Archibald* Erle of *Argile*, *James* Erle of *Murray*, *James*
“ Erle of *Morton*, *Alexander* Erle of *Glencarne*, *Williame* Erle *Marſhall*,
“ *Williame Matlande* of *Lethington* Secretare, Sir *Johne Wiſhart* of *Pitarrow*
“ Comptroller, Sir *Johne Bannatyne* of *Auchnoull* Juſtice-Clerk; the
“ Superintendents of *Angus*, *Lowthiane*, *Fyfe*, and the Weſt; *Alexander*
“ ſtiled Biſhop of *Galloway*, *Adam* Biſhop of *Orkney*; Miniſters and Commiſſioners,
“ Barons, Burgeſſes and Gentlemen in a great Number. The Exhortation
“ was made be Mr. *Willock* Superintendent of the Weſt.

“ The juſt Petitions of the Miniſters and Commiſſioners war deſpiſed at the
“ firſt with theſe Words, *As Miniſters will not follow our Counſell, ſo will*
“ *we ſuffer Miniſters to labour for themſelves, and ſee what Speed they*
“ *come*. Bot it was anſwered be the Commiſſioners, *If the Queene will not*
“ *provide for our Miniſters, we muſt; for both Two-parts and the Thrid ar*

“ *rigorouſlie*

1563.

“ *rigorouſlie taken from us, and from our Tenents. If others,* ſaid one, *wold follow my Counſell, the Guard* (a) *and the Papiſts ſall complaine as long as our Miniſters have done.* Then the former Anſwere was coloured, and the Speaker alledged, he meant not of all Miniſters, but of ſome to whome the Queene was no Debter: For what Thrid received ſhe of Burrows? *Chriſtopher Gudman* anſwered, My Lord Secretare, if ye can ſhow me what juſt Title ather the Queene hath to the Thrid, or the Papiſts to the Two-parts, then I think I ſould reſolve you, whether ſhe war Debter to Miniſters within Burgh or not. Bot he returned this Anſwere, *Ne ſit peregrinus curioſus in aliena republica*; that is, *Lett no Stranger be curious in a ſtrange commoun Wealth.* Mr. *Gudman* anſwered, Albeit in your Policie I be a Stranger, yitt ſo am I not in the Kirk of God; and therefore the Care thereof appertaineth no leſs unto me in *Scotland*, then if I were in the mids of *England*. Manie wondered at Mr. *Knox* his Silence in the time of theſe quicke Speeches; he himſelf declared the Cauſe of his Silence. I have travelled, ſaid he, Right Honourable and beloved Brethren ſince my laſt Arrivall within this Realme in ane upright Conſcience before my God, ſeeking nothing more, as he is Witneſs, then the Advancement of his Glorie and the Stabilitie of his Kirk within this Realme; and yitt of late Dayes I have beine accuſed as a ſeditious Man, and as one that uſurped to my ſelf Power which becumeth me not. True it is, I have given Advertiſement to the Brethren in diverſe Quarters of the Extremitie intended againſt ſome honeſt Men, for looking to the Prieſt going to the Meſſe, and for obſerving of theſe that tranſgreſſe this Law: Bot that therein I have uſurped farther Power then is given to me, till that by you I be damned, I utterlie deny; for I ſay, that by you, that is, by Charge of the Generall Aſſemblie, I have als lawfull Power to advertiſe the Brethren frome time to time, of Dangers appearing, as I have to preache the Word of God in the Pulpit of *Edinburgh*: For by you I was appointed to the one, and the other; and therefore in the Name of God I crave your Judgements. The Danger which appeared in my Accuſation was not ſo fearfull as the Words which come to my Eares war dolorous to my Heart; for theſe Words war plainlie ſpoken, and that by ſome Profeſſors, *What can the Pope doe more than ſend furth his Letters, and command them to be obeyed?* Lett me have your Judgements therefore, whether I have uſurped anie Power to my ſelf, or have onlie obeyed your Commandement? The Flatterers of the Court, amongſt whom Sir *Johne Bellenden* Juſtice-Clerk was then not the leaſt, beganne to ſtorme, and ſaid, *Sall we be moved to juſtifie the wrong Doings of Men?* My Lord, ſaid *Johne Knox*, ye ſall ſpeake your Pleaſure for the preſent; of you I crave nothing: Bot if the Aſſemblie here preſent do not ather abſolve me, or condemne me, never ſall I in publict nor in privat, as a publict Miniſter, open my Mouth in Doctrine or in Reaſoning. After longer Contention he being removed, it was found that Charge was given to him to advertiſe the Brethren in all Quarters, as oft as Danger appeared; and therefore the Fact to be not onlie his, but the whole Aſſemblie's. The Queen's *Placeboes* war more angrie then before, for ſome of them had promiſed to the Queen to gett him convict both be the Counſell and be the Aſſemblie; bot being fruſtrate of both, ſhe and they thoght themſelves not a little diſappointed.

Regiſter.] “ Anent the Queſtion moveit be *Johne Knox* Miniſter of *Edinburgh* to the haill Aſſemblie, Whether he receivit Charge of the haill Kirk convenit in *Edinburgh* after the Beginning of the Reformatioun, to advertiſe the Brethren to conveine at what tyme any Member of the Kirk ſould chance to be troublit, and that for thair Counſell to be had?

“ To the quhilk the Lord *Lindeſay*, Lairds of *Kelwood*, *Abbottiſhall* and *Cunighameheid*; the Superintendents of *Angus*, *Fyfe*, *Louthiane*, *Weſt*

(a) This might be a Life-guard for the Queen, which might have been intended to be ſupported out of the *Thirds* of the Church-Rents. King *James* VI. had a Horſe guard maintained out of the ſame ſort of Revenue.

1563. " and *Galloway*; Mr. *Johne Row*, *Williame Chriſtieſone*, Mr. *Robert Hamiltoun*, Mr. *Chriſtopher Goodman*, Miniſters; with the moſt part of the whole Aſſemblie, made thair Declaratioun, That they remembrit verie well that the ſaid *Johne Knox* wald have had himſelf exonoured of the foirſaid Charge, and that the Kirk then preſent wald nawayes ſuffer him to refuſe the ſame, bot that he ſould continue as befoir to advertiſe fra tyme to tyme, as Occaſioun ſalbe givin (*a*).

Calderwood.] In the firſt Seſſion, when the Superintendents war to be tried, Mr. *Johne Spottſwod* Superintendent of *Lowthiane* was removed; when he was called in again, he requeſted the Aſſemblie to give him Libertie to returne to his former Cure, becaus he was not able to diſcharge ſo great a Burthen as he was burthened with. The Superintendent of *Fyfe* being removed, it was complained that he preached not in his Viſitations, bot cauſed the Miniſter of the Kirk to occupie the Rowme. The Commiſſioners of *Fyfe* deſired a Diett to be appointed, wherein to give in Complaints againſt him; which was granted. The Superintendent of the *Weſt* being removed, it was complained that he did not his Endevoure to procure the Extirpation of Idolatrie in his Bounds: He layed the Blame upon the Duke and the Erle of *Caſſils*. Farther, he deſired to be diſburthened of the great Charge layed upon him, which he had undertaken onlie for a Time, and requeſted the Aſſemblie to lay no greater Burthen upon him then he was able to beare. The Superintendent of *Angus* and *Mernes* being removed, it was ſaid plainlie, That no Diſcipline was uſed in manie of the Kirks of *Angus* and *Mernes*; That there was no Convention of Elders and Deacons at Kirks for Correction of Faults; That he preached not in his Viſitations. [*f.* He anſwered,] That being burthened with the Viſitation of the North, he might not attend upon the Charge allotted to him. The Queſtion, Whether Superintendents ought to preache in all the Kirks where they did viſite? was reſerved to be diſcuſſed at the End of the Aſſemblie.

" For avoiding Confuſion in reaſoning, it was agreed that a Moderator ſould be appointed to moderate during the Time of everie Aſſemblie: Mr. *Johne Willock* Superintendent of the *Weſt* was appointed during this Aſſemblie.

" In the ſecond Seſſion (*b*), Mr. *Johne Hepburne* Commiſſioner of the *North* excuſed his not viſiting, be reaſon of his great Sicknes. Mr. *Alexander Gordon* Commiſſioner of *Galloway* being removed, the Laird of *Gairlies* younger delated him for retaining in his Houſe two Perſons after their publict Repentance for their Fornication. He denied he retained the Woman; and as for the Man, after he had removed for a Time, knowing no Offenſe to him, he receaved him. Mr. *Donald Monro* Commiſſioner of *Roſſe* being removed, it was complained that he was not ſo apt to teache as his Charge required: Therefore the Aſſemblie ordained the Superintendent of *Angus*, Mr. *Robert Hammilton*, Mr. *Johne Row*, Mr. *Robert Pont*, Mr. *Chriſtopher Gudman*, Mr. *Johne Wood* and Mr. *Clement Littill*, to take a Tryell of his Gift, and to report to the Aſſemblie. Mr. *Robert Pont* Commiſſioner of *Murrey*, *Enerneſſe* and *Bamf* declared how he had travelled in theſe Parts, but confeſſed his Inabilitie, in reſpect of the Laicke * of the *Iriſh* Tongue, and therefore deſired the Aſſemblie to appoint ane Commiſſioner expert in the *Iriſh* Tongue.

* *Ignorance.*

" In the third Seſſion [28 *December*, *Reg.*] Mr. *Thomas Drummond* and *Johne Duncanſone* Commiſſioners for Viſitation of *Menteith*, preſented

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(*a*) The Ground of this long Story concerning Mr. *Knox*, was a Letter written by him on the 8th of *October* laſt, which is alſo inſerted in his Book, for convening the Lieges at *Edinburgh* to defend or reſcue from Juſtice two Men who had raiſed a Diſturbance within the Queen's Palace of *Holy-rood-houſe* in the Month of *Auguſt*, upon occaſion of a Maſs while the Queen was abſent at *Stirling*. See *Knox*'s Hiſtory. The Letter was ſurely very ſeditious; and to grant Mr. *Knox* a Liberty to write Letters of ſuch a Strain, was nothing leſs than to keep a Trumpeter of Rebellion on daily Wages. How would the civil Governments in this Time brook ſuch a Proceeding?

(*b*) This Seſſion is omitted altogether in the *Regiſter*.

their Commiſſion, and a Roll who war to be continued, according to the Tenor of the Commiſſion. 1563.

“ Complaints war made upon *Robert Gibſon* for ſaying Meſſe everie Sabbath-day in *Fiſhwicke*, maintained be the Laird of *Blacader*; Sir *Robert Acheſoun* Preeſt, for ſaying Meſſe in *Cranſton*; *Johne Pilcor* Preeſt, for ſaying Meſſe in the Chappell of *Foſſe* beſide *Dow*; *Robert Paterſone*, for ſaying Meſſe at *Logyraitt*, and for Meſſe daylie ſaid in *Sayfield*. The Juſtice-Clerk deſired the Relations to be qualified and delivered to him, and he promiſed to call them to particular Dietts.

“ It was ordained, That all Miniſters ſould give in their Supplications to the Superintendent, to the Effect the Superintendent might preſent their Supplications to the Lords of ſecreitt Counſell, that Order might be taken for Payment of their Stipends, ſpeciallie where the Thrids war remitted to the Poſſeſſors be the Queins Majeſtie. *Item*, That Supplication ſould be preſented to the ſecreitt Counſell, that everie Miniſter may have his Stipend aſſigned in the Bounds where he ſerveth the Cure. *Item*, That the Act of Parliament anent Manſes and Glebes be more ſpeciallie condiſcended upon. The Nobilitie there preſent, and others having Intereſt, war required to condiſcend, that the poore Labourers might have the Tithes of the Ground, which they manured for a reaſonable Compoſition ather in Money or Victuall, to be paid to the Erles, Lords, Barons, or other Takiſmen. A full Anſwere was differed till a further Convention: Nottheleſſe my Lord Dukes Grace, the Erles of *Argile*, *Murrey*, *Marſhall*, *Glencarne* and *Rotheſſe*, the Lords *Areskine*, *Ruthven*, *Lindſay*, and the Comptroller, there preſent, conſented for their own Parts. It was farther ordained, the Superintendents ſould travell with Erles, Lords, Barons, and other Takiſmen within their Bounds, to the ſame Effect, and to report their Anſweres to the nixt Aſſemblie.

“ In the fourth Seſſion [29 *December*, *Reg.*] it was thoght needfull, for farther Confirmation of the Booke of Diſcipline, the Erle *Marſhall*, Lord *Ruthven*, Lord Secretare, the Commendatare of *Kilwinning*, the Biſhop of *Orknay*, the Clerk of Regiſter, the Juſtice-Clerke, Mr. *Henrie Balnaves*, *David Forreſt*, and Mr. *George Buchanan*, or anie three or foure of them, reviſe the ſaid Booke, and diligentlie conſider the Contents thereof, note their Judgements in Write (*a*), and report the ſame to the nixt Aſſemblie: Or if a Parliament be holden in the meane tyme, that they report their Judgements to the Lords of the Articles, and that they beginne immediatlie after the diſſolving of this Aſſemblie; at the leaſt in the ſext Day of *Januarie* nixt to come, and thereafter continue till the ſaid Booke be throughly reviſed. It was concluded, That Offenders, whoſe Offenſes war publiſhed, ſould make their publict Repentance, without Exception of Perſons; and if they refuſed, that, after due Admonitions, the Cenſures of the Kirk ſould ſtrike upon them: And therefore it was ordained that Mr. *Robert Richardſone* ſould make his publict Confeſſion for his Whoredome, and ſatisfie the Kirk of *Edinburgh*.

“ Mr. *Andrew Johnſtone* Brother-german to umquhill Mr. *William Johnſtone*, humblie required Proceſſe for Reduction of the Sentences pronounced by umquhill *James* Archbiſhop of *Sanct Andrews*, and his Commiſſioners, againſt him and his Brother, for alledged Hereſies; as alſo, Edicts to that Effect, as effeirs. The Aſſemblie ordained the Superintendent of *Lowthiane*, with the Aſſiſtance of the Seſſion of *Edinburgh*, to tak Cognition in the Premiſſes, to give and lead Proceſſes therein, as hath been led in the Shireff of *Linlithgow*, Sir *Johne Borthwick*, and others, for the like Edicts, and other Summons neceſſarie and requiſite, to grant; and after ſummare Proceſſe led therein, to pronounce and give finall Sentence. [This Complainer was

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(*a*) This is a new Probability that the Book of Diſcipline, as it was formed by *John Knox*, had not met with univerſal Approbation.

1563. " redacted to great Povertie through want of his Patrimonie, whereof he was robbed be the Archbiſhop and his Commiſſioners in tyme of Papiſtrie.]

" *Johne Baron* Miniſter of *Gaſtone* complained, that his Wife *Anne Goodacker* had deſerted him, and fled to *England:* The Aſſemblie ordained Letters to be directed to the Archbiſhops of *Yorke* and *Canterburie* in Name of the Aſſemblie, ſubſcrived be the Superintendent of *Lowthiane*, Mr. *Knox* and Mr. *Craig* Miniſters of *Edinburgh*, and the Scribe; requeſting them to cauſe Edicts to be proclaimed in either of their Bounds, or perſonall Citation to be executed againſt the ſaid *Anne*, that ſhe might compeir before the Superintendent of *Lowthiane* and Seſſion of the Kirk of *Edinburgh*, the ſextie Day after the Citation, be herſelf, and be no Procutor, to anſwere as Law will; with Intimation, if ſhe compeir not, the ſaid Superintendent and Seſſion ſall proceed againſt her at the ſaid *Johne*'s Inſtance.

" The Paroſhiners of *Calder* complained, That Mr. *Johne Spottiſwood*, preſented to the Parſonage of *Calder* fifteen Yeeres ſince be the Laird of *Calder*, had beene promoved three Yeeres ſince to be Superintendent of *Lowthiane*, without their Knowledge; and that be reaſon of his publict Office and Exerciſe, he was abſtracted from his Cure at the ſaid Kirk the moſt part of the Yeere: Deſired therefore, as before, to cauſe him renounce his Office of Superintendentſhip, and returne to his former Vocation; or ellis to dimitt the ſaid Parſonage, to the Effect ane other qualified Man might be preſented, in conſideration that it is impoſſible that one Man may brooke and exerce two Offices in the Kirk of God, bot one of them muſt be neglected, otherwiſe we ſall differ little frome the Popiſh Kirk, where one Perſone had pluralitie of Benefices, as in the ſaid Complaint at lenth was contained. The Aſſemblie judged the former Anſwere given 4 *Julie* 1562 ſufficient.

" In the fifth Seſſion [30 *December*, *Reg.*] Mr. *George Hay* Miniſter to the privie Counſell, had ſummoned certaine Miniſters, Exhorters and Readers of the North, to compeir in this Aſſemblie to anſwere for their Doctrine and Maners. *David Ray* Miniſter of *Forreſt* compeired, and was admoniſhed be the Brethren to obſerve a decent Order and Forme in Doctrine, with ſuch Gravitie as becumeth the Preachers of God's Word, and to follow the Text, without inveying otherwiſe then the Text ſall require. Other Miniſters, Exhorters and Readers not compeiring, war ſuſpended from their Offices, till farther Triell to be taken be ſome Superintendent or Commiſſioner to be ſent to theſe Parts.

" The Commiſſioners and Brethren of *Fyfe* preſented a Row, wherein war diverſe Complaints given in againſt the Superintendent of *Fyfe:* His Anſwere was, That ſome of theſe Things layed to his Charge lay not in his Power to amend. The Complainers war commended for their Zeale in delating Things worthie of Redreſſe, and admoniſhed the Superintendent to be diligent in Preaching and Execution of his Office.

Regiſter.] Forſameikle as Miniſters, Exhorters and Reidars remaines not at the Kirks quher their Charge lyes, bot dwells in Townes farre diſtant fra the ſaids Kirks, quherthrow the Peiple wants the continuall Confort quhilk their daylie Preſence ſould give, be mutuall Conference of the Miniſter with the Flocke: Heirfor the Kirk ordanes the Miniſters, Exhorters and Reidars having Manſis to dwell in, that they make Reſidence at the ſame, and viſite the Seik as they may; and quher the Parochin [is large,] that the Miniſter crave the Support at the Eldars and Deacons to help him in the ſaid Viſitatioun.

" Touching the Buriall of the Poore in every Parochin to Landwart, it is ordainit that a Beere be made in every Paroch to carry the dead Corpes to Buriall; and that the Village or Houſe quher the Dead lyes, with the nixt Houſe adjacent therto, or a certaine Number of every Houſe ſall convey the Dead to the Buriall, and eird it ſax Foote under the Eird: And that every Superintendent within his awin Bounds requyre the Lairds and Barrones within the ſame, to make ane Act in their Court tuiching this Ordour, and cauſe

" their

1563. " their Officers warne the narreſt Neighbours quher the Dead lyes, to convey the ſamen to Buriall as ſaid is, according to their ſaid Act; and farder, that the Superintendents take Ordour heir as occaſioun ſall ſerve.

Calderwood.] " 3. Becaus divers times Superintendents ordaine certaine notorious Offenders to make publict Repentance in the Kirk where the Offenſe was committed, and yitt give not Signification of the ſame to the Miniſters and Elders of the Congregation, wherethrough Offenders may eaſielie eſcape the making of their Repentance in due time: Therefore it was ordained, That when anie Superintendent enjoyneth anie Perſon to mak publict Repentance for anie Offenſe deſerving the ſame, that he ſall ſignifie to the Pariſh where the Offenſe hath beene committed, what he ordaineth to be done be the Offender, to the end the Miniſters, Elders and Deacons of that Congregation may notifie again to the Superintendent, whether the ſaid Offender obeyed the Superintendent's Ordinance or not, that Order may be taken with him in caſe of Diſobedience.

" In the ſixth Seſſion [31 *December, Reg.*] foure Women war delated for Witchecraft, be the Superintendents of *Fyfe* and *Galloway*. The Lords of privie Counſell war requeiſted to take Order therein: The Complainers war ordained to give in their Informations. It was ordained, That everie Superintendent within his Bounds ſould cauſe a Collection to be made for ſex Brethren taken at *Rowan*, and detained in the Galeys for want of Ranſoum. The Erle of *Glencarne* was requeſted to concurre with the Superintendent of the Weſt to viſite the Hoſpitall of *Glaſgow*, and conſider how the Revenues pertaining to the ſame ar beſtowed or poſſeſſed, that Order may be taken for Support of the Poore; and that they report the ſame to the Lords of privie Counſell and to the Aſſemblie.

" Commiſſions war renewed for a Yeere to Mr. *Robert Pont* to plant Kirks from *Neſſe* to *Spey*; to Mr. *Johne Hepburn* Miniſter at *Brechin* to plant Kirks in *Bamf* from *Spey* to *Aithan*, comprehending *Strabogie-land*; to Mr. *Patrick Couſton* Miniſter at *Seres* to plant Kirks from *Dee* to *Aithan*. Mr. *Robert Pont* accepted of the Commiſſion, bot with Proviſion, that he ſould not be burthened with the Kirks ſpeeking the *Iriſh* Tongue in the ſaids Bounds.

" *Robert Ramſay* was accuſed for entering in the Miniſterie within the Superintendent of *Angus* his Bounds, without Election, or his Admiſſion, and that he had affirmed there was a Mid-way betwixt Papiſtrie and our Religion; That he had borrowed ſome Money from the Town of *Ennerneſs* upon Caution, alledging that he wold buy Bookes with the ſame, bot did not returne nor pay the Summe: He was ſuſpended from his Miniſtrie till farther Triell war taken. Commiſſion was given to the Superintendent of *Fyfe* to try him, and he ordained to compeir the 19 of *Januarie* at *Sanct Andrews*.

Regiſter.] " Anent the Determinatioun of the Kirk tuiching *Thomas Duncanſone* Schoolmaſter and Reidar in *Striveling*, quho had committed Fornicatioun, and therafter had made publick Repentance; Whether he ſould be reſtorit to his Office in the Kirk or not, after his publick Repentance? It was ordainit that he ſould abſtaine fra the ſaid Office, untill ſick tyme as the Kirk of *Striveling* made Requeſt to the Superintendent for him; and that he ſould preſent the ſaid Sute or Requeiſt in the nixt Generall Aſſemblie. Attour, if the Woman was a Maiden with quhom he had committed the Fornicatioun, that he ſall marie her, if ſhe requyre the ſamen, in part of Satisfactioun to the Kirk.

" Tuiching the Queſtioun proponit be the Superintendent of *Fyfe*, anent *Alexander Jarden* Miniſter of *Kilſpindie*, *Inchſture* and *Raitt*, quha had committit Fornicatioun with a Virgine, and therafter had maried her, and had ſatisfiet the Kirk; Whether he ſould be admittit agane to the Miniſtrie or not? The Kirk ſuſpends the ſaid *Alexander* fra all Functioun of the Mi-

1564.

“ niſtric within the Kirk quhill the nixt Aſſemblie, and then to receive Anſwer.

Eighth General Aſſembly.

Eighth General Aſſembly.

Calderwood.] “ The Generall Aſſemblie holden at *Edinburgh* the 25 of *June* 1564. The Exhortation and Invocation of the Name of God was made be Mr. *Knox*.

“ In the firſt Seſſion of this Aſſemblie nothing was treated publictlie, becaus they conveened not till foure Afternoone, but onlie Diets appointed when to meet during this Aſſemblie.

Regiſter.] “ The Generall Aſſemblie haldin at *Edinburgh* the 25 *Junij* 1564, haldin and begun in the Neither-Tolbuith att foure Houres Afternoone. Exhortatioun and Prayer made be Mr. *Johne Knox* Miniſter at *Edinburgh*. In the quhilk were convenit the Superintendents, Miniſters and Commiſſioners of Provinces of Kirks.

Calderwood.] “ In the ſecond Seſſion [26 *June*, *Reg.*] Mr. *Willock* Superintendent of the Weſt was continued Moderator. The Erle of *Glencarne* and the Superintendent of the Weſt war inquired, what they had done in the viſiting of the Hoſpitall of *Glaſgow?* The Superintendent of the Weſt anſwered, He did nothing, for lacke of Conference with the Erle of *Glencarne*; but promiſed to viſite betwixt and the nixt Aſſemblie, providing the Lords of the privie Counſell give Letters according to the Ordinance of the Aſſemblie. At the Requeſt of the Laird of *Lundie* ſuting a Miniſter to *Largo*, the Aſſemblie requeſted Mr. *Robert Montgomrie* Miniſter at *Couper* to make ſome Supplie at *Largo* everie Sabbath, till farther Order war taken; and ordained the Superintendent of *Fyfe* to deale with the Town of *Couper* for Licence, and to appoint the Schoolmaſter of *Couper* to read and exhort in the Kirk of *Couper* in his Abſence.

Regiſter.] “ The Aſſemblie requeiſtit Mr. *Robert Montgomerie* Miniſter at *Couper* to ſupport every uther *Sunday* the Kirk of *Largo*, quhill farther Proviſioun be made; and ordainit the Superintendent of *Fyfe* to labour with the Towne of *Couper*, for Licence to the ſaid Mr. *Robert* for the Purpoſe forſaid; and to take Ordour with the Schoolemaſter of *Couper*, to reid and exhort in the Kirk of *Couper*.

Calderwood.] “ The Laird of *Lundie* and the Superintendent of *Lowthiane* war appointed to requeſt the Lords of ſecreit Counſell to aſſiſt the Aſſemblie with their Preſence and Counſell.

“ In the third Seſſion, at the Requeiſt of the Erle of *Menteith*, craving ſome Miniſter underſtanding the *Iriſh* Tongue, for *Menteith*; *Johne Vre* Miniſter of *Leuchars* was tranſplanted, and appointed Miniſter there *(a)*.

Regiſter.] “ Seſſioun fourth, 28 *Junij*, the haill Aſſemblie made, conſtitute and ordainit the Commiſſioners under-written for *Fyfe*, the Laird of *Lundie* and *Thomas Scott* of *Abbottiſhall*; for *Lowthiane*, the Lairds of *Spot* and *Elphinſtone*; for the *Weſtland*, the Lairds of *Carnall*, *Carſe* and *Kelwod*; for the *Suthland*, the Lairds of *Wedderburne* and *Andro Kar* of *Foudonſyde*; for *Galloway*, the Laird of *Gairlies* zonger and *Methine*, with Mr. *George Gordoun*; for *Angus*, the Proveſt of *Dundee*; and for the *Northland*, the Laird of *Craig:* That they ſall altogether repaire towards the Lords of ſecreit Counſell, and there preſent the Articles under written perteinand to Reformatioun of Maners, Puniſchment of certaine Crymes, mantaining of Juſtice, and uthers concerning the univerſall Kirk of this Realme; and to reaſon therupon with the ſaids Lords, and report the Anſwers therintill to this preſent Aſſemblie.

Tenour of the Articles.

“ *Firſt*, That it is thoght good, and alſweill conforme to the Acts of Parliament immediatlie befor the Queins Majeſties Arrivall promittit, as her

“ Hienes

(*a*) This Seſſion is wanting in the Regiſter.

1564.

“ Hienes awin Ordinance, with Conſent of her Nobilitie, decreit and appointit after her Graces Arrivall (*a*), *Chryſts* Religioun be *de novo* eſtabliſched, ratified and approved throughout the whole Realme, and that all Idolatrie, eſpecially the Maſſe, be aboliſched over all; ſo that no uther Face of Religioun be permittit, or tholit to be erectit.

“ And for this Effect, that the Miniſters be provydit decentlie with ane aſſurit Appointment, quher they ſall receive their Livings aſweill bygane as to come, and not to live as Beggers, as preſentlie they doe; and in lyk maner, to deſyre, and with all Humilitie to requyre, that the Tranſgreſſours againis the Ordinances, aſweill from tymes paſt as from this tyme foorth, might be puniſched according to the ſaids Lawes and Ordinances, and eſpecially againis them that contemnes and committis Inobedience againis the ſaidis Lawes, in *Aberdein*, in the *Carſe* of *Gowrie*, in *Seafield*, and in ſundrie uther Places as ſalbe ſpecifiet.

“ After the foirſaids Articles war notified and declared to my Lords the Erles of *Murray*, *Argyle*, *Glencarne*, and to my Lord Secretar being preſent, and ſend be the Queins Hienes to the Aſſemblie, to knaw quhat Things war proponit therin; thoght the ſaids Articles, as they wer conceivit, not ſo convenient to be proponit as appertained, and therfor thoght it meitt to collect twa Heids therof, quhilk they themſelves wald propone to the Queins Majeſtie; quhilk Heids follow.

“ And *firſt*, They wold declare to her the good Mynds and Obedience of them there aſſemblit.

“ And as tuiching the Eſtate of Religioun, Seing it tuichit the ſaids Lords moſt ſpeciallye, being Members of the ſaid Kirk, they wald labour at her Graces Hands that the ſame might be obſervit according to the Ordour eſtabliſchit at her Hienes Arrivall; and doubtit not to obtaine ſick gentle Anſwer and Aggriement of her Majeſtie in that Behalf, as might ſatisfie the ſaid Aſſemblie.

“ The uther Heid, tuiching the Suſtentatioun of the Miniſters, The ſaids Lords in lyke maner promiſed to labour at her Hienes Hands, that they might have Appointment of the ſaids Stipends; and hoped to dreſſe her Hienes ſo, that they ſould be reſſonablie ſatisfiet of their Deſyre in that Point.

“ Therafter the ſaids Lords declarit be the Mouth of my Lord Secretarie, how they had proponit the ſaids Heids to the Queins Majeſtie, and how they were not only accepted be her Hienes in good part, but als gentlie anſwerit, and accordit to the Performance therof; and therfore the ſaids Lords promiſed, in her Majeſties Name, to the haill Aſſemblie, the Accompliſchment of the ſaids Deſyres, of the quhilk they neid not in any wayes to doubt; for if they had bein ſurely perſuadit in their awin Hearts that her Hienes had meant utherwayes nor they had declared, her Grace ſould have found uther Meſſengers then they, to have ſchawin the ſame in her Hienes Name. Quhilk being be them declared, the haill Number preſent firſt thanked God and her Majeſtie that their reaſſonable Deſyres were ſo generallie anſwerit; and for recognoſceing of their awin Duetie, deſyrit the ſaids Lordis reciprocallie to promiſe to her Majeſtie, in their Behalfe, all duetifull Obedience, Love and Submiſſioun, quhilk can be lookit for be any Chriſtian Prince of moſt faithfull, humble and loving Subjects; promiſeing therewithall, if any of their Number ſould happin to forget the Duetie of a good Subject, or offendes her Majeſties Lawes, that they all afaldlie wald concurre to the Punitioun of the Offendour according to the Qualitie of the Treſpaſs, as they ſould be commandit.

(*a*) *Calderwood* ſays, “ conform to the Acts of Parliament made before the Queen's Majeſty her Arrival, and approved ſince “ her Arrival;” whereby he would inſinuate, that the Queen had approved and ratified the Parliament in *Auguſt* 1560. But it is evident from the *Regiſter* here, that it has not been ſo worded in the original Record; eſpecially ſince we are certain the Queen never ratified the Acts of the Parliament in *Auguſt* 1560 before her Arrival. She only, by her Authority, confirmed the Form of Religion ſubſiſting in the Kingdom at her Arrival, without any Conſideration of that pretended Parliament.

1564. "Anent the ſatisfeing of the Complaint of pure Labourers of the Ground, anent the unmercifull Exactioun of their Teynds, [it was inquired what the Nobilitie, and others there preſent, would freelie promiſe, *Cald.*] *Johne Maxwell* of *Terriglis* Knycht, frielie promiſeit, that quhat tyme the Superintendent of the *Weſt* ſould reſort towart the Pairts quher he hes any Teynds, he ſould chooſe unto himſelf ſax, ſevin or aucht of the moſt wiſe and diſcreit Perſones within the ſaids Bounds quher he hes the ſaids Teynds; and quhatſoever the ſaid Superintendent and honeſt Perſones ſould advyſe him to doe, alſweill tuiching the Intromiſſioun as Prices of Teynds, he promiſes to fulfill the ſame: So that the pure Labourers ſould feile at his Hands Eaſe and Support within his Rowmes.

"In lyke maner, my Lord of *Murray* was content, and for his Teynds within *Fyfe*, nameit the Laird of *Lundie*, that ſall modifie either Money or Victuall.

"Alſo, *Alexander* Biſchop of *Galloway* promeiſed to doe [the like, *Cald.*] how ſoone the Tack of his Teynds comes in his awin Hand, and beis run out.

"The Erle of *Monteith*, my Lords of *Lindeſay* and *Ochiltrie*, my Lord Secretarie, the Superintendent of *Fyfe*, the Gentlemen in the *Weſt*, and among them the Laird of *Kars* and the Goodman of *Leathem*, all of their awin frie Will promeiſed to doe according as the ſaid Maiſter of *Maxwell* had promeiſed.

"Tuiching the Act of Parliament anent the Gleib and Manſis, The haill Aſſemblie requeiſt Mr. *James Macgill* Clerk-Regiſter to extract the ſamein, and ſubſcryve it, to the Effect it may be produceit befor the Lords of the ſecreit Counſell, the Morne, or how ſoone guidlie he may doe the ſamen, that Ordour may be tane theranent for the ludging of the Miniſters.

Calderwood.] "The Superintendent of *Angus*, the Abbot of *Culros*, Mr. *Johne Spence* of *Condie* Advocat, Mr. *George Buchanan*, and Mr. *Robert Pont*, war appointed to goe apart, and conſider whether it were more expedient that Mr. *Andrew Simſon* ſould remaine Miniſter at *Dunning* and *Cargill*, or be removed to *Dunbar*, according to his own Promiſe made to *Dunbar*. It was decerned be them that he ſould be removed.

Regiſter.] "Seſſion fifth, the penult of *Junij*. Anent the Cauſes of the whole Kirk and Juriſdiction therof, the Aſſemblie appointit thir Perſones under written, to wit, the Laird of *Dun* Superintendent of *Angus* and *Mernes*, Mr. *Johne Wynrhame* Superintendent of *Fyfe*, Mr. *Johne Spottiſwood* Superintendent of *Lowthiane*, and Mr. *Johne Willock* Superintendent of the *Weſt*; with the Aſſiſtance of Mr. *Johne Row*, *George Hay*, *Robert Pont*, *Chriſtopher Gudman*, *Thomas Drummond*, *Johne Knox*, *Johne Craig*, *Johne Rutherfurd*, *George Buchanan*, *Robert Hamiltoun*, *Clement Littill*; the Lairds of *Lundie*, *Elphingſtoun*, *Carnell*, *Kers*, and *Thomas Scott* of *Abbotiſhall*: And ordained thir foirnamed Perſones to conveine the Morne after the Sermoun, and to reaſon and conferre anent the ſaids Cauſis and Juriſdictioun pertaining to the Kirk, and to report their Opinions againe to the nixt Conventioun.

"Anent the Queſtioun moved, Whether a Miniſter anes lawfullie placed at a Kirk may leave his Miniſtrie at the ſaid Kirk, and paſs to another at his awin Pleaſure? It was concludit be the haill Aſſemblie, That he may na wayes leave the Congregation, being anes placed, without Knowledge of the Flocke, his Superintendent, or haill Kirk; and that the Cauſe why he wald leave that Kirk be conſiderit be the Superintendent or haill Kirk, whether it be lawfull or not.

"The haill Aſſemblie, in ane Voyce, chooſe *James Makaitney* to be Soliciter for the Kirk. [*James Makcaitney* was choſen Soliciter for the Actions of the Kirk, to be pleaded before the Lords of ſecreit Counſell, or Seſſion, to proceid with Advice and Counſell of Mr. *Thomas*

1564.

“ *Makcalzeane*, *David Borthwik* and *Richard Strang*, Advocates, *Cald.*] Becaus Mr. *Alexander Jarden* Miniſter of *Inchſture*, *Kilſpindie* and *Rait*, was in the laſt Aſſemblie ſuſpendit from all Functioun of Office within the Kirk, for Cauſes conteinit in the ſecond Seſſioun of the laſt Aſſemblie, to this Conventioun, quher he ſould receive Anſwer, whether he ſould returne to his Office or not; The haill Kirk, in conſideratioun of his Mariage and publick Satisfactioun of the Kirk quher the Offence was committit, ordainit to make humble Requeiſt to my Lord of *Murray*, to be content that the ſaid Mr. *Alexander* ſould be receievd againe to his Miniſterie, in reſpect of the Premiſſis; and therafter that the Superintendent of *Fyfe* ſould reſtore him againe to his Miniſtrie as of befor.

“ Anent the Requeiſt of Mr. *Patrick Couſton* Miniſter of *Syres*, deſyreing the Licence to paſs to *France*, and uther Countreyis, for augmenting of his Knowledge for a tyme; The haill Aſſemblie in ane Voyce diſſentit therfra, and ordanit that he ſould not paſſe out of this Countrey, nor zet leave his Congregatioun quher he travells, without ſpeciall Licence of the haill Kirk, if they ſall heirafter think it expedient or neceſſarie.

Calderwood.] “ It was appointed that a Requeiſt ſould be preſented to the Queen, for obtaining the Gift of the Friers Kirk of *Kirkubright*, to be holden herafter the Pariſh Kirk of *Kirkubright*.

“ In the ſixth Seſſion [30 *June*, *Reg.*] Mr. *Donald Monro* his Commiſſion to plant Kirks, &c. within *Roſſe*, was continued for a Yeere. Commiſſion was given to Mr. *Knox* to viſit the North, and to remaine there ſix or ſeven Weeks, becaus the North-Parts war deſtitute of Superintendents or Commiſſioners, for viſiting of their Kirks, and overſeeing of Miniſters, Exhorters and Readers alreadie placed. Mr. *George Hay* Miniſter to the ſecreit Counſell was appointed to viſite the Kirks of *Renfrew*, and to remaine there twentie Dayes. Mr. *Craig* was ordained to viſite the South-Parts for a Moneth; and Mr. *Gudman* Miniſter at *Sanct Andrews* to teache in his Abſence at *Edinburgh*.

Regiſter.] “ Forſameikle as it was complanit be the Commiſſioner *(a)* of *Murray* upon *William Sutherland* Parſon and Exhorter at the Kirk of *Moy*, That he had not only diſobeyit his Charge, commanding him to marie the Woman with quhom he befor had committit Fornicatioun, but alſo had in deſpyte of the ſaid Commiſſioner, ryveing * his Letters of Charge therto, and had not obeyit his Summonds chargeing him to compeir to this Generall Aſſemblie: In conſideratioun of this deſpytefull ryveing of the Commiſſioners Letters, and alſo not compeiring to this Aſſemblie, the Kirk depryves him fra all Eccleſiaſticall Functioun; and alſo ordaines the Cenſure of the Kirk to proceid agains him for his Contempt.

* *rending.*

Calderwood.] “ It was ordained, That the Superintendent of *Lowthiane* ſould proceid to Cenſures againſt Mr. *Patrick Cockburne* Miniſter at *Hadingtoun*, in caſe he reſorted not to the Generall and Synodall Aſſemblies.”

(*a*) The Readers will eaſily obſerve, that this was a ſort of *Temporary* Superintendent appointed by the Aſſembly in ſuch Bounds as there was not a *fixed* one.

CHAP. IV.

Containing Church Affairs from the Parliament in December 1564, *till the Birth of the Prince in* June 1566.

1564. ON the 15th Day of *December*, in the Year 1564, the Parliament of this Kingdom ſat down. I have already taken notice, in the Civil Part, that our Hiſtorians do all affirm, that the Ground of its meeting was ſolely to reduce the Forfeiture of the Earl of *Lenox*. The *Regiſter* of this Parliament is loſt. Yet beſides that Reduction of Forfeiture, which no doubt might paſs at that Time, we find two other printed Acts, *viz.* the firſt, *A Declaratioun of our Soverane Ladyis perfite Age*; the other, *Anent the Confirmatioun of Fewes (a)*. Mr. *Knox* alſo ſays, "There wer ſome Articles gevin in by the Kirk, eſpecially for aboliſching of the Meſs univerſally, and for Puniſchment of Vice; bot (adds he) thare was little thing granted, ſave that it was ſtatute, *That ſcandalous Livers ſould be puniſched, firſt by Priſoun, and then publictly ſchawn unto the Peple with Ignominy:* Bot (he obſerves) the ſam was not put in Executioun." And yet, in direct Oppoſition to the above Teſtimony, it is ſaid in the Abſtract of one of Mr. *Randolph*'s Letters *(b)*, *Maſs made Forfeiture of Goods, Lands and Life, except in the Queen's Chapel.*

Knox and *Randolph* in ſome Variance.

Ninth General Aſſembly.

Ninth General Aſſembly.

Regiſter.] "The Generall Aſſemblie of the Kirk gatherit and conveinit at *Edinburgh* the 25 of *December* 1564, haldin in the Over-Tolbuith therof: In the quhilk were the Superintendents and Miniſters preſent, with the Commiſſioners of Shyres and particular Kirks. The Exhortatioun being made be *Johne Knox* Miniſter of *Edinburgh*.

"*Firſt*, For eſchewing of Confuſioun, and that every Brother ſould ſpeake in his awin Rowme with Modeſtie, it was thoght good that ane Moderator ſould be appointit; and ſwa, with full Conſent of all the Brethren preſent, was *Johne Erskine* of *Dun* Superintendent of *Angus* and *Mernes*, appointit to be Moderator for this Aſſemblie, who acceptit the Office upon him.

"Ordanit that no Queſtion be proponeit be any Brother unto the tyme the Affaires of the Kirk and Ordour therof be firſt treatit and endit, and therafter if any Brother have a Queſtion worthie to be proponit, that the ſamen be put in Wryte and preſentit; and if the ſamen requyres haſtie Reſolutioun, it ſalbe decydit in this preſent Aſſemblie befor the End therof: Utherwayes the Deciſion of the ſamen ſalbe referrit to every ane of the Superintendents within whoſe Bounds the Queſtion is proponeit; and they, and every ane of them, with ane certaine Number of the Miniſters as they ſall think meitt to appoint for aſſiſting to hear the Reaſoning of the ſaids Queſtions, and therafter their Reaſons to be put in Wryte *affirmativè* or *negativè*, quhilks every ane of them ſall report to the nixt Aſſemblie.

Calderwood.] "*William Wallace* of *Carnall* and *Andrew Ker* of *Fadownſide* war ſent to the Lords of ſecreit Counſell, to requeiſt their Honours to aſſiſt the Aſſemblie with their Preſence and Counſell. When the Superintendents of *Lowthiane* and *Angus*, the Commiſſioners of *Galloway* and *Orknay* war removed to be tried, it was proponed be ſome of the Brethren, that the Commiſſioners of *Galloway* and *Orknay* ſould be demanded, "whe-

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(*a*) The Purport of this laſt Act is to declare the Queen's Confirmation of Infeftments of Feus given by the Prelates, to be as valid as if the ſame had been obtained from the Pope; alſo, that no Infeftments of Kirk-lands not confirmed by her Majeſty, ſhall be of any Avail.

(*b*) See *p.* 268.

1564. whether in their Conſciences they judged that they might both dewlie uſe the Office of a Superintendent and the Office of a Lord of the Seſſion and Colledge of Juſtice. The Superintendent of *Fyfe* was challenged for Slackneſs in Viſitation of his Kirks: He alledged Age, evill Payment of his Stipend, and a great Number of Kirks within his Bounds, as Excuſes; howbeit otherwiſe he was diligent.

Regiſter.] “ The ſame Day the haill Aſſemblie cauſit to preſent to the Lords of ſecreit Counſell the Heids and Articles following, and requyrit their Honours to obtaine Anſwer therof at the Quenis Grace, and to ſignifie unto them her Majeſties Pleaſure therintill.

Tenour of the Articles.

“ 1. The haill Aſſemblie requyres humblie their Honours to ſignifie to the Quenis Majeſtie, That the Tranſgreſſours of the Proclamations paſt againis the Heirars and Sayers of Meſſe, together with the Abuſers of the Sacraments, are now ſo commoun, that it may be greatlie feared that Jugements ſall ſuddenly follow, except Remeid be provydit in tyme.

“ 2. To requyre Payment to Miniſters of their Stipends for the tyme bypaſt, according to the Promiſe made; and to lett the Aſſemblie know how the Miniſters ſalbe ſuſtainit in tyme to come.

“ 3. To requyre Superintendents to be placed where none are within this Realme, *viz.* in the *Mers*, *Tevidaill*, *Forreſt*, *Tweddal*, and the reſt of the *Daills* in the South not provydit, with *Aberdein* and the uther Parts in the North lykewayes deſtitute.

“ 4. To requyre Puniſchment of ſick as hes ſteikit the Doores of the Paroch-Kirks, and will not oppin the ſamen to Preachers that preſentit themſelves to have preachit the Word, ſick as *Paiſly*, *Aberdein*, *Curry*, *Duplin* and *Aberdagie*.

“ 5. Humblie to requyre of the Quenis Majeſtie what the Kirk ſall looke for, tuiching Proviſioun of Benefices vaikand and to vaik.

“ 6. To crave ane Reſolutioun and Declaratioun of the Manſis and Gleibs, whether they be ſett in Feu or not; and be what meanes the Miniſters ſall come to the Uſe and Poſſeſſioun therof.

“ 7. The Actis tuiching the Reparatioun of the Kirks to be putt to Executioun.

“ The Anſwer to every ane of the Particulars, the Generall Aſſemblie humblie requyres.

Calderwood.] “ In the ſecond Seſſion [26 *December*, *Reg.*] it was ordained, That the ſame Perſones who war nominat for Election to the Superintendentſhip of *Aberdeen*, *December* 1562, ſould now againe be putt in Leitts; That Edicts be ſerved, and the Perſon choſen be inaugurat in the New Kirk of *Aberdeen* the ſecond *Sonday* of *Marche* nixt to come; and that the Superintendents of *Angus* and *Fyfe*, with ſuch Miniſters as they ſould chooſe, be preſent at the ſaid Inauguration.

“ Becaus it was murmured, that manie ignorant Men, and of bad Converſation, war admitted to be Miniſters, Exhorters and Readers; it was ordained, That the Superintendent of *Angus* ſould viſite the Kirks in *Nithiſdaill*, *Galloway*, *Carrict*, *Kyle*, *Cunninghame* and *Cliddiſdaill*; the Superintendent of *Lowthiane*, the Kirks of *Angus* and *Merns*; the Superintendent of the *Weſt*, the Kirks of *Lowthiane*, *Merce* and *Teviotdaill*; Mr. *Knox*, the Kirks of *Fyfe*, *Stratherne*, *Gowrie* and *Menteith*: And thy Miniſters, Exhorters and Readers, everie one within the forſaid Bounds *reſpectivè*, to ſuſpend for a tyme, or depoſe for anie Cryme, or Ignorance and Inabilitie, as they ſall find them guiltie or unable; and for that purpoſe that Commiſſion be given to everie one of the ſaid Viſitors, and that they report their Diligence to the nixt Aſſemblie in Writt.

“ It was ordained, That everie Miniſter, Exhorter and Reader ſall have one

1564. “ of the Pſalme Bookes latelie printed in *Edinburgh*, and uſe the Order contained therein in Prayers, Mariage and Miniſtration of the Sacraments.

Regiſter.] “ Anent ane Supplicatioun preſentit be *Beatrix Levingſtoun*, tuiching ane Promiſe made to her be *Patrick Hardie*, to have ſolemnizat the Band of Matrimonie with her a long tyme ſince, his Wyfe *Kathrine Rutherfuird* being on Lyfe, and no Divorcement paſt betwixt them; bearing alſo, and makeand mentioun of ane Decreit and Deciſioun of the ſaid Promiſe, and Nullitie therof, given and pronouncit be *Johne Erskine* of *Dun*, *Alexander Guthrie* of *Halkertoune*, *Robert Campbell* of *Kinzeancleugh* and Mr. *Robert Hamiltoune:* For Verificatioun wherof, the ſaid *Beatrix* produceit the ſaid Decreit, ſubſcrivit be the foirſaids Perſones, in Preſence of *Johne Willock* Superintendent of the *Weſt*, *Chriſtopher Guidman* and Mr. *George Hay*, of the Dait at *Edinburgh* the 1 Day of *Julij* 1563, bearing in effect, That the ſaid Promiſe made be the ſaid *Patrick* to the ſaid *Beatrix*, on na way might be ſuſtainit be the Law of the Evangell; and therfor the ſaid *Patrick* to quytt therfra in all tyme cuming, in reſpect of the Mariage ſtanding betwixt him and his Wyfe foirſaid undiſſolvit, and that the ſaid Promiſe was not only null in the ſelf, but alſo unjuſt and unlawfull, and that the Makers therof had offendit, and was worthie of Puniſchment at the Diſcretioun of the Kirk. Quhilk Supplicatioun being red and conſiderit, the haill Aſſemblie in ane Voyce authorized and allowed the ſaid Decreit pronounceit be the ſaids Brethren, and als pronounceit the ſaids *Patrick* and *Beatrix* to be frie fra the ſaid pretendit Promiſe in tyme cuming, requyring [*ſ.* remitting] that Puniſchment, for makeing of the ſaid Promiſe, heirafter to the Kirk, and Diſcretioun therof.

Regiſter.] “ Seſſion third, 27 *December*. Anent the Supplicatioun preſentit to the Aſſemblie in Name of *Paul Methven*, and tuiching diverſe Petitions therein contenit; wherewith the Aſſemblie being ryplie advyſeit, and after long Reaſoning had therein, with mature Deliberatioun, gave their Anſwer as followis.

“ Anent his receiving to Repentance, &c. The haill Aſſemblie with one Voyce are content to receive the ſaid *Paul* to Repentance, he alwayes preſentand himſelf perſonallie before them, declaring evident Signes of unfainged Repentance, willing to obey ſick Injunctions as the Kirk ſall pleaſe to appoint him to doe and fulfill.

“ Tuiching his Deſyre to delete his Proces out of their Bookes, &c. Thereto the Kirk can na wayes condiſcend; neither think they that ſick a Petition can proceid of the Holie Ghoſt, ſeing *David*, a notable Servant of God, was not aſchamed to write his awin Offence, to God's Glorie and his awin Confuſion.

“ Anent his Admiſſion to the Miniſtrie within the Realme: That was thoght no wayes ſufferable unto ſick tyme as the Memorie of his former Impietie be more deiplie buried, and ſome notable Kirks within this Realme make earneſt Requeiſt for his new Acceptation. In lyke maner, the Kirk ſignifies unto him, that his Entrie in the Miniſtrie in the Parts of *Ingland*, he being excommunicat and unreconciled, hes grevouſlie offendit them. As alſo, the laſt part of his Wryting, wher he accuſes falſe Witneſſes, quha hes deponit na uther thing in effect nor he hes confeſſed with his Mouth in Wryte. Farther, the Aſſemblie requyrit the Brethren to quhom the ſaid *Paul* wrytes, That amongs uthers their Anſwers, they ſignifie unto him that he may ſafelie repaire toward this Realme, notwithſtanding the Law latelie proclaimed agains Adulterers.

Calderwood.] “ Mr. *Andrew Johnſtone* complaining, that the Judges deputed to tak Cognition of the Articles, for which his Brother Mr. *William* was condemned be the Popiſh Biſhops, wold not proceed to Declaration, whether the ſaid Articles war repugnant to the holie Scripture: The Aſſemblie decerned the Articles not to be hereticall, ſo that a godlie Interpretation

“ be

1565.

“ be admitted in everie one of them ; therefore ordained the Judges to proceed to the finall Deciſion of the ſaid Action.

“ Full Commiſſion was given to the Superintendent of *Fyfe*, the Biſhop of *Galloway*, Mr. *Johne Row*, Mr. *Chriſtopher Gudman*, to tak Cognition of the mutuall Complaints of the Proveſt and Bailiffes of *Coupar*, upon Mr. *Robert Montgomrie* their Miniſter, and of his upon them, and to decide therein ; and that their Decreit be in readineſs, to be ſhewed to the Viſitor-depute for *Fyfe*, when he ſhall come in thoſe Parts.

“ It was ſtatute and ordained, That no Miniſter ſall admit to publict Repentance Perſones relapſed the thrid time in Fornication, Drunkenneſs, or the like Crymes, bot that he ſend them to the Superintendent of the Diocie where the Cryme is committed, who ſall enjoyne them as they ſall think good to make their Offenſe to be abhorred ; bot cheiflie that they cauſe the Offender ſatisfie the Kirk where the Offenſe was committed, moe Dayes than one, as the ſaid Superintendent ſall think good.”

Seditious Letters ſent through the Country.

The Queen's Marriage with the Lord *Darnly* being now become the Subject of much Talk in both Nations of *Scotland* and *England* ; all her Enemies, who were otherwiſe averſe to the Marriage, for other Reaſons, and upon different Views, found means to give her much Diſturbance, and to throw many Traverſes in the way thereof, upon account of that young Nobleman's being of the Popiſh Perſwaſion : “ During this tyme (ſays Mr. *Knox*) thare wer certane Letters directed to the Brethren of *Edinburgh*, to *Dundie*, *Fyfe*, *Angus* and *Mernes*, and uther Places, from the Brethren of *Kyle*, and uther Places in the Weſt Countrey *(a)*, deſiring the Profeſſours of the Evangell in all Places, to remember quhat the Eternall God had wrocht, and how potently ——— admoniſched the Brethren to ſtrive and avert the Evil——— By theſe Letters mony Brethren wer animated, and thair Spirits wakened, *mynding to provyde, as God ſould give thame Grace*” *(b)*. And firſt of all he tells of a Supplication being made by the Superintendent of *Lothian*, reminding the Queen how that the Church had often craved that the Committers of Idolatry ſhould be puniſhed, but that nevertheleſs they continued in their Wickedneſs, and intended to put the ſame in Practice the *Eaſter* following. This Supplication the Secretary received from the Hands of the Superintendents of *Lothian* and *Glaſgow*, and told them in the Queen's Name, *That thare ſould be ſuch Proviſioun maid, as ſould ſerve to thair Contentment.* And this Writer acknowledges, that the Queen did write to the Archbiſhop of St. *Andrew*'s and Biſhop of *Aberdeen*, and into all ſuſpected Places, *that they ſould not do ony ſuch thing as was feared by the Proteſtants.*

A mobiſh Maltreatment of a Prieſt

After this Mr. *Knox* proceeds to give an Account of the ſcurvy Treatment a Prieſt received in *Edinburgh* by Order of the Magiſtrates ; and how that the Queen, who was then in *Stirling*, being informed that the Man was dead by the bad handling of the Mob, took a Reſolution to chaſtiſe the Town of *Edinburgh* by armed Force ; and until *that* could be got done, ſent her Advocate to take a ſure Trial of the whole Matter. That hereupon the Proveſt and Council diſpatched to the Queen the Proceſs of the Court's proceeding againſt the Prieſt ; and that the Queen being thereby more ſurely informed of the Truth, countermanded the Forces ſhe intended to bring againſt the City, and only wrote the following *grave* (I ſuppoſe Mr. *Knox* means *angry*) Letter to the Provoſt, Bailiff and Council of *Edinburgh.*

draws an expoſtulatory Letter from the Queen.

PRoveiſt, Bayliffe and Counſaill of Our Citie of Edinburgh, *We received your Letter from Our Advocate, and underſtand by this Report quhat Diligence you tuk to ſtay the Tumult in the late Diſorder attempted at* Edin-

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(*a*) This has been the Fruit of Mr. *Knox*'s Labours in theſe Places in the Year 1562. See *p.* 515.

(*b*) *i. e.* in other Words to make War againſt the Queen, as the Event teſtified. But whether the *Grace of God* would operate this, or if ſomething elſe would not be the Mover, I leave to the Reflexion of others.

1565. burgh; *quharein, as you did your Duty in ſuppreſſing the Tumult, ſo can We not tak in good part, nor think Our ſelf ſatisfied of ſo notorious a Thing, without certain ſeditious Perſons, quho wer pleaſed to do Juſtice perforce, and without the Magiſtrates Authoritie* (a), *be condignly and really puniſched for thair Raſchnes and Miſbehaviour; for if all private Perſons ſould uſurpe to tak Vengeance at thair awin Hands, what lies in Ours? And to quhat purpoſe hathe gude Lawes and Statutes bene eſtabliſched? Since thairfore We have never bene obſtinate to the due Puniſchment of any Offenders, preſcribed by the Lawes, bot have alwayes menteined Juſtice in that Caſe without reſpect of Perſons: It is Our Will, and We command you, as you will anſwer to Vs upoun your Obedience and Allegiance, That you will tak before you certane of the moſt reſponſall Perſons which ar declared Authors of the ſaid Seditioun, and Vſurpers of Our Authoritie, and to adminiſter Juſtice upoun them, in ſuch ſort as We may know a Sincerity on your Parts, and Our Authoritie nowayes ſlighted. Bot if you faile, perſwaid your ſelfis (and that ſchortly) We will not overſee it, bot will account this Contempt, not onely to be in the Committers thairof, bot in your ſelfis, quho ought to puniſch it, and relieve Vs on Our Part; remitting the reſt to your Diligence and Executioun, which We look for ſo ſoon as Reaſon will permit. Subſcrivit with Our Hand at* Striviling *this* 24 *of* Aprile, Anno 1565.

Tenth General Aſſembly.

Tenth General Aſſembly.

Regiſter.] “ The Generall Aſſemblie conveinit at *Edinburgh* in the Nether-Tolbuith therof, the 25 Day of *Junij* 1565, in the quhilk wer preſent the Superintendents, Miniſters and Commiſſioners of Shyres and Kirks. The Invocatioun of the Name of GOD being made by *Johne Willock* Superintendent of the *Weſt*, [he was choſen Moderator, *Cald.*]

Calderwood.] “ In the firſt Seſſion it was ordained, If anie Superintendent had anie thing to lay to the Charge of anie Miniſter, Exhorter or Reader within his Bounds, that he preſent the ſame in Writt this Day and the Morne; and ſicklyke, if anie Perſon had anie thing to lay to the Charge of anie Superintendent.

“ The Superintendent of *Lowthiane* and Mr. *Knox* gave Account of their Viſitations, according to the Commiſſion given to them in the Aſſemblie immediatlie preceeding. The Superintendents of *Angus* and of the *Weſt* alledged lawfull Impediments which occurred ſince the laſt Aſſemblie: They wer ordained to putt in Execution their Commiſſion againſt *October*.

“ Mr. *Johne Frude* Miniſter of *Dummenie* and *Patrik Craigh* Miniſter of *Ratho*, being complained upon for not repairing to *Linlithgow*, to the Exerciſe of Prophecying, excuſed themſelves with want of Charges, be reaſon their Stipends were not duelie payed unto them. Mr. *Patrik Cockburn* being complained upon for obſtinat refuſing to come to the Synodall and Generall Aſſemblies, it was ordained that he ſould be ſummoned to compeir upon *Wedinſday*. The Superintendent of *Fyfe* complained, That the Kirk of *Kilmannie*, pertaining as a common Kirk to *Sanct Salvators* Colledge in *Sanct Andrews*, wanted a Preacher: Mr. *Johne Rutherfurde* Proveſt, and *William Ramſay* one of the Maſters of the ſaid Colledge, war content to ſtand to the Deciſion of the Superintendent of *Angus*, the Superintendent of *Fyfe*, *Chriſtopher Gudman* and Mr *George Buchanan*. The Parochiners of *Tinninghame* complained, That they payed their Tithes to the New Colledge

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(a) Tho' Mr. *Knox*, by his way of narrating the Story, would make it appear to have been all done by the Authority of the Magiſtrates, yet we are here rendred certain, that the firſt Time the Prieſt was fixed to the Market-Croſs in his holy Veſtments, and the Chalice in his Hand; it was done by the Inſolence of the *godly* Brethren only. 'Tis true indeed the preſent Law inflicted Death on the Sayers of Maſs: But the Brethren might reflect with what Minds they would have received the like Treatment of one of their Number ſome few Years ago. No body indeed ought nor can apologize for the Cruelty uſed in the former Time; but *two Blacks*, we ſay, will never make *one White*. The more heavily we our ſelves complain of Perſecution, the more cenſurable are we, if we repay it in our Turn. O that we Men could learn this one Leſſon only, *to do as we wiſh to be done by*.

1565.

ledge in *Sanct Andrews*, and wanted not the leſſe the Miniſtrie of the Word and Miniſtration of the Sacraments: The Rector of the Univerſitie, and Mr. *Johne Douglaſſe* Maſter of the ſaid Colledge, promiſed to ſatisfie the Complainers. The Superintendent of *Fyfe* complained upon *William Heriot* Reader at *Monyvaird*, for removing to *Strathardaill* without Licence obtained be him or the Parochiners: The Aſſemblie ordained the Act made *Junij* 1564 to be putt in Execution. The Parochiners of *Kilconquhar* complained upon Mr. *Alexander Spence* Miniſter, for not miniſtring the Communion theſe ſix Years bypaſt: The Superintendent of *Fyfe* and *Chriſtopher Gudman* were appointed to have a Care that the Communion ſould be miniſtred in the ſaid Kirk before *Candlemes* nixt to come (*a*).

Regiſter.] " Seſſion ſecond, haldin the 26 of *Junij*, The haill Kirk preſent for the tyme humblie requyrit the Nobilitie preſent to be humble Suters at her Hienes, for the Executioun of the Law and Actis latelie made agains Violaters of the Sabbath-day, Committers of Adulterie and Fornicatioun; and deſyred every Superintendent to ſute for Commiſſionis to Judges within their Juriſdictionis, giveand Power to them to execute Puniſchment agains the Committers of the ſaids Crymes, according to the Tenour of the ſaids Lawis and Actis, &c. And in lyke maner, to requeiſt her Hienes to cauſe thankfull Payment be made of the Miniſters Stipends throughout all this Realme. As alſo, to complaine to her Grace, That wher of befor the Kirk of *Commonell* in *Carrict* was aſſignit for Payment of the Miniſters Stipends in *Kyle* and *Carrict*, is now given be her Hienes to the zoung Laird of *Skeldoun*; and in lyk maner, the Parochiners of *Dalry* ſhew, That the Lands of that Kirk was aſſignit to the Miniſters of the Parochin, and now was given to the Lord *Provand*: And to underſtand her Graces Will heiranent.

" Ordanes, for ordouring the Articles to be ſent to the Queins Majeſtie, *Johne Erſkine* of *Dun* Superintendent of *Angus* and *Mernes*, *Johne Willock* Superintendent of the *Weſt*, *Chriſtopher Gudman* Miniſter at *Sanct Andrews*, and Mr. *Johne Row* Miniſter of *Sanct Johnſtoun*, to conveen after eleven Houres, and ſett them foorth, and preſent them to the Aſſemblie this Day after Noone; whilk Ordinance the ſaids Perſons obeyit, and preſentit the Articles to the Aſſemblie.

Tenour of the Articles.

" ***Imprimis***, That the papiſticall and blaſphemous Meſſe, with all Papiſtrie and Idolatrie, and Popes Juriſdictionis, be univerſallie ſuppreſſed and aboliſhed through the haill Realme, not only in the Subjectis, but alſo in the Queins Majeſties awin Perſon, with Puniſhment againſt all Perſonis that ſalbe deprehendit to offend and tranſgreſs the ſame; and that the ſincere Word of God and his trew Religioun now preſentlie receivit, be eſtabliſhed, approved and ratified throughout the whole Realme, alſweill in the Quenis Majeſties awin Perſon as in the Subjectis, without ony Impediment; and that the People be aſtrictit to reſort upon the *Sondays* at leaſt unto the Prayeris and Preaching of Gods Word, lykeas they were aſtrictit before to reſort to the idolatrous Meſſe: And thir Heids to be providit be Act of Parliament, with Conſent of the Eſtates, and Ratificatioun of the Queins Majeſtie.

" ***Secondlie***, That ſure Proviſioun be made for Suſtentatioun of the Miniſters, alſweill for the tyme preſent as for the tyme to come; and that ſuch Perſonis as are preſentlie admittit to the Miniſtrie may have their Livings aſſignit to them in the Roumes where they travell, or at the leaſt nixt adjacent therto, and that they have no occaſion to crave the ſame at the Hands of any uthers: And that the Benefices now vaikand, or hes vaikit ſince the Moneth of *March* 1558, or that heirafter ſall happin to vaike, be diſponed

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(*a*) This Seſſion is wanting in the Regiſter.

1565. “ to qualified and learned Perſonis, able to preach Gods Word, and to diſcharge the Vocatioun concerning the Miniſtrie, be the Tryall and Admiſſioun of the Superintendents: And that no Biſhoprick, Abbacie, Pryorie, Deanrie, Proveſtrie, or any uther Benefices haveand many Kirks annexit therto, be diſponit altogither in any tyme coming to any one Man, but at the leaſt the Kirks therof be ſeverallie diſponit, and to ſeverall Perſonis, ſwa that every Man having Charge may ſerve at his awin Kirk, according to his Vocatioun; and to this Effect, that the Gleibs and Manſis be given to the Miniſters, that they may make Reſidence at their Kirks, wherthrow they may diſcharge their Conſcience conforme to their Vocatioun; and alſo, that the Kirks may be repaired accordinglie, and that ane Law may be made and eſtabliſhed heirin be Act of Parliament, as ſaid is.

“ *Thridlie*, That none be permittit to have Charge of Schooles, Colledges or Univerſities, or zit privatelie or publicklie to inſtruct the Zouth, but ſuch as ſalbe tryed be the Superintendents or Viſitors of the Church, found ſound and abill in Doctrine, and admittit be them to their Charges.

“ *Fourthlie*, For Suſtentatioun of the Poore, that all Lands foundit to Hoſpitalitie of old, be reſtored againe to the ſame Uſe; and that all Lands, Annuelrents, or any uther Emoluments pertaining any wayes ſometyme to the Freiris, of whatſumevir Ordour; or Annuelrents, Alterages, Obits, and the uther Dewties pertaining to Prieſts, be applyit to the Suſtentatioun of the Poore and Uphald of the Schooles, in the Townes and uther Places where they ly.

“ *Fyfthlie*, That ſick horrible Crymes as now abound in the Realme, without any Correctioun, to the great Contempt of God and his holie Word; ſick as, Idolatrie, blaſpheming of Gods Name, manifeſt breaking of the Sabbath-day, Witchcraft, Sorcerie and Inchantment, Adulterie, Inceſt, manifeſt Whoredome, Maintenance of Bordellis, Murther, Slaughter, Reiſe and Spulzie, with many uther deteſtabill Crymes, may be ſeverely puniſhed; and Judges appointit in everie Province or Dyocie for the Executioun therof, with Power to doe the ſame, and that be Act of Parliament.

“ *Laſtlie*, That ſome Ordour be devyſit and eſtabliſhit, for the Eaſe of the poore Labourers of the Ground, concerning the unreaſonabill [reaſonable, *Cald.*] Payment of Teynds, tane over their Heidis without their Advyſe and Conſent.

Calderwood.] “ *Walter Lundie* of that Ilk, *William Cunninghame* of *Cunninghameheid*, *William Durham* of *Grange*, *George Hume* of *Spott*, *James Baron* Burgeſs of *Edinburgh*, war appointed to preſent theſe Articles to her Hieneſſe, and to report ane Anſwere before the diſſolving of the Aſſemblie, if they may convenientlie; if not, to report to the Seſſion of *Edinburgh*, that they may ſignifie the ſamen to the Superintendents.

“ *Adam* Biſhop of *Orknay*, Mrs. *Johne Craig*, *Chriſtopher Gudman*, *Johne Row*, *George Buchanan* and *Robert Pont*, were ordained to conveene and ſitt from ſex till eight in the Morning, to decide Queſtions proponed or to be proponed; and to report their Deciſion to the Aſſemblie, that the ſamen may be inſert in the *Regiſter*.

“ The Commiſſioners appointed to trie the Qualification of *Johne Lynd* Miniſter at *Irwing*, reported, That he was unſufficient for the Charge in that Place.

“ Becaus ſundrie Miniſters complaining of none Payment of their Stipend, deſired Libertie to remove, and paſſe to ſuche Places deſtitute of the Word, where they might be reaſonablie ſuſtained be the Godlie; it was ſtatute and ordained, That no Miniſter, Exhorter or Reader placed preſentlie at anie Kirk, ſall attempt to remove himſelf till Anſwere be receaved againe from the Queen's Majeſtie to the Articles directed to her; and that therafter none remove himſelf without the Advice of the Superintendent of his Diocie, and his Licence in Writt, under the Paine of Deprivation from his Office.

Regiſter.]

Regiſter.] "The ſame Day the Lairds of *Carnell*, *Sornbegg* and *Dreghorn*, 1565. requeiſting humblie for Support of a Miniſtrie for their Kirks of *Ricartoun* and *Dundonald* in *Kyle*, promiſit of their awin frie Will, that they ſould provyde Stipends ſufficient, according as the Kirk wald appoint, and that they ſould not remove from their Kirks for ſeiking Payment of the ſame: Quhilk Requeiſt of theirs the haill Kirk praiſit, and promiſit Satisfactioun of their godly Deſyre.

"Seſſion third, 27 *Junij*. Anent the Queſtion proponit, whether Children may contract Mariage, and marie without Conſent of their Parents; and in ſpeciall, whether the Promiſe made betwixt *Robert Paterſon* and *Jenat Littill*, without the Conſent of her Parents, may ſtand? It is found, That the ſaid *Robert* and *Jenat* hes not ordourlie proceidit in the ſaid Promiſe, in ſa farre as they neither obtainit the Conſent of the Parents, nor zett the lawfull Ordour; repairit to the Kirk of God, to lament that Cauſe, and ſeik the ordinaire Meane thairat by the Word of God appointit: And therfor the Commiſſioners appointit be the Kirk for Deciſion of Queſtionis, decernis they have not lawfullie proceidit in making the ſaid Promiſe of Mariage; and they ſould of Dewtie thus have proceidit, firſt to requyre the Conſent of the Parent; quhilk being refuſit, then to make their Sute unto the Kirk to concur with them in their lawfull Proceidingis, according to the Ordour obſervit in Gods Word: And for the Offence and unlawfull Proceiding bypaſt, to make Satisfaction to the Kirk as they ſalbe appointit therto. And heirupon ane generall Ordour to be ſett foorth, as the Generall Aſſemblie ſall think good, to be obſerved in all particular Kirks in tyme comeing. This was ſubſcryvit be the Commiſſioners under written, Mrs. *Johne Douglas* Rector of the Univerſitie of *Sanct Androes*, *Chriſtopher Gudman*, *George Buchanan*, *Johne Craig* Miniſter, *Johne Row*, *Robert Pont*.

"Ane uther Queſtion, Whether if a learned Man having a Benefice given in Papiſtrie, or latelie ſen the Word hes bein preached in this Realme, may leave the Parochin wher he is Parſon deſtitute of preaching of the Word, and enter Miniſter to ſerve in ane uther Place for larger Stipend? The foirſaids Commiſſioners concludit as followes, It is thoght aggrieable to the Word of God, that no faithfull Preacher of Gods Word may enjoy ane Benefice or Living pertaining to the Kirk, except he remaine at the ſaid Kirk to diſcharge his Office for the quhilk he receavit the ſaid Benefice; and that if he be tranſportit be the Kirk or Superintendent to any uther Place, wherby he may not diſcharge his Dewtie in baith, that he be depryvit of the ane, and it to be beſtowit upon ane uther, provideing alwayes the foirſaid Perſon be ſufficiently anſwerit of his Stipend.

"Ane uther Queſtion, Whether if a Man abuſeing his Couſignes (*a*), his Fathers Brothers Daughter ſevin Zeiris, and begottin Children, and preſentlie wald marie her, and underly Correctioun, may marie or not? The Degries are ſecond of Conſanguinitie; thogh this be not found contrair to the Word of God, zet becaus it hes not bein publicklie reveilit in this Realme, and that diverſe Inconvenients are perceivit to enſew of this Libertie, thinks it good that it be offered to the civil Magiſtrate, or elſe to ane Parliament, for Ordour to be takin therin in the meane tyme, that Men take not Libertie to themſelves according to their fleſchly Affectioun: Nottheleſs that the Perſons in whoſe Name this Queſtion was proponit, be joynit in Mariage after their publick Repentance for the Offences bygane, without any hope that uthers have the lyke Licence, quhyll farder Ordour be tane be the civill Magiſtrate, as ſaid is.

"Anent the Complaint given in be the Superintendent of *Fyfe*, for the want of a Preacher at the Kirk of *Kilmanny*, pertaining as ane commoun Kirk to *Sanct Salvators* Colledge in *Sanct Androes*; Mr. *Johne Rutherfuird* Pro-

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(*a*) It was the Cuſtom to ſay, *Couſigne* for the Male, and *Couſignes* for the Female.

1565. "veſt, and Mr. *William Ramſay* ane of the Maſters, was content that the Superintendents of *Angus* and *Fyfe*, Mr. *Chriſtopher Gudman* and Mr. *George Buchanan*, ſould conſider this Complaint, and whatſoevir they decydit therin and ordainit to be done, they ſould fulfill the ſame in ſick ſort, that no Complaint ſould be heard herafter.

"Ane Complaint was given in be the Parochiners of *Tininghame*, who payes their Teynds to the New Colledge of *Sanct Androes*, and hes no Preaching nor Miniſtration of the Sacramentis. Mr. *Johne Douglas* Rector of the Univerſitie, and Maſter of the ſaid Colledge, promiſed to the Kirk to ſatisfy the ſaids Complainers reaſonablie, that heirafter the Kirk ſall not be troubled with farder Complaint.

Calderwood.] "Tuiching the Requeiſt of the Commiſſars of *Edinburgh*, That everie Miniſter or Reader ſould have a Regiſter of the Names of the Deceaſed of the Place where they dwell, the Day of the Moneth and Yeere, and deliver the Copie thereof to the Procutor-fiſcall, that Pupills and Creditors be not defrauded: It was anſwered, They could not lay ſuche a Charge upon their Brethren, in reſpect none or few of the Miniſtrie had Manſes and Gleebes to make Reſidence in; bot how ſoone they obtained their Manſes, they ſould exhort them as they ſalbe required to doe, conforme to the ſaid Requeſt.

Regiſter.] "Seſſion fourth, 28 *Junij.* Anent the Complaint given in be Mr. *Donald Monro* againſt Mr. *Johne Robertſone* Theſaurer of *Ros*, Miniſter of *Vrquhart*, and *Johne Watſone* Miniſter of *Alves*; That quher they both accepted the Miniſtrie on them, and received their Stipends therfor, and now hes left their Vocatioun; requyrit the Kirk to tak Ordour heirin: The haill Aſſemblie ordainit the ſaids Perſonis to repaire toward their Charges in the Miniſtrie, and entir againe therto incontinent after they be chargeit, under the Paine of Diſſobedience of the Kirk, and diſchargeing of their Allowance and Stipends.

Calderwood.] "Mr. *Robert Pont* Commiſſioner of *Murrey* was appointed to trie, if *Williame Roſſe*, *Donald Adamſone*, *Johne Murquhonſone* and *Alexander More*, were worthie to be admitted be Mr. *Donald Monro*, as Exhorters, to baptize, and ſolemnize Mariage.

"Commiſſion was given to Mr. *George Hay* Parſon of *Ruthven*, to viſite Kirks, Schooles and Colledges, from *Dee* to *Spey*, to plant, remove *ſimpliciter*, or for a Seaſon, Miniſters; to eradicate Idolatrie, &c. till a Superintendent be admitted in the North, or at leaſt till the nixt Generall Aſſemblie.

"The Superintendent of the *Weſt* was enjoyned to viſite the Kirks betwixt *Vre* and *Neth*, as he doeth other Kirks within his Juriſdiction of *Glaſgow*, becaus theſe Kirks pertained to that Diocie of old; yitt the Bounds of Superintendents Charge was not conforme to the Limits of the old Diocies, for the Diocie of *Sanct Andrews* was divided, and all the Countrie *Dailes* belonging to *Glaſgow*, of old.

Regiſter.] "The haill Aſſemblie with one Voyce and Mynd chooſe *Johne Knox* Miniſter of *Edinburgh* to receive the Anſwers of the Articles ſend from the Aſſemblie be the Commiſſioners therof, to the Queins Majeſtie; and to advertiſe the Superintendents of the ſame: And als, that he advertiſe the Faithfull of Things neceſſar that ſall happin betwix this and the nixt Aſſemblie. Thanks beand given to God be *Johne Willock* Superintendent of the *Weſt*, and the 25 of *December* nixt to cum appointit for the nixt Aſſemblie to convein in *Edinburgh*, this Aſſemblie was diſſolved."

N. B. The Articles contained in this Aſſembly, together with the Queen's Anſwers recorded in the next following Aſſembly, and alſo the *Kirk's* Reply to her Majeſty's Anſwers, are to be found in the *Cotton* Library under the Year 1560 and 10th *July*. We ſee alſo that Mr. *Knox* delays this Aſſembly, and conſequently theſe Articles, till the 24th *July* this Year

Year 1565: But that he is herein miſtaken, will appear by Mr. *Randolph*'s Letter, 2d *July*, *p.* 285, *&c.* (See alſo *p.* 300.) And ſince *Randolph* makes Mention of a *Supplication* at the ſame time to the Queen by the Aſſembly, I here ſet down *that* which I ſuppoſe is intended by him, and is alſo in the *Cotton* Library under the ſame falſe Date of 1560. 1565.

The SUPPLICATION, To the Queen's Majeſty of *Scotland*.

To the Queen's moſt excellent Majeſty, Her Grace's humble Subjects profeſſing the Evangel of Chriſt Jeſus *within this Realm, wiſh long Proſperity, with the Spirit of righteous Judgment.*

“ IT is not unknown to your Majeſty, that within this Realm the Evangel of *Jeſus Chriſt* was lately ſo planted, the true Religion ſo eſtabliſhed, Idolatry, to wit, the Maſſes, and all that thereto appertaineth, together with the Uſurpation and tyrannical Power of that *Roman* Antichriſt, called the Pope, ſo ſuppreſſed, as well by the mighty Power and Hand of God, as by juſt Laws and Devices of Parliament, that none within this Realm durſt in Publick have gainſaid the one, nor maintained the other. It is further known, that ſuch as in whoſe Hands God of his Mercy had proſpered the Beginning of this his Work, were going forward to an exact and perfect Reformation concerning the Policy of the Church according to the Word of God, and the Suſtentation of them that travel in the ſame: But theſe our moſt juſt and godly Beginnings have now been ſtayed and troubled near the Space of four Years, to the great Grief of all godly Hearts within this Realm. Shortly after your Arrival, was that Idol the Maſs erected up again; and thereafter were wicked Men, Enemies to *Chriſt Jeſus* and his holy Evangel, repos'd in the Places which they never poſſeſs'd, and were permitted to receive the Fruits that by no juſt Law can appertain to them, and that under Colour they ſhould pay their Thirds to your Majeſty's Comptroller, and ſuch as he ſhould depute for the receiving of the ſame; to the end, as we underſtand, that our Miniſters and Miniſtry might have been planted, and ſuſtained according to God's Commandment. And albeit we were plainly forewarned, that ſuch Beginning would have an unhappy End; yet the Love that we bare to the Tranquillity of your Realm, and Eſperance and Hope that we had that God of his Mercy would mollify your Highneſs's Heart, to hear his bleſſed Evangel publickly preached, we quietly paſſed over many Things that ever in our Hearts (as alſo many times by our Supplications unto your Majeſty) we deſired to have been redreſſed: But how little we have profited to this Day, both great and ſmall amongſt us begin now to conſider; for Laws we ſee violated, Idolatry increaſed; your Highneſs's own Gates, againſt Proclamations, made patent to the fooliſh People to commit Idolatry; the Patrimony of the Church we ſee beſtowed upon Perſons moſt unworthy, and to other Uſes than was firſt intended *(a)*, and thereby the Tyranny of that *Roman* Antichriſt to be obtruded upon us again; our Miniſters brought to extreme Poverty *(b)*; ſome of them troubled in their Function; ſome Preachers hurt, and no Redreſs made; Fornication, Adultery, Inceſt, Murder, Sorcerers, Bewitchers, and all Impiety ſo to abound univerſally within this your Highneſs's Realm, that God cannot long ſpare to ſtrike the Head and the Members, unleſs ſpeedy Repentance follow. We therefore now continuing in our former humble Suit, moſt humbly require of your Majeſty a ſpeedy Reformation of the Enormities aforeſaid, and a favourable Anſwer of our juſt Petitions, as more fully your Majeſty pleaſe to receive in Articles: Moſt humbly beſeeching your Highneſs to have this Opinion of us, that as to this Day your Grace has

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(a) It was ſurely never intended by the firſt Donors to be beſtowed to the Miniſters of the new Form.

(b) Becauſe Mr. *Knox* ſlighted Abp. *Hamilton*'s wholeſome Advice.

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“found nothing in us but due Obedience to your Majeſty's Laws and Authority, which we have given becauſe we are the only Part of your People that truly fear God (*a*); ſo to eſteem of us, that God, his *Chriſt Jeſus*, and his true Religion, which we profeſs and (by his Grace) ſhall be to us more dear than Lives, Poſſeſſions, or reſpect of Proſperity. And therefore yet again we the whole Body profeſſing *Chriſt Jeſus* within this Realm, humbly crave of your Majeſty, that you give us not Occaſion to think that you intend nothing but the Subverſion of *Chriſt Jeſus*'s true Religion (*b*), and in the Overthrow of it the Deſtruction of us the beſt Part of the Subjects of your Grace's Realm. For this, before the World, we plainly profeſs, that to that *Roman* Antichriſt we will never be ſubject, nor yet ſuffer (ſo far as our Power may ſuppreſs it) any of his uſurped Authority to have Place within this Realm. And thus, with all humble and dutiful Obedience, we humbly crave your Grace's favourable Anſwer with theſe our appointed Commiſſioners” (*c*).

The Clamour concerning Religion having been induſtriouſly diſſeminated through all the Kingdom according as the Queen's Marriage came nearer to a Cloſe, this put her Majeſty under a Neceſſity of emitting ſeveral Proclamations, to aſſure the Minds of her good Subjects, both before and after her Marriage; all which the Readers may ſee narrated in the *Appendix* to the Civil Part of this Hiſtory.

On *Sunday* the 19th of *Auguſt*, the King (*i. e.* the Lord *Darnly*, now Huſband to the Queen) came to the High Church of *Edinburgh*, where Mr. *Knox* acknowledges he himſelf preached, and ſaid among other harſh Things, “*That God ſets in that Room* [of Princes,] *for the Offences and Ingratitude of the Peple, Boyes and Women.* And ſome uther Words which appeared bitter in the Kingis Ears; ſuch as, that God juſtly puniſched *Ahab* and his Poſterity, becaus he would not take Order with that Harlot *Jezabell.*—— Immediately *Johne Knox* was commandit to come to the Counſaill, quhare in the Secretaries Chamber wer convened the Erle of *Athole*, the Lord *Ruthven*, the Secretary, the Juſtice-Clerk, with the Advocat. Thare paſſed along with the Miniſter a grit Number of the moſt appearent Men of the Town. When he was called, the Secretary declared, That the Kingis Majeſty was offendit with ſome Words ſpokin in his Sermoun; deſiring him to abſtain from preaching for fifteen or twenty Days, and let Maiſter *Craig* ſupply the Place. He anſwered, *That he had ſpokin nothing bot according to his Text* (*d*); *and if the Church would command him either to ſpeak or abſtain, he would obey ſo far as the Word of God would permit him.* Within four Days efter, the King and Quene ſent to the Counſaill of *Edinburgh*, commanding thame to depoſe *Archibald Dowglas*, and to receave the Laird of *Craigmillar* for thair Proveſt; which was preſently obeyed.”

Mr. *Knox* is ordered to abſtain from Preaching, for his abuſing that Office.

This is all the Account Mr. *Knox* gives of the Matter; but Abp. *Spottiſwood*, from what Authority I ſhall not pretend to gueſs, ſays, “That before the Queen and Council he not only ſtood to that he had ſpoken, but added, *That as the King had for the Queen's Pleaſure gone to Maſs, and diſhonoured the Lord God; ſo ſhould he in his Juſtice make her the Inſtrument of his Overthrow.* This Speech eſteemed too bold (adds the Prelate's MS.) at the time, came afterwards to be remembred, and was reckoned among other his prophetical Sayings, which certainly were marvellous. The Queen enraged at this Anſwer, burſt forth into Tears; whereupon he was inhibited Preaching, and ſilenced for ſome Months. Mr. *John Craig*, who a little before was brought to *Edinburgh* becauſe of the Prohibition given to his Colleague,

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(*a*) A friendly Teſtimony; but not the more true upon that Account.

(*b*) She had done nothing to give them Occaſion ſo to think.

(*c*) Calig. B. 10. a Copy.

(*d*) But every Text of Scripture is not equally proper at all Times; nor is every Thing that may be introduced from a Text decent nor edifying in every Seaſon. Had there been at this Time a firm Government in the State, Mr. *Knox* might have, and deſervedly too, felt the Weight of its Diſpleaſure. Impeachments have been heard of for Matters of as little moment.

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“ Collegue, refuſed to do any Service there, which put the People in a Stir; “ yet upon better Advice he was moved to follow his Charge.” Thus far the “ Archbiſhop.

I love not to have any Handle to correct this moſt Reverend Hiſtorian; and yet methinks Mr. *Knox*, in naming the Counſellors, would not have omitted to mention the Queen, had her Majeſty been preſent; and as little is it likely, that that Writer would have omitted to tranſmit to Poſterity ſo ſingular a piece of Prophecy, had he really uttered the ſame, ſince he ſeems all along to be fond enough to catch at and force ſuch Things as this upon his Readers. The Archbiſhop alſo ſeems to inſinuate pretty clearly, that as Mr. *Knox* was ſilenced from Preaching for ſome Space by the Council, ſo he was compelled to obey the Council's Order, at leaſt did actually give Obedience to it; But whether *Knox* did really ſo or no, remains I think ſtill ſomewhat doubtful, by the following Extract from the *Regiſter* of the Town-Council of *Edinburgh.*

The ſaid Day, [23d Auguſt 1565] *the Baillies, Councill and Dekynnis forſaid, ordanis* Johne Syme, David Forreſter *and* Allan Dickſon *Baillies, Mr.* Robert Glen *Theſaurer,* James Macfell *and* William Foullar *of the Councill, this Afternoon to paſs to the King and Quenis Majeſties, deſyreing to be heard of thame tuiching the diſchargeing of* Johne Knox *Miniſter of furder Preaching; the depoſing of* Archibald Douglas *Proveſt, and to deſyre Licence,* &c. (as in *p.* 106, Appendix.)

The ſamen Day Afternoon, the Baillies, Councill and Dekynnis forſaid being convenit in the Councill-houſe, after lang Reaſoning upon the diſchargeing of Johne Knox *Miniſter of furder Preaching indureing the King and Quenis Majeſties being in this Town, all in one Voce concludes and deliveris, That thai will na maner of way conſent or grant that his Mouth be cloſeit, or he diſchargeit in preaching the true Word; and thairfoir willit him at his Pleaſure, and as God ſould move his Hart, to proceid fordwart to true Doctrine, thai wald approve and abyde at to thair Lyfes end.*

All this Affair may eaſily be adjuſted by the Tenor of this laſt Declaration of the Town-Council, whereby we perceive that the Sentence againſt *John Knox* was only during the King's and Queen's Majeſties being in *Edinburgh*; and we have already ſeen, in the Civil Part, that their Majeſties left the City of *Edinburgh* on the 25th Day of *Auguſt.*

Complaints by the Miniſters to the King and Queen.

“ The firſt Day of *October* (ſays Mr. *Knox*) met in *Edinburgh* the Superintendant of *Lowthian*, with all the Miniſters under his Charge, according “ to thair ordinary Cuſtome; for every Superintendant uſed to convene the “ hole Miniſtry. And thare it was complained on, that they could get no “ Payment of thair Stipends, not only about the City, bot thorow the hole “ Realme. Tharefoir efter reſſouning and Conſultatioun takin, they framed “ a Supplicatioun directed to the King and Quene, and immediately preſented “ the ſame to thair Majeſties, by Mr. *Johne Spotiſwood* Superintendant of “ *Lowthian*, and Mr. *David Lindeſay* Miniſter of *Leith.* It contained in “ effect, That foraſmuch as it had pleiſed the King and Quenis Majeſties “ (with Advice of the Privy Counſaill) to grant unto the Miniſters of the “ Word thair Stipends to be takin off the Thirds of the Benefices, which Stipends ar now detained from the ſaid Miniſters, by reſſoun of the Troubles “ and changing of the Comptrouller, quhareby they ar not able to lyve: And “ tharefoir moſt humilly craved the King and Quenis Majeſties to caus thame “ to be payed. Thair Anſwer was, That they wald caus Ordour to be takin “ tharein to thair Contentment.”

The Friars begin to preach.

The ſame Author tells, that in this Winter ſome Friars having ſupplicated the Queen to be allowed to preach, the ſame was granted; and he obſerves

1565. likewiſe, that in their Sermons they uſed another Stile than they had done ſeven Years before: But however, he ſays, they were ſo little eſteemed, that they continued not long in preaching.

Eleventh General Aſſembly.

Eleventh General Aſſembly.

Regiſter.] "The Generall Aſſemblie of the Kirk haldin in *Edinburgh* in the Over-Tolbuith therof, the 25 of *December* 1565: In the quhilk were preſent the Superintendents, Miniſters, Exhorters and Commiſſioners of Townes and Kirks. The Invocatioun of the Name of GOD was made be *Johne Knox* Miniſter of *Edinburgh.*

"Seſſion firſt. *Firſt*, for eſchewing of Confuſioun in reaſoning, and that every Brother ſpeake in his Roume with ſick Modeſtie as becumis the Miniſters of Gods Word to doe; with the whole Conſent of the Brethren preſent was choſen *Johne Erskine* of *Dun* Knycht, Superintendent of *Mernes* and *Angus*, to be Moderator at this tyme, who acceptit the Office on him.

Calderwood.] "In the firſt Seſſion, the Superintendents of *Louthian* and *Fife* excuſed their Slakneſs in Viſitation, be the Abſence of the People following the Queen according to the Proclamation. The Superintendent of *Angus* confeſſed, that he had not viſited any Kirk for two Moneths bypaſt; but alledged withall, that his Viſitation could not be very profitable, in reſpect it behoved him to lodge in time of Viſitation with his Friends for the moſt part, who had moſt need of Correction and Diſcipline: Therefor he beſought the Aſſemblie to provide ſome other to that Office. *Alexander* Commiſſioner of *Galloway* excuſed his not viſiting, with the building of his Nephew's Houſe.

"Tuiching Miniſters, Exhorters or Readers diſobeying their Superintendent; The Aſſemblie ordained the Superintendent to call the Diſobedient before himſelf and ſome of the neereſt diſcreit Miniſters; and if being convict of Diſobedience, he refuſe to ſatisfie according to their Injunctions, that he be ſuſpended from his Miniſtrie and Stipend, till the nixt Aſſemblie: At the which the Superintendent ſhall notifie the whole Proceeding, that be their Cenſure he may be farder corrected, or els reſtored to his former Eſtate, according to the Evidence of his Repentance; providing his Kirk be provided for, in the mean time, be the Superintendent.

"Sir *John Bellenden* of *Achinoull* Knight Juſtice-Clerk, Mr. *James Makgill* of *Rankeillour-Nether* Clerk-Regiſter, Mr. *John Spence* Advocate, Mr. *Thomas Makcalzean*, Mr. *John Row*, *John Craig*, *William Chriſteſone*, *David Lindſay* Miniſters, and *David Forreſt*, were appointed to conveen upon *Wedneſday*, to decide Queſtions proponed, and to report their Deciſions.

Regiſter.] "The Superintendent of *Lowthiane* complainit upon Mr. *Johne Frude* Miniſter of *Dunemanie*, That wher in the laſt Generall Aſſemblie of the Kirk, it wes decernit that *Robert Paterſon* and *Jenat Littill* ſould have ſatisfied the Kirk of *Edinburgh*, for the Offence committit be them in contracting Mariage without Parents Counſell, *&c.* zett nevertheleſs the ſaid Mr. *Johne* had perſwadit them to ſolemnize the ſaid Mariage, their Bands not being proclaimit, and na Satisfactioun made to the Kirk of *Edinburgh*; and alſo had cauſit Mr. *Patrick Craich* Miniſter of *Ratho* to ſolemnize the ſaid Mariage betwixt the ſaids Parties in the Kirk of *Dunemanie*, in great Contemptioun of the Decreit foirſaid, and all good Ordour heirin, aſweill anent the ſaids Parties as the ſaids twa Miniſters: The Kirk ordanit to call bothe the ſaids Parties and Miniſters to anſwer to the ſaid Complaint, betwixt this and the End of the Aſſemblie.

"In lyke maner, Mr. *Johne Vinram* complainit upon the ſaid Mr. *Johne Frude*, that by his Counſell and Perſuaſion the Lady *Kilconquhar* and *Johne Weymis* had contractit Mariage *de verbo*, *&c.* notwithſtanding that ane Woman called *Elizabet Pot* had claimed the ſaid *Johne Weymis* before the Su-

" perintendent,

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“ perintendent, whilk Claime was not zett juſtified; and that Mr. *Andro Kirkadie* had maried the ſaids Perſonis after the Miniſter was departed out of the Kirk wher they wer maried: Ordanit in lyk maner to anſwer to this Complaint.

“ The haill Aſſemblie appointit Mr. *Johne Row* at *Sanct Johnſtoun* to putt in wryte Anſwers to the Anſwers given be the Quene to the Articles preſentit to her Hienes be the Commiſſioners of the laſt Aſſemblie of the Kirk, becaus her Hienes Anſwers ſatisfied not fullie the Kirk, as in the ſamein plainlie appeareth, &c. and the ſaid Mr. *Johne* to preſent them the Morn after the Preaching to the Aſſemblie, to advyſe therwith before their preſenting to her Grace.

“ Followes the Anſwer given be the Quenis Majeſtie to the Articles preſentit to her Grace be the Commiſſioners of the Aſſemblie laſt haldin the 25 of *Junij* 1565; and als, Anſwers and Requeiſts to theſe Anſwers now conceivit in this Aſſemblie.

The Quenis Majeſties Anſwer (a).

“ To the *Firſt*, Deſyring the Meſſe to be ſuppreſt and aboliſht, alſweill in the Head as in the Members, with the Puniſhment againis the Contraveners; as alſo, the Religioun now profeſſit to be eſtabliſchit be ane Act of Parliament: It is anſwerit firſt, for the Part of her Majeſties ſelf, That her Hienes is na wayes zet perſwadit in the ſaid Religioun, nor zet that any Impietie is in the Meſſe, and therfor believes that her loving Subjectis will na wayes preaſe her to receive any Religioun againis her awin Conſcience, quhilk ſould bring her to perpetuall Trouble be Remorſe of Conſcience, and therwith ane perpetuall Unquyetneſs: And to deale plainlie with her Subjectis, her Majeſtie neither may nor will leave the Religioun wherin ſcho hes bein nouriſchit and upbrocht, and believes the ſamein to be weill groundit; knowing, beſydes the Grudge of Conſcience, if ſcho ſould receive any Change in her awin Religioun, that ſcho ſould tyne the Friendſchip of the King of *France*, the ancyent Allyer of this Realme, and of other great Princes her Friends and Confederates, who wold tak the ſamein in evill Part, and of whom ſcho may looke for great Support in all her Neceſſiteis; and having no Conſideratioun that may counterwey the ſame, ſcho wilbe laith to putt in hazard the Loſe of all her Friends in ane inſtant: Praying all her loving Subjects, ſeing they have had Experience of her Goodneſs, that ſcho neither hes in tymes bypaſt, nor zet meanes heirafter to preaſe the Conſcience of any Man, but that they may worſchip God in ſick ſort as they are perſwadit to be beſt; that they alſo will not preaſe her to offend her awin Conſcience.

“ As for eſtabliſching of Religioun in the Body of the Realme, they themſelves knowe, as appeares weel be their Articles, that the ſame cannot be done be the only Aſſent of her Majeſtie, bot requyres neceſſarlie the Conſent of the three Eſtates in Parliament (b); and therfor ſa ſoone as the Parliament

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(a) Theſe Anſwers were delivered in Writing; and my Correſpondent acquaints me, That the Articles, and Anſwers written over againſt each Article in a fair Chancellary Hand on large Paper, are in the *Scot. Colleg. Pariſ. Tom.* 2. *F.* 91. but without any Date. Mr. *Knox* fixes the Date of theſe Anſwers to the 21ſt of *Auguſt* bypaſt; which indeed may be juſt enough, tho' they be only recorded here when the Aſſembly ſits down. The Readers may be pleaſed to ſee in this Author the Journey to St. *Johnſton*, and the other Steps taken at this Time concerning theſe Articles. Mr. *Petrie* ſays, the Aſſembly was adjourned to the 25th of *September* only, and that at that Time it met again, and received the Queen's Anſwers, the Laird of *Dun* being Moderator; in which Aſſembly likewiſe, he affirms, the Return was made to the Queen's Anſwers: Which in the *Regiſter* are only in the Aſſembly 25th *December* following.

(b) In the *Cotton* Library, the *Demands* of the Aſſembly, the Queen's *Anſwers*, and Kirk's *Replies*, mentioned already *p.* 544, are introduced with the following Preamble, which is an Indication that they have intended to preſent the ſame Articles to the Parliament, *The Nobility, Gentlemen, Barons, with Superintendents, Miniſters, and others, profeſſing the Evangel of* Jeſus Chriſt *within this Realm; To the King's and Queen's Majeſties, and the Chriſtian Eſtates of this Realm preſently convened in Parliament, wiſh the Fear of God, with the Spirit of righteous Judgment:* “ For aſmuch as in the Convention of the Kirk holden at *Edinburgh* the 25th Day of *June* laſt paſt, certain Gentlemen then were directed to the Queen's Majeſty, with certain Articles concerning the Religion; deſiring her Majeſty's Anſwer thereupon. To the quhilks, howbeit her Majeſty then gave ſome particular Anſwer, yet nochttheleſs her Majeſty remitted her farther Anſwer to this preſent Parliament; and therefore we, of our Duty, can do

1565. " holds, That quhilk the three Eſtates aggries upon among themſelves, her Ma-
" jeſtie ſall grant the ſame to them, and alwayes make them ſure that no Man
" ſalbe troublit for uſing themſelves in Religioun according to their Conſcience;
" ſo that no Man ſall have Cauſe to doubt, that for Religiouns ſake Mens
" Lyves or Heritages ſalbe in hazard.

" To the *Second* Article, it is anſwerit, That her Majeſtie thinks it na wayes
" reaſonable that ſcho ſould defraude herſelf of ſa great a Pairt of the Patrimo-
" nie of her Crowne, as to put the Patronage of Benefices furth of her awin
" Hands; for her awin Neceſſitie, in bearing of her Port and common Charges,
" will requyre the Retentioun of an good pairt in her awin Hands: Nottheleſs
" her Majeſtie is weill pleiſed that Conſideratioun being had of her awin Ne-
" ceſſitie, and quhat may be ſufficient for her, and for the reaſonable Suſten-
" tatioun of the Miniſters, ane ſpeciall Aſſignatioun be made to them in Places
" moſt commodious to intromett therwith; the quhilk her Majeſtie ſould not
" intromett with, but ſuffer the ſamein to come to them.

" To the *Thrid* Article, Her Majeſtie ſall do therin as ſalbe aggreit be the
" Eſtates in Parliament.

" To the *Fourth* Article, Her Majeſties Liberalitie towards the Poore ſalbe
" alwayes als farr extendit as can be reaſonablie requyrit at her Hands.

" To the *Fyft* Article, Her Majeſtie will referr the takeing Ordour with
" that, and als of the *Saxt* Article, to the Parliament.

The Anſwers of the Kirk to thir above writtin, followes.

" *Firſt*, Where her Majeſtie anſwers, That ſcho is not perſuadit in Reli-
" gioun, neither that ſcho underſtands any Impietie in the Meſſe, bot that the
" ſamein is weill groundit, *&c.* That is no ſmall Griefe to the Chriſtian
" Hearts of her godlie Subjectis, conſidering that the Trumpett of *Chryſts* E-
" vangell hes bein ſo long blowin in this Countrey, and hes Mercie ſo plainlie
" offerit in the ſame, that her Majeſtie remaines zet unperſuadit of the Trueth of
" this our Religioun; for our Religioun is nothing els bot the ſame Religioun
" whilk *Jeſus Chryſt* hes in the laſt Dayes revelit from the Boſome of his Fa-
" ther, wherof he made his Apoſtles Meſſingers, and they preachit and eſta-
" bliſchit among his Faithfull, to the gayne comeing of our Lord *Jeſus Chryſt*;
" whilk differs from the Impietie of the *Turks*, the Blaſphemie of the *Jewes*,
" the vaine Superſtitioun of the *Papiſts*: In this, That only our Religioun hes
" God the Father, his only Sonne *Jeſus Chryſt* our Lord, his Holie Spirit
" ſpeikand in his Prophets and Apoſtles, for Authors therof, and their Doctrine
" and Practiſe for the Ground of the ſame; the whilk no other Religioun
" upon the Face of the Earth can juſtlie alledge, or plainlie prove: Zea quhat-
" ſomevir Aſſurance the *Papiſts* hes for the Maintenance of their Religioun,
" the ſame hes the *Turkes* for the Maintenance of their *Alcoran*; and the
" *Jewes* farre greater for Defence of their Ceremonies, whether it be Anti-
" quitie of Tyme, Conſent of Peiple, Authoritie of Princes, great Number
" or Multitude conſenting together, or any uther ſicklyke Cloakes they can
" pretend; and therfor as we ar dolorous that her Majeſtie in this our Reli-
" gioun is not perſwadit, ſo moſt reverentlie we requyre, in the Name of the
" Eternall God, that her Hienes wald imbrace the Meanes wherby ſcho may
" be perſuadit of the Trueth; quhilk we preſentlie offer unto her Grace aſweill
" by

" no leſs than crave the full Anſwer of the ſaid Articles in this preſent Parliament, conform to the Queen's Grace her Appoint-
" ment. And alſo, in reſpect that in the Parliament holden at *Edinburgh* the 10th of *July* 1560 it was determined and conclu-
" ded, the Maſſes, Papiſtrie, and the Pope's Juriſdiction, to be ſimply aboliſhed and put away out of this Realm, and *Chriſt's*
" Religion to be retained univerſally and approven: And in like manner, in reſpect that the Queen's Majeſty by many diverſe
" and ſundry Proclamations has ratified and approved *Chriſt*'s Religion, quhilk ſhe found publickly received in this Realm at her
" Arrival; and ſpecially upon the 15th Day of *September* laſt at *Dundee*, the King's and Queen's Majeſties, with the Advice of
" their ſecret Council, promiſed, as well by the Act of ſecret Council, as by diverſe and ſundry Proclamations made thereup-
" on publickly in the principal Burghs of this Realm, to eſtabliſh in this preſent Parliament the Religion of *Chriſt* which they
" found publickly and univerſally ſtanding at their Arrival in *Scotland*, and all Acts, Laws and Conſtitutions, Common, Civil
" or Municipal, prejudicial to the ſame, to be aboliſhed and put away, as the ſaids Acts and Proclamations more fully proports:
" Deſiring therefore the Premiſſes to be conſidered, together with the ſaid Articles and her Majeſty's Anſwers to the ſame, with
" the Kirk's Reply thereupon, as follows." Calig. B. 10. a Copy.

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“ by preaching of his Word, quhilk is the chiefe Meanes appointit be God to perſuade all his choſen Children of his infallible Veritie, as be publick Diſputatioun againis the Adverſares of this our Religioun, in Preſence of her Majeſtie, quhenſoever it ſalbe thoght expedient to her Grace: And as to the Impietie of the Meſſe, we dare be bold to affirme, that in that Idol there is great Impietie; from the beginning to the ending it is nothing els bot ane Maſſe of Impietie; the Author or Sayer, the Actioun itſelf, the Opinioun therof conceivit, the Heirars and Gazers upon it allowes Sacriledge, pronounces Blaſphemie, and committs moſt abhominable Idolatrie, as we have evit offerit, and zet offers our ſelves moſt manifeſtlie to prove. And where her Majeſtie eſteimes, that the Change of Religioun ſould diſſolve the Confederacie and Allyance that ſcho hes with the King of *France*, and uthers Princes, &c. Aſſuredly *Chryſts* true Religioun is the undoubtit Meane to knitt up ſure and true Confederacie and Friendſchip with Him that is the King of all Kings, and Him who hes the Hearts of all Princes into his Hands, whilk ought to be more precious unto her Majeſtie nor the Confederacie of all the Princes; without the quhilk, neither Confederacie theroff, nor Kyndneſs, can endure.

“ Concerning her Majeſties Anſwer to the *Second* Article, Quheras ſcho thinkes it no wayes reaſonable to defraude herſelfe of the Patronage of the Benefices, quhilk her Majeſtie eſteimes to be ane Portioun of her Patrimonie, and that her Majeſtie is myndit to retayne a good part of the Benefices in her awin Hands, to ſupport the common Charges, &c. As to the firſt Point, Our Mind is not that her Majeſtie, or any uther Patron of this Realme, ſould be defrauded of their juſt Patronages; bot we meane quhenſoever her Majeſtie, or any uther Patron, does preſent any Perſon to a Benefice, that the Perſon preſentit ſould be tryit and examineit be the Judgement of learned Men of the Kirk, ſick as preſentlie are the Superintendents, appointed therto: And as the Preſentatioun of Benefices pertaines to the Patrone, ſa aucht the Collatioun therof, be Law and Reaſon, pertain to the Kirk; of the quhilk Collatioun the Kirk ſould not be defraudit, more nor the Patrones of their Preſentatioun: For utherwayes, if it ſalbe leſum to the Patrone abſolutely to preſent quhom ever they pleaſe, without Tryall or Examinatioun, what then can abyde in the Kirk of God bot meere Ignorance without all Ordour?

“ As to the ſecond Point, concerning the Retentioun of a good part of the Benefices in her Majeſties awin Hands; This Point abhors ſo farre from good Conſcience, allweill of Gods Law as fra the publick Ordour of all commoun Lawes, that we are loath to opin up the Ground of the Mater be any long Circumſtances; and therfor we moſt reverently wiſch that her Majeſtie wald conſider the Mater with her ſelf and her wiſe Counſell, that howſoevir the Patronage of Benefices may appertaine to herſelf, zet the Retentioun therof in her awin Hands, undiſponit to qualifiet Perſonis, is both ungodlie, and als contrair to all publick Ordour, and finall Confuſioun of the poore Soules of the commoun Peiple, quho by this meanes ſould be inſtructit of their Salvatioun. And quher her Majeſtie concludes in her ſecond Anſwer, That ſcho is content that ane ſufficient and reaſonable Suſtentatioun of the Miniſters be provydit to them be Aſſignationis in Places moſt commodious to them, Conſideratioun beand had of her awin Neceſſitie: As we are deſyrous altogether that her Graces Neceſſitie ſould be releivit, ſo our Duetie craves that we ſould notifie to her Grace the true Ordour that ſould be obſervit to her in this Behalfe; quhilk is this, The Teyndis are properly reputit to be the Patrimonie of the Kirk, upon the quhilkis, befor all Thingis, they that travels in the Miniſtrie therof, and the poore indigent Members of *Chryſt*, aucht to be ſuſtainit, the Kirks alſo repairit, and the Zouth brocht up in good Letters: Quhilkis Thingis beand done, then uther Neceſſitie reaſonable might be ſupported according as her Grace and her godlie Counſell could think expedient. Alwayes we cannot bot thanke her Majeſtie moſt reverentlie, of her liberall Offer of Aſſignatioun to be made to the Miniſters for

1565. “ their Suſtentatioun, quhilk nottheleſs is ſo generallie conceivit, that without more ſpeciall condiſcending upon the Particulars therof, no Executioun is able to follow therupoun. And ſo to conclude with her Majeſtie at this preſent, we deſyre moſt earneſtlie the ſaids Miniſters Articles to be reformit: Beſeikand God, as they are reaſonable and godlie, ſo her Majeſties Heart, and the Eſtaites preſentlie conveinit, may be inclynit and perſuadit to the Performance therof.

“ Seſſion ſecond, 26 *December*. Anent the generall Complaint of the Miniſters, Exhorters and Reidars, for wanting of their Stipends, and as tuiching them that hes put violent hand in Miniſters, for reproving of Vyce; The haill Aſſemblie ordainit ane generall Supplicatioun to be preſentit to her Majeſtie and Counſell; and als requeiſtit the Lord *Lindſay*, and *David Murray* Brother to the Laird of *Balvaird*, to preſent the ſame, and to report the Anſwer againe to the Aſſemblie.

The Tenour of the Supplicatioun followes.

“ Unto zour Majeſtie and moſt honourable Counſell humblie meanes and complaines, We zour Graces moſt obedient Subjectis the Confeſſors of *Chryſt Jeſus* and his holie Evangell within this Realme, in Name and Behalf of our Miniſters, Exhorters and Reidars; That where oft and divers tymes Promiſe hes bein made to us, that our ſaids Brethren, Travelers and Preichars in the Kirk of God, ſould not be defraudit of their appointit Stipends, neither zet in any wayes ſould be moleſtit in their Functioun; zet nottheleſs univerſallie they want their Stipends appointit for divers tymes bypaſt, violent Hands (a) are puttin in ſome, for no uther Cauſe, as they alledge, but for reproving of Vyce; and none knowes quhat Aſſurance he ſall have of any reaſonable Lyfe in tyme to come. Our moſt humble Requeiſt is therfor unto zour Majeſtie, That our Miniſters may be payed of their bygane Stipends; that ſick as hes receivit Aſſignatioun therof from the former Collectors, may have Executioun of their Aſſignatiouns that zour Grace pleaſes to appoint the Aſſignatioun promiſed into zour Hienes laſt Anſweris to the Petitionis of the Kirk; ſo that we may know be quhat meanes our ſaids Miniſters may be ſuſtainit in tyme to come, and finallie how they may live without Moleſtatioun of wickit Men. And zour Graces Anſwer we moſt humblie beſeik, *&c.*

“ Anent the Queſtion, Whether any might marie his Wyfes Brother Daughter, or his Wyfes Siſter Daughter; and quhat Ordour ſould be tane, if any ſick Mariages be made? It is votit, and found be the Word of God, that none may marie his Wyfes Brother or Siſter Daughter; and if any ſuch Mariage was contractit, the ſamein to be null, and ought not to ſtand.

“ Perſons revolting from the Profeſſioun of the Goſpell, by offering their Children to be baptized after the papiſticall Manner, or receiving themſelves the Sacrament of the Altar; after Admonitioun, to be excommunicat, if Repentance intervien not.

Calderwood.] “ The Commiſſioners of *Sanct Andrews* requeſted, that Mr. *Knox* might be tranſplanted and placed in *Sanct Andrews*; which was refuſed. The Aſſemblie willed them to choice one out of their own Univerſitie, in place of *Chriſtopher Gudman* who latelie departed into *England*.

Regiſter.] “ Seſſion third, 27 *December*. Anent the Complaint given in be the Superintendent of *Lowthiane* againis Mr. *Patrick Craich* Miniſter of *Ratho*, for the marieing of *Robert Paterſon* and *Jenat Littill* in *Dunemanie* Kirk; neither the Bands being proclaimit, nor zet Satisfactioun made to the Kirk of *Edinburgh*, according to the Tenour of the Decreitt of the laſt Aſſemblie, *&c.* The ſaid Mr. *Patrick* grantit publicklie that he had offendit, and ſubmittit himſelf to the Correctioun of the Kirk: Therfor be the haill Aſſemblie he was ordainit to ſatisfie the Kirk of *Edinburgh* upon two ſeverall

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(a) Mr. *Petrie* ſays, under the Year 1563, “ that *Robert Pont* a Miniſter was ſtriken in the Head with a Weapon by Captain *Lawder*.”

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“ verall *Sondayes*, be his awin opin Confeſſioun, when the ſaid Kirk of *Edinburgh* ſall requyr him; and the thrid *Sonday* to ſatisfie the Kirk of *Dunemanie*, where the Offence was committit; ſuſpending all farder Correctioun for this preſent, in hope of his bettir bearing in tymes to come.

“ The haill Aſſemblie in ane Voyce ſtatutis and ordanis, That no Miniſter heirafter receive the Parochiners of ane uther Paroch to be maried, without a ſufficient Teſtimoniall of the Miniſter of the Pariſh wherfra they came that the Bands are lawfullie proclaimit, and na Impediment found; ſua that the Ordour that hes bein tane be the Kirk in ſick Affairis be dewlie obſervit, under the Payne of Deprivatioun fra his Miniſtrie, Tinſell of his Stipend, and uther Paynes as the Generall Kirk ſall heirafter thinke to be enjoynit.

“ Anent the Complaint given in be the Superintendent of *Fyfe* againis *Johne Melvill* Miniſter of *Craill*, alledging the ſaid *Johne* to proceid to the Solemnizatioun of Mariage betwixt *Robert Arnot* and *Eufame Corſtarfin*, notwithſtanding that ane uther Woman claimes the ſaid *Robert*: The haill Kirk aſſemblit ordainit ane Inhibitioun to paſs againis the ſaid *Johne*, that he in no wayes ſolemnize the ſaid Mariage untill ſick tyme as Mr. *Johne Douglas* Rector of the Univerſitie, and Mr. *James Wilkie* Regent, heare the Complaints to be given in be the ſaid Superintendent, and any uther Partie haveand Entreſſe, and the ſame to be diſcuſſit be them; giveand Power to them to give forth Sentence according to Gods Word, and to uſe the Cenſures of the Kirk againis the Diſſobeyars.

Calderwood.] “ In the fourth Seſſion [28 *December*, *Reg.*] the Aſſemblie gave Commiſſion to Mr. *John Row* Miniſter at *Sanct Johnſton*, to viſite Kirks, Schools, Colledges, to remove or ſuſpend Miniſters, Exhorters, Readers, in *Kyle*, *Carrict* and *Cuninghame*, as they ſhall be found offenſive or unable, to eradicat Idolatrie, &c. and the Superintendents of *Angus* and *Fife* to ſupply his Place in his Abſence *alternatim*.

“ Mr. *Knox* was appointed to penn a comfortable Letter, in Name of the Aſſemblie, to encourage Miniſters, Exhorters, Readers, to continue in their Vocation, which in all likelihood they were to leave off, for lack of Payment of Stipends; and to exhort the Profeſſors within the Realm to ſupply their Neceſſities. He was appointed likewiſe to viſite, preach and plant Kirks in the *South*, where there was not a Superintendent, and to remain ſo long as Occaſion might ſuffer.

Regiſter.] “ Mr. *Johne Frude* Miniſter of *Dunemanie* ordainit to ſatisfie as is before ſett downe in the thrid Seſſioun, anent Mr. *Patrick Craich*, for his Offence ſpecified in the Act of the firſt Seſſioun, ſuſpendand the ſaid Mr. *Johne* fra all Functioun in the Miniſtrie in the meane tyme, quhyll the compleiting of the ſaid Satisfactioun; and therafter to returne to his Vocatioun and Miniſtrie.

[“ The Brethren appointed in the firſt Seſſion to decide Queſtions, reported the Queſtions and Deciſions to this Seſſion, *Cald.*] It is askit, If it be lawfull that a Miniſter, quhat Title or Honour that ever he beare, receiving ſufficient Benefite and Proviſioun of his Flock, may leave them, and make his common Reſidence in uther Places; ſo that his Flock is deſtitute alſweill of his Doctrine and Miniſtrie as of uther Confort that the Flock ſould receive of ane faythfull Paſtor, notwithſtanding that worldlie Reaſons may ſeeme to excuſe the Abſence of ſome? The Anſwer; No Miniſter of the Evangell of *Jeſus Chryſt*, nor no Perſon receiving ſufficient Living for the preaching of the Evangell, may with ſafe Conſcience leave his Vocatioun, together with his Flock, and the Place appointit for his ordinarie Reſidence, quhat Permiſſioun and Overſight that ever he hes, be Corruptioun of Tymes, or Negligence of Rulers ſa to doe.

“ If ſick as hes once entrit in the Miniſtrie bein appointit be the Superintendent, and receivit of the Peiple, may leave their Vocatioun, and follow the World, becaus they cannot have a ſufficient Stipend? The Anſwer;

1565. “ Seing that our Maiſter *Chryſt Jeſus* pronounces, that he is but ane mercenarie Shepherd, quho, ſeing the Wolfe comeing, flieth for his awin Safeguard; and that the very Danger of Life cannot be ane ſufficient Excuſe for ſick as fall back from *Jeſus Chryſt*: We on na wayes thinkis it lawfull, that ſick as once putts their Hand to the Pleugh, ſall leave that heavinlie Vocatioun, and returne to the profane World for Indigencie or Povertie. Lawfullie they may leave ane unthankfull Peiple, and ſeik where *Jeſus Chryſt* his holie Evangell may bring forth greater Fruitt; but lawfullie they may never change their Vocatioun.

Calderwood.] “ Their Judgement concerning Mariage contracted without Conſent of Parents, was referred to farder Adviſement; the Order preſcribed be the Aſſemblie to *Robert Paterſon* and *Janet Littill* excepted.

Regiſter.] “ If known Murtherers, with convict Adulterers, together with ſick as committ forcible Crymes, may not, upon the Notorietie of their Fault, be denouncit excommunicat, for Declaratioun that the Kirk abhors ſick Impieties? The Anſwer; The Kirk may and ought to purge herſelf of ſick notorious Malefactoures, provyding that the Offenders be lawfullie callit and convict, either be their awin Confeſſioun or Witneſs. The Ordour to call them for the Slander (for civill Things we remitt to the civill Magiſtrate) we judge to be this; Quhenſoever ſick fearefull Crymes are committit, if it be in the Countrey, the Miniſter, Reidar or Exhorter of that Place; or if there be nane, the Miniſter of the Place nixt adjacent, aught to give Significatioun of the Fact to the Superintendent of that Diocye, quho without Delay ought to direct his Summonds, chargeing the Perſonis ſlanderit to compeir before him at a certain Day and Place. Or if it be done in Townes where Ordour is eſtabliſchit, the Seſſioun therof aught to call the accuſit Offenders, quho if they compeir, and either alledge juſt Defence, or ſchew themſelves unfeignedlie penitent, then man the Superintendent, and Kirks reformed without the Superintendent, diſpenſe ſomequhat with the Rigor of the Puniſchment, ſecluding onlie the Offender fra Participatioun of the Sacraments till farder Tryall of his Repentance; and that baith their Diligence and Sentence to be publicklie pronouncit in the Kirks where the Offence is knawin.

“ Bot if the Offender be ſtubborne, as, if he compeir not, or ſchew himſelf litle touchit with his Offence, then aucht the Superintendent, with Advyce of the nixt reformit Kirk, to diſcern him or them to be ſecludit from all Participatioun of Communioun with the faithfull Members of *Jeſus Chryſt*, and to be given to *Sathan*, to the Deſtructioun of the Fleſch, quhois Slaves, be Impietie committit and Impenitencie ſchawin, they declare themſelves to be; and their Sentence to be publiſched in all Places wher the Offence is knawin. Iff the Perſonis ſecludit fra the Sacramentis be negligent in ſeiking Reconciliatioun with the Kirk, behave themſelves inſolentlie, or utherwayes then it becomes penitent Perſonis; the Kirk, after Admonitioun, may proceid to the uttermoſt: For wanton Behaviour, after Iniquitie committit, is ane plaine Argument of Impenitencie; and Negligence to ſeik Reconciliatioun, declares that Contempt lurkes in the Heart, &c.

“ If Baptiſme be adminiſtrat be ane Papiſt Prieſt, or in the papiſticall Maner, ſalbe reiterat?

“ Quhen ſick Children comes to Zeirs of Underſtanding, they ſould be inſtructit in the Doctrine of Salvatioun: The Corruptioun of the Papiſtrie muſt be declared to them, quhilk they muſt publicklie damne before they be admittit to the Lords Table; quhilks if they doe, there neids not the externall Signe to be reiterat: For no Papiſt miniſters Baptiſme without Watter and ſome Forme of Word, quhilk are the Principalls of the externall Signe. We our ſelves were baptized be Papiſts, whoſe Corruptionis and Abuſis now we damne, cleaving onlie to the ſimple Ordinance of *Jeſus Chryſt*, and to the Vertue of the holie Spirit, quhilks makes Baptiſme to work in us the

“ proper Effects therof, without any Reiteratioun of the externall Signe. If ſuch Children come never to the Knowledge of the true Doctrine, they are to be left to the Judgement of God.

“ Quhat Ordour ought to be uſit againis ſick as oppreſſis Children? As concerning Puniſchment, the civill Magiſtrate aught therein to diſcern. As tuiching the Slander, the Perſonis aught to be ſecludit fra Participatioun of the Sacramentis, quhyll they have ſatisfied the Kirk as they ſalbe commandit. *Vide* 2 *Seſſ.* 6. *Julij* 1568.

“ Quhat Puniſchment ſalbe uſit againis them that ly in Fornicatioun under Promiſe of Mariage, quhilk they deferre to ſolemnizat, and to ſatisfie be publick Repentance for the Slander given? Alſweill the Man as the Woman, ſould publicklie in the Place of Repentance lykwayes ſatisfie on ane *Sonday* before they be maried.

Calderwood.] “ Mr. *John Craig* one of the Miniſters of *Edinburgh*, Mr. *John Douglas* Rector of the Univerſitie of *Sanct Andrews*, Mr. *Robert Maitland* Deane of *Aberdein*, *William Chriſtieſon* Miniſter at *Dundie*, Mr. *David Lindſay* Miniſter at *Leith*, Mr. *Gilbert Garden* Miniſter at *Moniefuth*, Mr. *Thomas Mackcalzean* and Mr. *John Marjoribankes* Commiſſioners for *Edinburgh*, were appointed, in the third Seſſion, to collect the Heads and Cauſes of the publick Faſt: They returned in this Seſſion, and declared the Neceſſitie of a publict Faſt at this Time; Therfor the Aſſemblie with ane Voice ordained Mr. *Knox* and Mr. *Craig* Miniſters at *Edinburgh*, to ſet out the Form therof, with the Exerciſe to be uſed in the ſame, and to cauſe *Robert Likprevick* print it.”

Petition and Complaint to the Queen,

with her Majeſty's Anſwer.

Mr. *Knox*, who talks, after his uſual manner, very confuſedly of this Aſſembly, affirms that the Superintendents of *Lothian* and *Fife*, Mr. *Row* Miniſter at *Perth*, and Mr. *Lindſay* Miniſter at *Leith*, were ſent to wait on the King and Queen; and that by the Mouth of Mr. *Row* they complained of the Deficiency of Payment of the Miniſters Stipends; and next they prayed her Majeſty to hear Diſputation between the Miniſters and Friars. To which two Things, this Writer ſays, the Queen made the following Anſwer, *viz.* “ *That ſche was always minded, that the Miniſters ſould be payed thair Stipends; and if thare was ony Fault tharein, the ſame came by ſome of thair awin ſort*, meaning the Comptroller *Pittarow*, quho had the handling of the Thirds. *Always, by the Advice of hir Counſaill, ſche ſould caus ſick Ordour to be taiken tharein, that none ſould have Occaſioun to complain.* As to the *Secund, Sche wald not jeopard hir Religioun upoun ſick as wer thare preſent; for ſche knew weill enouch that the Proteſtants wer more learned.*”

Act of Council.

Mr. *Petrie* tells of an Act of Council having been proclaimed on the 28th Day of *January* 1565-6, in Name of the King and Queen, (which Act I ſee no where elſe mentioned at all) *Ordaining that in time coming all ſmall Benefices, Parſonages, Vicarages, and others, extending in yearly Rentall to the Sum of* 300 *Pound or within, as they ſhall happen to vaike, ſhall be always diſponed to ſuch Perſons, as the Superintendents and Aſſembly after due Examination ſhall find qualified. And if any Biſhoprick, or other Prelacy, as hath the Patronage of ſuch Benefices, ſhall happen to vaik, as alſo of all that are preſently vaiking, they ſhall retain in their Hands the Diſpoſition of ſuch ſmall Benefices, to the Effect above written: And if any of them ſhall be ignorantly diſponed otherwiſe; by this ſame, that Diſpoſition is declared null; that the Keepers of the Seals ſhould not admit them, but repute them as privie Writings purchaſed in defraud. As alſo, They give and grant unto all Burghs, and every one of them within themſelves, all the Annualls of Altarages, Chaplanries and Obites, for Entertainment of their Miniſters; and the Superplus thereof, if any ſhall be to bee diſtribute unto the Poore and Hoſpitalls within the Burgh, as the Almes of Miniſter and Elders*

1566 *thereof*, Mr. *Knox* was wiſe enough to conceal this Proclamation: It made not for his Purpoſe.

Before the Time of the next General Aſſembly, we ſee the following Supplication ſet down by Mr. *Knox*.

“UNto your Majeſty, and your moſt honourable Counſaill, moſt humbly and lamentably complains, your Hichnes poor Oratours, the Superintendents and uther Miniſters of the reformed Church of God, travelling thorowout all your Hichnes Realme, in teaching and inſtructing your Leiges in all Quarters, in the Knawledge of God, and *Chriſt Jeſus* his Son; That quher your Majeſty, with Advice of the Counſaill and Nobility afoirſaid, moved by godly Zeal, concluded and determined, that the travelling Miniſtry thorowout this Realme ſould be manteined upoun the Rents of the Benefices of this Realme of *Scotland*; and for that Caus your Majeſty, with the Advice of the Counſaill and Nobility afoirſaid, upoun the 15th Day of *December* 1562, in like manner concluded and determined, That if the ſaid Part of the Rents of the hole Benefices Eccleſiaſticall within this Realme, would be ſufficient to mantein the Miniſters thorowout the hole Realme, and to ſupport your Majeſty in the ſetting fordward of your comoun Affairs, ſould be imployed accordingly: Failing thareof, the third Part of the ſaid Fruits or more, to be taken up yeirly in tyme cuming, untill a generall Ordour be taken tharein, as the Act maid thareupoun at more length bears. Which being efterward conſidered by your Majeſty, the hole Thirds of the Fruits afoirſaid wer propounded to the Uſes afoirſaid, by Act of Counſaill. And we your Majeſties poor Oratours, put in peaceable Poſſeſſioun of the Part aſſigned by your Majeſty to us, by the Space of thrie Yeirs or thareabouts, which we did enjoy without Interruptioun; notwithſtanding all this, now of late, we your Majeſties poor Oratours afoirſaid, ar put wrongfully and unjuſtly from thair afoirſaid Part of the above ſpecified Thirds, by your Majeſties Officers, and thareby broucht to ſick extreme Penury and extreme Diſtres, as we ar not able ony langer to mantein ourſelfis. And albeit we have given in divers and ſundry Complaints to your Majeſty herein, and have receaved divers Promeiſes of Redres; yit have we found no Relief: Tharefoir we moſt humbly beſeech your Majeſty to conſider our moſt greivous Complaint, togidder with the Richt above ſpecified, quhareon the ſame is grounded. And if your Majeſty, with Advice of your Counſaill afoirſaid, finds our Richt ſufficient to continue us in Poſſeſſioun of our Part aſſigned to us, while and untill a generall Ordour be taken; quhilk Poſſeſſioun was ratified by the yeirly Allowance of your Majeſties Exchequhers Accompt, that your Majeſty would grant us Letters, upoun the afoirſaid Act and Ordinance paſt thareupoun, againſt all Intromettours and Medlers with the afoirſaid Thirds, to anſwer and obey, according to the afoirſaid Act and Ordinance of our Poſſeſſioun proceiding thareupoun. And lykewiſe that we may have Letters, if need be, to arreſt and ſtay the afoirſaid Thirds in the Poſſeſſours Hands, while and till ſufficient Cautioun be found to us, for our Part afoirſaid. And your Anſwer maiſt humbly we beſeech.

“This Supplicatioun (adds Mr. *Knox*) being preſented by the Superintendent of *Lowthian* and Mr. *Johne Craig*, in the Caſtell of *Edinburgh*, was graciouſly receaved by the Quene; quho promiſed, that ſche would tak ſufficient Ordour tharein, ſa ſoon as the Nobility and Counſaill micht convene.”

CHAP. V.

Containing Eccleſiaſtical Affairs from the Birth of the Prince in the Month of June 1566, *till the Queen's Marriage with the Earl of* Bothwell *in the Month of* May 1567.

1566.

THE Queen's Time being now fully come, and all Things prepared for her Lying-in, in the Caſtle of *Edinburgh*, as hath been already narrated in the Civil Part; her Majeſty was happily delivered of a Prince, juſt before the meeting of the Kirk-Aſſembly this Summer. On which Emergent, Abp. *Spottiſwood* acquaints (*a*) us, that his Father "the Superintendant of *Lothian*, was ſent by them to teſtifie their Gladneſs for the "Prince's Birth; and withall, to deſire that he ſhould be baptized according to "the Form uſed in the reformed Church. This their Deſire received no Anſwer; otherwiſe the Superintendant and his Commiſſion were graciouſly accepted: For the Queen calling to bring the Infant, gave him into his Arms; "and he falling upon his Knees, and conceiving a ſhort but moſt pithy Prayer, "was very attentively heard by her. The Superintendant upon the Cloſe of "his Prayer, ſpeaking of the Child, willed him to ſay *Amen* for himſelf: Which "ſhe took in ſo good part, as continually after ſhe called the Superintendant her "*Amen*. This Story told to the Prince when he came to the Years of Underſtanding, he alſo called him after the ſame manner; and whilſt he lived, did "reſpect and reverence him as his ſpiritual Father."

The Superintendent of *Lothian* waits on the Queen, upon her Delivery of the Prince.

Twelfth General Aſſembly.

Twelfth General Aſſembly.

Regiſter.] "The Generall Aſſemblie of the Kirk haldin in *Edinburgh* within "the Counſell-houſe therof, the 25 Day of *Junij* 1566: In the quhilk were "preſent Erles, Lords, Barons, of the Privie Counſell, *viz.* Erle of *Huntlie* "Chancellar, and Erle of *Argyle*; *Alexander* of Galloway, *Adam* of *Orknay* ane of the Seſſioun, *Johne* Commendater of *Lundoires*, *Johne Balfour* "of *Pittendreich* Knycht, with the Superintendents, Miniſters and Commiſſioners for Townes and particular Kirks. The Invocatioun of the Name of "God made be Mr. *Johne Craig* Miniſter of *Edinburgh*.

"Firſt, for eſchewing of Confuſioun in reaſoning, and to the Effect that every "Brother ſpeake with ſick Modeſtie and Meaſure as becumis the Miniſters of "Gods Word to doe; with the Aſſent of the whole Aſſemblie *Johne Erskine* of "*Dun* Knycht, Superintendent of *Angus* and *Mernes* was continuat Moderator, who was content for the preſent to uſe the Office.

Calderwood.] "In the Tryall of Superintendents, the Superintendent of "*Fife* confeſſed his own Inabilitie to diſcharge the Office, and deſired the Aſſemblie to denude him of it.

"Mr. *Johne Douglas* Rector of the Univerſitie of *Sanct Andrews*, Mr. "*George Hay* Miniſter of *Ruthven*, Mr. *George Buchanan*, Mr. *Robert Pont*, "and Mr. *Robert Hamiltoun*, were appointed to ſit apart at ſet times, to receave and decide Queſtions, and to report the Deciſions to the Aſſemblie.

Regiſter.] "Ordaines that ſome of the Brethren, in Name of the haill Kirk, "make Supplicatioun to the ſecreit Counſell, and Seſſioun of Juſtice, That no "excommunicat Perſon have any Proces before their Honours, unto the tyme "they be reconcileit to the Kirk, cheiflie quhen it is notour and objectit againis.

(*a*) This is taken from the MS. which alſo bears the Birth of the Prince to have been between the Hours of Nine and Ten *in the Forenoon*, contrary to the Print: Which ſhews that the Archbiſhop has not been miſtaken as to the time of the Day when the Birth happened; but it is remarkable that *Forenoon* is ſcored out, and *Evening* ſet above it, by the bad Writer who I have told in the *Appendix* has medled himſelf in detracting from this MS. and from this Correction the Print has inſerted *Evening* in place of *Forenoon*.

1566. “ Anent the Supplicatioun preſentit be this Aſſemblie, in Name of *Robert* Commendater of *Halierudehouſe*, ſchawand in effect how it was not unknawin to their Wiſdomes, that he had diverſe godlie and learned Men of his awin Place of *Halierudehouſe*, ſick as *Alexander Forreſter* and *Peeter Blakwood*, quho are Men of good Converſatioun and Literature, were receivit and admittit be the Kirk in the Miniſtrie; and how he had diverſe Kirks pertaining to the ſaid Kirk, as the Kirks of *Tranent* and *Sanct Cuthbert*; and alledgit, that moſt decent and convenient it were that his ſaids Kirks ſould be ſervit be the Servants of the ſaid Abbey: Heirfor requeiſtit moſt earneſtlie, that the Kirk preſentlie aſſemblit ſould tranſport Mr. *Thomas Cranſtoun* and *William Harlaw*, now Miniſters of his ſaids Kirks, and place them at ſome uther Kirk, as ſould be thoght good be the haill Aſſemblie to appoint them, and to place his ſaids Servants at his ſaids Kirks as Miniſters, there to be ſervit be them in tyme cumeing, as in the ſaid Requeiſt at lenth was contenit.

“ The Kirk haveing rypelie conſidderit the ſaid Supplicatioun, and advyſeit therupon, cauſit call before them ſome of the Eldaris of the ſaids Parochines, and diligentlie enquyred, if they had any Fault to lay againis their Miniſters, or if they wald be content that they ſould be tranſportit frae them? Anſwer was given, That they had no Cryme nor Fault to their Miniſters, but that they were bettir contentit with them than they wald be with any uther quho could be preſentit to them; and attour, on naway wald be content that any of them ſould be tranſportit from them: Therfor the Kirk preſentlie aſſemblit on naway could condiſcend to the Tranſportatioun of any of them, for the Reſpects befor rehearſit; bot brotherlie requeiſtit the ſaid Lord Commendater to provyde for ſome uther godlie Miniſters, for ſome uthers of his Kirks quhilks are altogether deſtitute of preaching of the true Word of God, the ſpeciall Food of their Souls; quhilk they doubt not but his Lordſchip will doe, for Diſcharge of his awin Conſcience.

Calderwood.] “ It is ordained that a Requeſt be written, and ſent to the Noblemen in whoſe Bounds ſome Popiſh Preiſts haunted and remained, and abuſed the Sacraments, and celebrated Marriages for Lucre.

Regiſter.] “ Seſſion ſecond, *26 Junij*. The haill Aſſemblie, in reſpect of the Perils and Dangers wherwith the Kirk of God is aſſaultit, and that be the mightie Enemies, concludit a generall Faſt to be publiſched throughout this Realme in all the Kirks reformeit, &c.

Calderwood.] “ A publick Faſt was appointed to be holden on the two laſt Sabbaths of *Julie* nixt,—— and the Communion to be miniſtred upon the ſaids Lord's Days, if it may be done convenientlie.

Regiſter.] “ Anent the Supplicatioun given in be *Paul Methven*, makeand ane lang Rehearſall of his miſerable Eſtate; the Supplicatioun preſentit in his Name to the Generall Aſſemblie haldin in *Edinburgh* in *December* 1564; of the Eſtate of the Anſwer therto from the ſaid Aſſemblie; of his lang and tedious Journey out of *Ingland* to *Scotland*, and Impediments that chanced him be the Way: Finallie, requeiſts for ane of thir twa; that is, either to ſuſpend excommunicating of the Kirk for a tyme, and receive him in the Fellowſchip of the ſame, as ane poore Scheip, upon ane Conditioun whereevir he chances to be, upon halfe ane Zeiris warning, he ſalbe bund to returne againe at Command of the Kirk, and obey ſick Injunctiouns as they wald command him to doe; or if the Kirk pleaſit not this Petition, then to committ his Anſwer to ſick as the Kirk ſould pleaſe appoint, whoſe Judgement and Determinatioun, as his Bodie micht beare, he promiſeit be Gods Grace moſt humblie to obey. Finallie, all Counſels that have followit heirtofoir, and himſelf, moſt humblie he ſubmittit to the Judgement of the preſent Aſſemblie, as in the ſaid Supplicatioun at lenth was contenit. Laſt of all it was ordainit, that he preſent himſelf perſonallie before the Aſſemblie; and being entrit, proſtrate himſelf before the whole Brethren with weipeing

1566. " and houleing; and commandit to ryſe, might not expreſſe farder his Requeiſt, being, as appeirit, ſo ſore troublit with Anguiſch of Heart: Was deſyrit to be of good Confort, and depart to his Ludging, quhyll Ordour were tane anent his Requeiſt. And forſameikle as in the ſaid Aſſemblie haldin in *December* 1564, it was concludit to receive him to Repentance, now reſtit to conclude upon the maner therof, what he ſould doe, when and where; and for that purpoſe was appointit the Superintendent of *Fyfe*, Mr. *Johne Douglas* Rector of *Sanct Andrews*, *David Forreſt*, Mr. *George Hay* Miniſter of *Ruthven*, Mr. *Johne Craig* Miniſter of *Edinburgh*, *John Row* of *Sanct Johnſtone*, *William Chryſteſone* of *Dundie*, and *Adame Heriott* of *Aberdeine*, Miniſters; That they, ſevin or ſixe of them, ſould conveine the Morne at ſevin Houres before Noon, and appoint and take Ordour in the Premiſſis; and whatſumevir they doe heiranent, to ſignifie the ſame to the Superintendent of *Lowthiane* and Seſſion of the Kirk of *Edinburgh*, and ordaines them to put the Commiſſioners Ordinance to Executioun; and als ordaines that the ſaid *Paul Methven* obey the ſame according to their Directions: And ordainis that the ſaids Superintendents and Kirk of *Edinburgh* delyver the ſaid Ordinance to the Scrybe of the Generall Aſſemblie, that he may inſert the ſame among uther Acts of the Generall Aſſemblie, for ane Remembrance to the Poſteritie.

Queſtions and their Anſwers.

" Firſt it is asked, If any Man contract Mariage with ane Woman once maried, and her Husband departing fra her to uther Countreys, and being abſent nine or ten Zeiris together, the Woman having no Teſtimoniall of his Death, or not? Anſwerit, The Woman deſyreing to marie, aught to ſeik, or caus to ſeik, quhidder her firſt Husband be dead or not; and to report ane ſufficient Teſtimoniall of his Death or ever ſcho may joyne herſelf to ane uther Husband.

" Quhidder if any Perſon ſeikand Donatioun or Confirmatioun of Benefices at the Popes Kirk, may be admittit to miniſter in the Kirk of God? Anſwerit, That ſick a Perſon aught not to be admittit to the Miniſtrie, as the Queſtion is conceivit.

Calderwood.] " Whether a Miniſter may enjoy a Benefice ſufficient for his Suſtentation, where he travelleth not in the preaching of the Word? It was anſwered, That he ought to travell in the Word where he receaveth his Suſtentation, unleſs the Kirk appoint otherwiſe.

Regiſter.] " The Commiſſioners appointit be the Generall Aſſemblie for ordouring of *Paul Methven* his Repentance, &c. *(a)* In conſideratioun of the ſaid *Pauls* lamentable Supplicatioun to the Kirk, humble Submiſſioun of himſelfe to the ſame, and his Abſence out of this Realme the Space of twa Zeiris or mair; Ordaines the Miniſtrie of *Edinburgh*, that he upon ane *Sonday* after Sermon notifie unto the Peiple the ſaid *Paul* his Supplicatioun, and how the Generall Aſſemblie hes ordainit to receive him to Repentance, with the Conditions under wryttin: And therfor to admoniſch all faithfull Brethren, that they within the nixt aucht Days notifie to the ſaid Miniſtrie of *Edinburgh*, if any of them hes any Knowledge, or are ſurelie informit of the ſaid *Paul* his Converſatioun and Behaviour ſince his Departure forth of this Realme, whilk might imped his receiving to Repentance; whilk ſalbe on this maner, *viz.* The ſaid *Paul* upon the ſaid twa Preaching-dayes, betwixt the *Sondayes*, ſall come to the Kirk-doore of *Edinburgh* when the ſecond Bell rings, clad in Sackcloath, baireheidit and bairefootit, and there remaine quhyll he be brocht in to the Sermoun, and placeit in the publick Spectakill above the Peiple in tyme of every Sermoun during the ſaid twa Dayes; and in the nixt *Sonday* therafter ſall compeir in lyke maner, and in the end of the Sermoun

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(a) *Calderwood* inſerts this that follows as a Preamble, *viz.* " The Commiſſioners appointed to ſet down the Order of his [*Paul Methven's*] Repentance, reported the ſame to Mr. *John Gray* Scribe of the Aſſemblie, in the Tenor as followeth."

" ſall declare Signes of his inward Repentance to the Peiple, humblie requyring that Kirkes Forgiveneſs; quhilk done, he ſalbe clad in his awin Apparell, and receivit in the Societie of the Kirk as ane livelie Member therof: And this ſame Ordour to be obſervit in *Dundie* and *Jedbruch*, alwayes ſecluding him fra any Functioun of the Miniſtrie of the Kirk, and alſo from Participatioun of the Table of the *Lord Jeſus* unto the 25 of *December* nixt to come, when the Generall Aſſemblie of the Kirk conveins; unto the quhilk they ordaine the ſaid *Paul* to reſort, bringand with him ſufficient Teſtimoniall from authentique Perſons of theſe Places where he in the meane tyme ſall chance to remaine, reportand his Converſatioun and Behaviour; at the quhilk tyme the Kirk ſall take farder Ordour what ſalbe done anent him. *Calderwood.*] " Mr. *John Craig* Miniſter of *Edinburgh* deſired that *John Carnes*, who had read Prayers *(a)* and exhorted four Yeirs and more in *Edinburgh*, and had weill profited, ſo that he was now able to be admitted to the Miniſtrie, might be joyned with him as Collegue in the Kirk of *Edinburgh*, in reſpect he was alone; The Aſſemblie ordained the Kirk of *Edinburgh*, with the Aſſiſtance of the Superintendent of *Louthian*, to conſider whether he were fit and ſufficient for that Place, or ſome other."

Mr. *Knox* ſpeaks here again of a new Complaint by the Miniſters for not Payment of their Aſſignments, and of a Supplication to the Queen for that Effect; wherein, he ſays, the Biſhop of *Galloway*, Uncle to the Earl of *Huntly*, travelled much with the Queen, and got of her Majeſty a good Anſwer and fair Promiſes.

And here this Writer takes occaſion to add thus, " A few Yeirs befoir, the ſaid Biſchop of *Galloway* deſired of the Generall Aſſembly to be maid Superintendent of *Galloway*; bot now being promoted to grit Dignity, as to be of the Number of the Lords of Privy Counſaill, and lykewiſe one of the Seſſioun, he would no more be called Overlooker or Overſeer of *Galloway*, bot Biſchop."

Meſſage from the Reformed Churches beyond Sea.

In the Month of *September* this Year there was a Meeting of ſeveral Miniſters, upon this following Occaſion, " The Churches of *Geneva*, *Berne* and *Baſill*, with uther reformed Churches of *Germany* and *France*, ſent to the hole Church of *Scotland* the Sum of the Confeſſioun of thair Fayth, deſiring to knaw if they agreed in Uniformity of Doctrine, alledging that the Church of *Scotland* was diſſonant in ſome Artickles from thame. Quharefoir the Superintendents, with a grit Part of the uther moſt qualified Miniſters, convened in *September* in *Sanct Androis*; and reading the ſaid Letters, maid Anſwer, and ſent Word agane, That they agreed in all Points with thoſe Churches, and differed in nothing from them: Albeit in the keeping of ſome Feſtivall Days, our Church aſſented not; for only the *Sabbath-day* was kept in *Scotland*." This from Mr. *Knox*.

In Compliance with the Supplication offered to the Queen, in behalf of the Miniſters, this following Act of Privy Council was emitted.

Edinburgh 3. *October*, 1566.

SEDERUNT

Georgius *Comes de* Huntlie, Archibaldus Ergadiæ *Comes*, Jacobus Moraviæ *Comes*, Jacobus *Comes de* Bothuill, Joannes *Comes de* Atholl, Georgius *Comes de* Caithnes, Andreas *Comes de* Rothes, Joannes *Archiepiſcopus Sti* Andreæ, Alexander *Epiſcopus* Candidæ Caſæ, Joannes *Epiſcopus* Roſſen. Adam *Epiſcopus* Orchaden. Robertus *Epiſcopus* Dunkelden. *Commiſſarii Burgorum*,

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(*a*) This ſounds harſh with ſome People now-a-days; but we ſee that neither *Forms* nor *Reading* of Prayers was thought odious at that Time.

Burgorum, Edinburgh, Dundie, Aberdein, Striviling, Perth, St. Androis, Lithgow, Haddington; *Theſaurarius*, *Computorum Rotulator*, *Clericus Regiſtri*, *Clericus Juſticiariæ*, *Advocatus*. 1566.

Small Benefices for the Miniſteris.

The quhilk Day, forſamekill as the King and Quenis Majeſties hes underſtude and conſidderit that the Miniſteris Stipends, quhilks neceſſarlie mon be payit furth of the Thrids of the Benefices, extends to ſic a Soum, that the ſaids Thrids is nocht abill bayth to ſuſtein the Chargeis of thair Majeſties Hous, attour the Rent of thair Propertie; as alſwa, to ſuſtein the ſaids Miniſteris: and after gude Deliberatioun takin how thai may be ſuſteint with leiſt Charges and Expenſis, thair Hieneſſes hes found it maiſt convenient, and als with Advyis of the Lordis of thair ſecreit Counſaill, ſtatutis and ordanis, That in tyme cuming all ſmall Benefices, Parſonages, Vicarages and utheris, extending in yearly Rentall to the Soum of 300 Merks, or within, as thai ſall happin to vaik, ſall alwayis be diſponit to ſic Perſonis, as the Superintendents and Aſſemblie of the Kirk, after dew Examinatioun, ſall find abill, qualifiet and ſufficient, and thairafter nominat and preſentit to thair Majeſties; quhilks being ſo nominat and preſentit, thair Hieneſſes ſall admit thame, and be thair Autoritie caus thame be anſwerit of the Frutis and Dewties of the ſaids Benefices: Attour, whenſoevir ony Biſchoprick, Abbacie, Pryorie, or uthir Prelacie that hes the Patronage of ſic ſmall Benefices, ſall happin to vaik and fall to thair Majeſties Diſpoſitioun and Preſentatioun, as lykewayis of all thame that are preſentlie vacand; Thair Hieneſſes promittis, in verbo Principum, that thai ſall alwayis retein in thair awin Handis the Power and Titill of the Diſpoſitioun of the ſaid ſmall Benefices, to the Effect above wryttin, and ſall caus the Perſonis to quhome thair Majeſties diſponis the ſaids Prelacies and grit Benefices, conſent thairto befoir thair Majeſties mak ony Rycht of the Principall to thame: And in caice it ſall happin thair Majeſties ignorantlie or uthirwayis to gift or diſpone ony of the ſaids ſmall Benefices, be Gift, Preſentatioun, or uthirwayis, contrair this preſent Act and Ordinance, and ony wayis prejudiciall to the ſamyn; Thair Majeſties expreſſitlie commands thair Comptrollar preſent and tocum, his Clerkis and Collectouris, the Keiparis of the Signet, Privie Seall and Greit Seall, and all utheris thair Hieneſſes Officiaris, Legeis and Subdittis, That thai on na wayis admit, allow, obtempir or obey ony ſic Gift or Preſentatioun, or to paſs the ſamyn throw the Sealls, or grant Letteris in the four Forms hairupoun, bot to hald, repute and eſteim thame as previe Writtingis, purcheſt in Defraud and Prejudice of this preſent lovabill Act and publict Ordinance, nochtwithſtanding of ony Charge or Command gevin or to be gevin in the contrair, quhairunto thir Preſentis ſall ſerve thame for a ſufficient Warrand. And ſiclyk, thair Majeſties ordanis and requiris the Lordis of Counſall and Seſſioun on na wayis to admit, allow or attend to ony Gift, Proviſioun or Preſentatioun of quhatſumevir ſmall Benefices of the Value above wryttin, diſponit be thair Majeſties, or uthirwayis quhair the ſamyn is repugnant or contrarious to this preſent Act and Ordinance, and nocht diſponit to qualifiet Perſonis apt for the Miniſtrie, examinat and admittit be the Superintendantis and Kirkis, in maner foirſaid; and that Letteris be direct for publicatioun heirof in dew Form as effeiris. R. M.

Act in favours of the Kirk.

1566. And in the Month of *December* following, the Queen made this Aſſignation in favour of the Miniſters.

REGINA.

Aſſignatioun for the Miniſtrie.

Queen's Aſſignation to the Miniſters.

Forſamekill as the Miniſteris within our Realme this haill Yeir bigane hes wantit thair Stipends, in reſpect of ſundry Occaſionis that hes intervenit; yit becaus we ar myndit and weill willit that the ſaid Miniſterie be ſuſtenit and intertenit in tyme cuming as effeiris: Thairfoir, with Advyis of our ſecreit Counſall, hes tane ſic Ordour as we mycht beſt for the preſent, and hes aſſignit, for Suſtentatioun of the Miniſterie, certane Victualls and Money in ſundry Places and Countries, to be tane up and diſponit be the ſaid Miniſterie, and thair Collectouris or Chalmerlains, as thai ſall think maiſt expedient, extending to the Soum of 10000 Libs. Money, and 400 Chalderis Victuall, as the particular Aſſignationis maid thairupoun mair fully proports. We thairfoir, be Advyis of our Counſall foirſaid, ordanis and decernis, that the ſaid Miniſterie and thair Collectouris and Chalmerlains quhatſumevir, be thankfullie anſwerit and obeyit in the haill Payment, alſweill of Money as Victuall foirſaid, throwout our haill Realme, quhairſoevir the ſamyn, or ony part thairof, is aſſignit; and Letteris thairupoun to be decernit and gevin furth, owther of Horning or Poinding reſpectivè, as the ſaid Miniſterie ſall think expedient and requier: Commanding expreſſie our Clerk of Regiſter and Comptrollar, and all utheris quhome it effeiris, or ſalbe requireit thairto, to deliver the authentick Copyis and Extract of the ſaid Aſſignatioun to the Miniſterie, with expreſs Inhibitioun to our Comptrollar, or ony uthir Chalmerlainis, to intromett or * mell ony maner of way with the ſaids Aſſignationis, or ony Pairt thairof, under all heich Pains that may follow thairupoun. Subſcrivit with our Hand at Striviling the 20 Day of December, the Year of God 1566 Zeiris, and of our Reign the Twenty fourth Year, 1566. R. M.

* *medle.*

To this Act by the Queen, the Lords of Privy Council interponed their Authority, in the following manner.

Striviling 21. *December*, 1566.

Authority of the Council ſuperadded.

The Lordis of ſecreit Counſall hes ſein and conſiderit the Quenis Majeſties Writting within written, and findis the ſamyn reſonabill and convenient: And thairfoir, according to our Soveranis Will and Mynd within declarit, ordanis and requiris the Comptrollar and Clerk of Regiſter to deliver the authentick Copyes and Extract of the Aſſignationis within ſpecifiet, to the Miniſteris: And ſiclyk ordanis and requiris the Lordis of Counſall and Seſſioun, to grant Letteris in the four Formes, with Inhibitioun as is within diſponit; and the Comptrollar preſent and tocum to conſent thairto, upoun the ſaids Aſſignationis in generall or particular, as ſalbe deſyrit in dew Forme as effeiris. R. M.

Thirteenth General Aſſembly.

1566.

Thirteenth General Aſſembly.

Regiſter.] "The Generall Aſſemblie of the Kirk haldin in *Edinburgh* in the Nether Counſell-houſe therof, upon the 25 Day of *December* 1566: In the quhilk were preſent the Superintendents, Miniſters and Commiſſioners of Shyres, Towns and Kirks. The Invocatioun of God's Name made be Mr. *Johne Craig* Miniſter of *Edinburgh*.

"In the firſt, for Ordour to be obſervit in reaſoning, and that every Brother ſpeake to his purpoſe in ſick meaſure as it becomes the Miniſters of Gods Word to doe; *Johne Erskine* of *Dune*, Superintendent of *Angus* and *Mernes*, was continuit Moderator, wherof he was content.

Calderwood.] "In the firſt Seſſion, beſide the Triell of the Superintendents, we find that *James Knox* Reader in *Bathgate*, was cenſured for baptizing of Bairns and ſolemnizing of Marriage, he being but a ſimple Reader, and taking Money for the ſame, from ſuch as were without the Paroche.

Regiſter.] Seſſion ſecond, 26 *December*. Anent the Aſſignatioun of the Penſioun of Money and Victuals offerit be the Quenis Majeſtie and her moſt honourable Counſell, for the Suſtentatioun of the Miniſters within this Realme; and the haill Brethren preſent requyreit the Miniſters being in the Seſſion to paſs foorth of the Aſſemblie, and with mature Deliberatioun to conſult and advyſe with the ſaid Conſultatioun, whether they ſall think it good to accept the ſame for Relieſe of their preſent Neceſſitie, or not. After lang Reaſoning and mutuall Conference anent the ſaid Aſſignation, returneing again in the Aſſemblie, thoght it good, for Support of the Miniſters Neceſſitie, to accept of the ſaid Offer of Money and Victuals, if they might be gottin haſtielie: Nottheles, in conſideratioun of the Law of God, ordaines the Perſons who heirs the Doctrine of Salvatioun at the Mouthes of his Miniſters, and therby receives ſpeciall Food to the Nouriſchment of their Saules, to communicat temporall Suſtentatioun on the Preachers. Their Anſwer is, That having juſt Title to crave the bodilie Food at the Hands of the forſaids Perſones, and finding na uthers bound unto them, they only requyre at their awin Flock, that they will ſuſtaine them according to their bunden Duetie, and what it ſall pleaſe them to give them for their Suſtentatioun, if it were but Bread and Water; neither will they refuſe it, nor deſiſt from their Vocatioun. But to take from utheris contrair their Will, whom they ſerve not, they judge it not their Duetie, nor zet reaſonable: Alwayes they moſt heartlie thank the Lords that beſtowit their Labours and Paines in purchaſing the forſaid Aſſignatioun; moſt heartlie requeiſting their Honours to perſevere quhyll they bring it to ſome Perfectioun. Neverthleſs the haill Aſſemblie ſolemnitlie proteſtit, that this Acceptatioun of the forſaid Aſſignatioun, for the Releiſe as ſaid is, prejudges not the Libertie of the Kirk to ſute for that Thing that juſtlie pertaineth to the Patrimonie of the ſame in Tyme and Place convenient, in any tyme herafter.

[*Calderwood* adds,] "The Aſſemblie appointed *Alexander* Biſhop of *Galloway*, Mr. *John Spotſwood* Superintendent of *Louthian*, the Lairds of *Carden* and *Keir*, to repair to *Stirline*, and to ſolicite for the Extract of the ſaid Aſſignation from the Comptroller and Clerk-Regiſter, that Letters may be raiſed thereupon; and that they report their Anſwer to the Seſſion at *Edinburgh*, that the Commiſſioners which are to be appointed for Diviſion of the ſaid Aſſignation may be advertiſed. The Commiſſioners were choſen and appointed to conveen at *Edinburgh*, within ten Days after Advertiſement, to divide the ſaid Aſſignation of Money and Victuals among Miniſters, Exhorters and Readers, according to their Diſcretion.

Regiſter.] "The ſame Day were proponit thir Queſtionis under writtin, and Anſwers given therto, as followes.

"Whether if the Teynds properlie pertaines to the Kirk, and ſould only be applyit to the Miniſters, Suſtentatioun to the Poore, maintaining of Schooles,

1566.

" repairing of Kirks, and uther godlie Uſes, at the Diſcretioun of the Kirk? " Anſwerit *affirmativè*, without Contradictioun.

" *Secondlie*, If the Teynds pertaines to the Kirk, and aught to be imployit " to ſick godlie Uſes as ſaid is, whether if the Miniſters, who are the Mouth " of the Kirk, may with ſafe Conſcience keip Silence, ſeing the Patrimonie of " the Kirk moſt unjuſtlie tane up, and waſtit in vaine Things be ſick Perſons " as beares no Office in the Kirk of God; and in the meane tyme the Miniſtrie " ceaſand for Neceſſitie, the Poore periſching for Hunger, Schooles decayand, " and Kirks falland to the Ground, &c.? Anſwerit, They aught not to keip " Silence, but earneſtlie admoniſch every Man of his Duetie; and deſyres all " Men to ſute for that quhilk pertaines juſtlie to the ſuſtaining of the Things " forſaids, &c.

" *Thridlie*, Whether if the Kirk may juſtlie requyre of all Poſſeſſours the " Teynds to be payit to the Kirk only, and inhibite all uthers to intromett " therwith; and in caice of Diſobedience, what Ordour ſalbe uſit be the Kirk " againis them? Anſwerit, After dew Admonitioun uſit, and no Obedience " found, to uſe the Cenſures of the Kirk.

" Seſſion third, 27 *December*. Anent Mr. *Knox*'s Requeiſt, to paſs to the " Realme of *Ingland* to viſite his Children, and to doe his uther Buſineſs; " The haill Aſſemblie grantit gladlie Licence, with Letters Teſtimonials of his " honeſt Converſatioun and godlie Doctrine within this Realme, with Proviſioun, as is contenit in the ſaids Letters: The Tenour wherof followes.

Recommendatory Letter by the General Aſſembly in favour of Mr. *Knox*, upon his going into *England*.

" The Superintendents, Miniſters and Commiſſioners of Kirks within the " Realme of *Scotland* preſentlie aſſemblit; To all and ſundrie faithfull Brethren to whoſe Knowledge thir Preſents ſall come, wiſcheth Grace, Mercie and Peace from God the Father, and from our Lord *Jeſus Chriſt*: " Witt zour Univerſities, That our loving Brother *Johne Knox*, Bearer of thir " Preſents, hes bein and is ane true and faithfull Miniſter of the Evangell of " *Jeſus Chryſt* within this Realme of *Scotland*, continually within thir eight " Zeirs bygan, or therabout, in Doctrine pure and ſincere, in Lyfe and Converſatioun in our Sight inculpable, and hes ſo fruitfully uſit that Talent " grantit to him be the Eternall, to the Avancement of the Glorie of His Godlie Name, to the Propogatioun of the Kingdome of *Jeſus Chryſt*, and edifying of them who heard his Preaching, that of Duetie we moſt heartlie " praiſe His Godlie Majeſtie, for that ſo great ane Benefit grantit unto him for " our Utilitie and Profite. And becauſe he for the naturall Love and Affectioun " he beares to his Children, now being within the Realme of *Ingland*, and " Favour to utheris his Brethren and Allya, gentlie requeiſtit us to grant him " Licence for ane Seaſon, to repaire toward the ſaid Realme of *Ingland*, for " the Cauſis above mentionat: We, after mutuall Conference in full Aſſemblie, " thoght this Petition juſt and reaſonable; and therfor all in ane Voyce grants " Licence to our ſaid Brother, according to the Quenis Majeſties Conduct, " to paſſe to the ſaid Realme, for Purpoſes forſpokin, and utheris his lawfull " Affaires, what tyme he ſall think moſt commodious for his Journey; provyding lykwayes that he returne to this Realme of *Scotland* befor the 25 of " the Moneth of *Junij* nixt inſewing, to continue in his former Vocatioun, " and na utherwayes. And this we make knowin to all and ſundrie to whom " it effeiris, be thir our Letters Teſtimonials, given at *Edinburgh* in our Generall Aſſemblie, and thrid Seſſioun therof, ſubſcryvit be the Clerk of the ſame " the 27 of *December*.

" Attour, ordainit ane Letter to be directit to the Biſchops of *Ingland*, " that they wald be content gentlie to handle the Brethren Preachers, touching the Habits, Surpcloathes, and uther Abulziements, quhilk appearantlie " tends more to Superſtitioun nor to Edificatioun; and requeiſts Mr. *Knox* to " putt the Heids in Wryte quhilkis he thinkis neceſſar to be wrytin to the ſaids " Biſchops: The Tenour wherof followes.

(a) " The

1566.

Letter from the General Aſſembly of *Scotland* to the Biſhops of *England*, in favours of the diſſenting Puritans of that Nation.

(*a*) “ The Superintendents, Miniſters and Commiſſioners of Kirks within
“ the Realme of *Scotland*; To their Brethren the Biſchops and Paſtours of
“ *Ingland*, who hes renounced the *Romane* Antichryſt, and does profeſſe with
“ them the *Lord Jeſus* in Sinceritie, deſyres the perpetuall Increaſe of the
“ Holie Spirit: By Word and Write it is come to our Knowledge, Reverend
“ Paſtours, that diverſe of our deareſt Brethren, among whom are ſome of the
“ beſt lernit within that Realme, are depryvit fra Eccleſiaſticall Functioun,
“ and forbiddin to preach, and ſo by zou are ſtayed to promote the Kingdome
“ of *Chryſt*, becaus their Conſcience will not ſuffer them to take upon them at
“ the Commandement of the Authoritie ſick Garments as Idolaters in the tyme
“ of Blyndnes have uſit in the tyme of Idolatrie; quhilk Brute cannot be but
“ moſt dolorous to our Hearts, myndfull of that Sentence of the Apoſtle,
“ ſaying, *If ze byte and devore ane another, take heid leiſt ze be conſumit*
“ *ane of another*. We purpoſe not at this preſent to entir upon the Ground,
“ quhilk we heare of either Partie to be aggregit with greater Vehemencie then
“ well lykes us, to witt, Whether ſick Apparell be to be countit amongs
“ Things that is ſimple and indifferent, or not; bot in the Bowells of *Chryſt*
“ *Jeſus* we crave, that Chriſtian Charitie may ſo far prevaill in zou, we ſay,
“ the Paſtours and Leaders of the Flock in that Realme, that ze doe not to utheris
“ that quhilk ze wold utheris did not to zou. Ze cannot be ignorant
“ how tendir a Thing the Conſcience of Man is: All that have Knowledge are
“ not alyke perſuadit, zet Conſcience reclaimes not at the wearing of ſick Garments.
“ Bot many thouſands both godlie and lernit, are to thir Wayes perſuadit,
“ whoſe Conſciences are continually ſtrickin with thir Sentences;
“ *Quhat hes Chryſt Jeſus to doe with Beliall? Quhat hes Darknes adoe with*
“ *Lycht?* If Surpeclaiths, Cornett-Cap and Tippett hes bein Badges of Idolaters
“ in the verie Act of their Idolatrie, quhat hes the Preacher of Chriſtian
“ Libertie, and the oppin Rebuker of all Superſtitioun to doe with the Dregs
“ of that *Romiſh* Beaſt? Zea what is he that ought not to feare either to take
“ in his Hand or Foirheid the Print and Marke of that odious Beaſt? Our Brethren
“ that in Conſcience refuſes that unprofitable Apparell, does neither
“ damne nor moleſt zou that uſe ſick vaine Trifles: If ze ſall doe the lyke to
“ them, we doubt not but therin ze ſall pleaſe God, and confort the Hearts of
“ many quhilk are woundit with the Extremitie that is uſeit againſt theſe godlie
“ and our belovit Brethren. Colour of Rhetorick, or manlie Perſuaſioun, will
“ we uſe none; but charitablie we deſyre zou to call that Sentence of *Peeter*
“ to mynd, *Feede the Flocke of God quhilk is committit to zour Charge,*
“ *careing for it; not be Conſtraint, bot willinglie; not as thogh ze were*
“ *Lords over Gods Heritage, bot that ze may be Enſamples to the Flocke.*
“ And farther alſo, we deſyre zou to meditate on that Sentence of the Apoſtle,
“ ſaying, *Give none Offence neither to the Jewes, nor to the Greceans, nor*
“ *to the Kirk of God.* In what Conditioun of tyme ze and we both travell in
“ the promoting of *Chryſts* Kingdome, we ſuppoſe zou not to be ignorant;
“ and therfor we are more bold to exhort zou to walk more circumſpectlie,
“ then that for ſick Vanities the Godlie ſould be troublit: *For all Things that*
“ *may ſeime lawfull, edifie not.* Iff the Commandement of the Authoritie
“ urge the Conſcience of zou and of our Brethren farther then they can beare,
“ we unfainedly crave of zou, that ze remember that ze are callit *the Lycht*
“ *of the World, and the Salt of the Earth:* All civill Authoritie hes not the
“ Lycht of God alwayes ſchyning befor the Eyes in their Statutes and Commandements,
“ bot their Affectiouns ſavour over meikle of the Earth and of

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(*a*) Becauſe there is ſome Variation in Abp. *Spottiſwood*'s Introduction of this Letter betwixt the Print and the MS. I give the ſame here according to the MS. “ This Aſſembly, upon Information given them of the too rigorous handling of certain Preachers in *England* for the Refuſe of the Corner cap and Surplice, ſent a Letter to the Biſhops of that Church, entreating that a more favourable Courſe might be taken with them in theſe Particulars; which Letter I thought meet here to inſert, that the preſent Age might know in what Account that Church was with our firſt Reformers, and how far off they were from eſteeming the Biſhops of *England* and their Government antichriſtian, which ſome that afterwards aroſe, and would ſeem to have ſeen farther than others, did perſwade their Followers.”

1566. " worldlie Wiſdome, and therfor we think ze ſould boldlie oppone zour ſelves
" to all that Power that will or darre extoll itſelf, not onlie againis God, bot
" alſo againis all ſick as darre burdein the Conſciences of the Faithfull, farther
" then God hes burdenit them be his awin Word. Bot heirin we may confeſſe
" our Offence, in that we have entrit farther in reaſoning then we purpoſed
" and promiſed at the Beginning, and therfor we ſchortlie returne to our former
" humble Supplicatioun, quhilk is, That our Brethren who among zou refuſe
" the *Romiſh* Ragges, may find of zou, the Prelates, ſick Favour as our
" Heid and Maiſter commands every ane of his Members to ſchew to another;
" quhilk we looke to receive of zour Gentleneſs, not only for that ze feare to
" offend Gods Majeſtie, in troubling of zour Brethren for ſick vaine Trifles,
" bot alſo becaus ze will not refuſe the humble Requeiſt of us zour Brethren
" and Fellow Preachers, in whom albeit there appeir not great worldlie Pompe,
" zet we ſuppoſe that ze will not ſo farre deſpyſe us, bot that ze will eſteime
" us to be of the Number of them that fights againis that *Roman* Antichryſt,
" and travell that the Kingdome of *Jeſus Chryſt* may be univerſallie advanceit.
" The Dayes are ill, Iniquitie abounds, Chriſtian Charitie alas is waxen cold;
" and therfor we ought the more diligentlie to watche, for the Houre is uncertaine
" when the *Lord Jeſus* ſall appeir, befor whom ze, zour Brethren, and
" we, muſt give Account of our Adminiſtratioun. And this in Concluſioun,
" We anes agane crave Favours to our Brethren; quhilk grantit, ze in the Lord
" ſall command us Things of double more Importance. The *Lord Jeſus*
" rule zour Hearts in true Feare to the End, and give unto zou and us Victorie
" over that conjured Enemie of all true Religioun, to witt, over that *Roman*
" Antichryſt, whoſe woundit Heid *Sathan* preaſes by all meanes to cure
" againe; bot to Deſtructioun ſall he and his Maintainers goe, by the Power
" of the *Lord Jeſus*, to whoſe mightie Protectioun we heartlie committ zou.
" From *Edinburgh*, out of our Generall Aſſemblie, and thrid Seſſioun therof,
" the 27 of *December* 1566.

Zour loving Brethren and Fellow Preachers in Chryſt Jeſus.

Calderwood ſubjoins the Subſcriptions thus, " *John Craig*, *James Melvill*,
" *Robert Pont*, *Will. Chriſteſon*, *Nicol Spittle*, *John Row*, *David Lindſay*,
" *Johne Areskine*, *John Winrhame*, *John Spotſwood*.

Regiſter.] " Ordaines ane humble Supplicatioun to be made to the Lords of
" ſecreit Counſell, anent the Commiſſioun of Juriſdictioun ſupponit grantit to
" the Biſchop of *Sanct Androes* (a), to the Effect that their Honours ſtay the
" ſame,

(a) Concerning this Matter, Abp. *Spottiſwood* ſays, " Yet were they [the Aſſembly] moſt grieved with a Commiſſion granted " to the Abp. of St. *Andrew*'s, whereby he was reponed to his ancient Juriſdiction, in confirming Teſtaments, giving Collation " of Benefices, and other ſuch Things as were judged in the Spiritual Courts." And after this Prelate has given an Abridgment of the Supplication preſented to the Lords by the Aſſembly, he ſubjoins, " I find not what Anſwer it received, nor that the Biſhop " made any uſe of his Commiſſion." But, with Submiſſion, I can't but obſerve that the Biſhop has undoubtedly exerced that Commiſſion, as namely in trying and giving Sentence in the Divorce of the Earl of *Bothwell* in the Month of *May* following. This Buſineſs of the Queen's Commiſſion, Mr. *Knox* touches after this manner, " At the ſame Tyme [the Time of the Aſſembly] " the Biſchop of Sanct *Androis*, by means of the Erle of *Bothwell* [if this Nobleman had then, as 'tis likely he might have had, any View of ſuiting his Divorce before the Archbiſhop, it was certainly a moſt helliſh Contrivance] procured a Wryting from the " Quenis Majeſty, to be obeyed within the Dioceſſe of his Juriſdictioun, in all ſuch Cauſes as befoir in Tyme of Popery wer uſed " in the Conſiſtory; and tharefoir to diſcharge the new Commiſſioners: And for the ſame Purpoſe came to *Edinburgh* in *January*, " having a Cumpany of one hundred Horſes or more, intending to tak Poſſeſſioun, according to his Gift lately obtained. " The Proveſt being advertiſed thareof, by the Erle of *Murray*, they ſent to the Biſchop thrie or four of the Counſaill, deſiring " him to deſiſt from the ſaid Matter, for fear of Trouble and Seditioun that micht riſe thareupoun; quherby he was perſwaded " to deſiſt at that Tyme." However this was not all that Mr. *Knox* wrote concerning this Matter; for Mr. *Calderwood* ſets down the Copy of a circular Letter written by him on occaſion of this Commiſſion, whereof the Tenor here follows, *viz. The Lord cometh, and ſhall not tarrie, bleſſed ſhall he be whom he findeth fighting againſt Impietie:* " To deplore the Miſeries of theſe our " moſt wicked Dayes, beloved Brethren, can neither greatly profite us, neither yet relieve us of our preſent Calamities; and yet " utterly to keep Silence, cannot lack the Suſpicion of Apoſtacie, and plain Defection from God, and from his Truth once by us " publictly profeſſed: For now are Matters, that in Years bypaſt have been denied, ſo far diſcovered, that he who ſeeth not the " plain Subverſion of all true Religion within this Realm to be concluded and decreed in the Hearts of ſome, muſt either confeſs " himſelf blind, or elſe Enemie to the Religion which we profeſs. For beſides the open erecting of Idolatrie in divers Parts of " the Realm, and beſides the extream Povertie wherein our Miniſters are brought, be reaſon that idle Bellies are fed upon that " which juſtly appertaineth to ſuch as truely preach *Chriſt Jeſus*, and rightly and by Order miniſter his bleſſed Sacraments; that " cruell Murderer of our Brethren, falſly called the Biſhop of *Sanct Andrews*, moſt unjuſtly, and againſt all Law, hath preſumed " to his former Tyrannie, as a Signatur paſt for his Reſtitution to his ancient Juriſdiction (as it is termed) more fully doeth " proport. What End may be looked for of ſuch Beginnings, the half-blind may ſee, as we ſuppoſe: And yet we have heard, " that a certain Sum of Money and Victuals ſhould be aſſigned be the Queen's Majeſtie for Suſtentation of the Miniſtry; but how

" that

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“ ſame, in reſpect that theſe Cauſes for the maiſt pairt judgeit be his uſurpeit Authoritie, pertaines to the true Kirk: And howbeit that for the Hope of good Things, the Kirk overſaw the Quenis Majeſties Commiſſioun given therintill to ſick Men who for the maiſt pairt was our Brethren; zet can the Kirk no wayes be content that the Biſchop of *Sanct Androes*, ane commoun Enemy to *Chryſt*, uſe that Juriſdictioun; and als, in reſpect of that colourit Commiſſioun, he might uſurpe agane his auld uſurpit Authoritie, and the ſame myght be the Meane to oppreſs the haill Kirk be his corrupt Judgement.

The Tenour of the ſaid Supplicatioun followes.

Supplication from the General Aſſembly againſt renewing of juriſdiction to the Abp. of St. *Andrew's*.

“ The Generall Aſſemblie of the Kirk of *Scotland*, convenit at *Edinburgh* the 25 of *December* 1566; To the Nobilitie of this Realme that profeſſes the *Lord Jeſus* with them, and hes renouncit that *Roman* Antichryſt, deſyre Conſtancie in Faith, and the Spirit of righteous Judgement. Seing that *Sathan*, be all our Negligence, Right Honourable, hes ſo farre prevailit within this Realme within theſe late Dayes, that we doe ſtand in extream Danger, not only to loſe our temporall Poſſeſſiouns, but alſo to be depryvit of the glorious Evangell of *Jeſus Chryſt*, and ſo we and our Poſteritie to be left in damnable Darkneſs: We could no longer containe our ſelves, nor keip Silence, leaſt in ſo doing we might be accuſeit as guiltie of the Blood of ſick as ſall periſch for lake of Admoniſchment, as the Prophet threatens. We therfor in the Feare of our God, and with Grief and Anguiſch of Heart, complaines unto zour Honours; zea, we muſt complaine unto God, and all His obedient Creatures, that that conjured Enemye of *Jeſus Chryſt*, and cruell Murtherer of our Brethren, maiſt falſlie ſtylit Archbiſchop of *Sanct Androes, &c.* is reponit and reſtorit, be Signatur paſt, to his former Tyrannie; for not only are his ancient Juriſdictiouns (as they are termit) of the haill Biſchoprick of *Sanct Androes* grantit unto him, but alſo the Executioun of Judgement, Confirmatioun of Teſtamentis, and Donatioun of his Benefices, as more amplie in his Signatur is expreſt. Iff this be not to cure the Heid of that venemous Beaſt, quhilk once within this Realme, be the potent Hand of God, was ſo baniſched and brockin downe, and be curing it, would not hurt the Faithfull, judge ze. His ancient Juriſdictioun was, that he, with certaine his Collegues Collateralls, might have dampnit of He-

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“ that any ſuch Aſſignation, or any Promiſe made therof, can ſtand in any ſtable Aſſurance, when that *Roman* Antichriſt, be juſt Laws once baniſhed from this Realm, ſhall be intruſted above us, we can nowayes underſtand, yea farder we cannot ſee, what Aſſurance can anie within this Realm, that hath profeſſed the *Lord Jeſus*, have of Life or Inheritance, if the Head of that odious Beaſt be cured among us; and therfor we again moſt effectually deſire your good Advice and Judgment in this Caſe of greateſt Importance that yet hath chanced unto us, ſince it hath pleaſed God to reveal his Son *Jeſus Chriſt* among us: And therfor we yet again in the Bowels of *Chriſt Jeſus* crave of you to look unto this Matter, and to advertiſe us again with reaſonable Expedition, of your Judgments, that in the Fear of God, and with Unity of Minds, we may proceed to crave Juſtice, and to oppone our ſelves to ſuch Tyrannie as moſt unjuſtly is intended againſt us: For if we think not that this laſt erecting of that wicked Man, is the very ſetting up again of that *Roman* Antichriſt within this Realm, we are deprived of all right Judgment; and what is that elſe but to ſeparate us and our Poſterity from God, yea and to cut our ſelves off from the Freedom of this Realm. We deſire therfor that the wiſeſt among you conſider the Weight of this Cauſe, which long hath been neglected, partly by our Strength, and partly by our believing of fair Promiſes, by which to this Hour we have been deceived; and therfor we ought to be the more vigilant and circumſpect, eſpecially ſeing a Parliament is proclaimed. We have ſent to you the Form of a Supplication and Articles, which we would have preſented to the Queen's Majeſtie; if it pleaſe you, we would ye ſhould approve it by your Subſcriptions; or if ye would alter it, we deſire you ſo to do, and we ſhall allow whatſoever ye ſhall propone, not repugnant to God. If it ſhall be thought expedient that Commiſſioners of Countreys ſhall conveen to reaſon upon the moſt weighty Matters that now occurre, the Time and Place appointed by you, and due Advertiſement given unto us, by God's Grace there ſhall no Fault be found in us: But as from the Beginning we have neither ſpared Subſtance nor Life, ſo mind we not to faint unto the End, to maintain the ſame ſo long as we can find the Concurrence of Brethren, of whom (as God forbid) if we be deſtitute, yet are we determined never to be ſubject to that *Roman* Antichriſt, neither yet to his uſurped Tyrannie; but that when we can do no further to ſuppreſs that odious Beaſt, we mind to ſeal it with our Blood to our Poſterity, that the bright Knowledge of *Jeſus Chriſt* hath baniſhed that Man of Sin and his venemous Doctrine from our Hearts and Conſciences. Let this our Letter and Requeſt bear Witneſs, before God, before his Church, before the World, and before your own Conſciences, That we require you that have profeſſed the *Lord Jeſus* within this Realm, alſweil Nobilitie as Gentlemen, Burgeſſes and Commons, to deliberat upon the Eſtate of Things preſent, and eſpecially whether this uſurped Tyrannie of that *Roman* Antichriſt ſhall be any longer ſuffered within this Realm, ſeing that be juſt Law it is already aboliſhed? *2dly*, Whether that we ſhall be bound to feed idle Bellies upon the Patrimonie of the Kirk, which juſtly appertaineth to God's Miniſters? *3dly*, Whether that Idolatrie and other Abominations, that now are more than evident, ſhall be any longer maintained and defended? Anſwer us as ye will anſwer unto God, in whoſe Fear we ſend theſe our Letters unto you, leſt that our Silence ſhould be counted for Conſent unto ſuch Impietie. God take from our Hearts the blind Love of our ſelves, and all ungodly Fear, *Amen*. Let us know your Minds with Expedition.”

1566. reſie as it pleaſit him, and then to take all that were ſuſpect of Hereſie. What they have judged to be Hereſie heirtofoir, ze cannot be ignorant; and whether they remaine in their former Malice or not, their Plots and Travells opinly declares. The Danger may be fearit, ſay ze, but what Remedie? It is eaſie and at hand, Right Honourable, if ze will not betray the Cauſe of God, and leave zour Brethren, quhilks never wilbe more ſubject unto that uſurpit Tyrannie, then they will unto the Devill himſelf. Our Quene belyke is not weel informit; ſcho aucht not, nor may not juſtlie breake the Lawes, and ſo conſequentlie ſcho may not ſett up againſt us, nor without our Conſent, that *Roman* Antichryſt againe; for in ane lawfull and moſt frie Parliament that ever was in this Realme befor, was that odious Beaſt depryvit of all Juriſdictioun, Office and Auctoritie within this Realme: Her Majeſtie, at her firſt Arrivall, and be diverſe her Proclamatiouns ſenſyne, hes expreſlie forbiddin all uther Forme and Face of Religioun but that quhilk ſcho fand publicklie eſtabliſched at her Arrivall; therfor ſcho may not bring us, the greateſt part of the Subjects of this Realme, back againe to Bondage, till that als lawfull and als frie ane Parliament as juſtlie damned that *Antichryſt* and his uſurped Tyrannie, have given Deciſion betwixt us and him heirof, and of uther Things that no leſſe concernes zourſelves than us, ze plainly and boldly admoniſch our Sovereign, and without Tumult only crave Juſtice. The Tyrrants darre no more be ſein in lawfull Judgement, nor darre the Howlets in the Day-light. Weigh this Matter as it is, and ze ſall find it more weighty then to many it apperis. Farther at this preſent we complaine not, bot humblie craves of zour Honours ane reaſonable Anſwer what ze will doe, in caſe that ſick Tyrrants and invadeing Wolves begin to devore the Flocke of *Jeſus Chryſt* within this Realme, under what Title that ever it be; for this we boldly profeſſe, that we will never acknowledge them neither Paſtours to our Soules, nor zet Judges to our Cauſe; and if that for Denyal therof, we either ſuffer in Bodie or Goods, we doubt not but we have not only a Judge to puniſch them that unjuſtlie trouble us, but alſo an Advocat and ſtrong Champion in Heaven to recompence them who for his Names ſake ſuffer Perſecutioun; whoſe Holie Spirit rule zour Hearts in his true Feare to the End. Zour Lordſchips Anſwer zet againe we crave. Given in the Generall Aſſemblie, and thrid Seſſioun therof, at *Edinburgh* the 27 of *December* 1566.

Calderwood.] “ The Aſſemblie appointed the Biſhops of *Galloway* and *Orkney*, the Juſtice-Clerk, *David Forreſt*, Mr. *John Row*, *David Lindſay*, *Robert Pont*, *William Chriſteſon*, to reconſider and reviſe the Anſwer made be Mr. *William Ramſay* one of the Maſters of *Sanct Salvators* Colledge, to *Henrie Bullingers* Book anent Abulziements *(a)* of Preachers in *England*.

“ The Aſſemblie being adviſed with the Interpretation of the Confeſſion of the Kirk of *Zurich* be Mr. *Robert Pont*, ordained the ſame to be printed, togither with ane Epiſtle ſent be the Aſſemblie of the Kirk of *Scotland*, approving the ſame, providing a Note be put in the Margin, where Mention is made of the Remembrance of ſome holy Days. This Confeſſion was penned be the Paſtors of *Zurich*, and is otherwiſe called the *latter Confeſſion of Helvetia:* It was allowed and ſubſcribed, not only be the *Tigurins* themſelves and their Confederates of *Berne*, be *Schaphauſen*, *Sangallia*, *Rhetia*, *Millan* and *Viemid*, but alſo *Geneva*, *Savoy*, *Polonia* and *Hungaria*. In this Confeſſion, Superioritie of Miniſters is called ane *humane Appointment*; Confirmation is judged to be a *Device of Men*, which the Kirk may want without Damnage; Baptiſm by Women or Midewives condemned. *Item*, prolix and tedious publict Prayers, hindering the preaching of the Word; canonical Hours, that is, Prayers to be chanted and often repeated,

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(*a*) The Readers may ſee in Bp. *Burnet*'s 3d Vol. of the Reformation, this *Helvetian* Divine's diſcreet and prudent Letters to the *Puritans* of *England*, concerning the Veſtments appointed by Law to be uſed by the Clergy of that Nation. See alſo *Collier*'s Church Hiſtory, and *Strype*'s Annals, to the ſame purpoſe.

peated at ſett Times, as the Popiſh manner is, heaping up of Ceremonies in the Kirk, to the Prejudice of Chriſtian Libertie, Obſervation of Saints Days: But this Aſſemblie would not allow the Days dedicated to *Chriſt*, the Circumciſion, Nativitie, Paſſion, Reſurrection, Aſcenſion and *Pentecoſt* Days, but took Exception againſt that Part of the Confeſſion. [Our Kirk was ſo far from obſerving holy Days dedicated to *Chriſt*, that they held their Aſſemblies oftentimes upon the 25 Day of *December*.]

Queſtions and their Anſwers.

Regiſter.] " Ane certaine maried Man paſt to the Wares of *Denmark* about foure Zeiris ſyne, his Wyfe has joynit herſelf within this twa Zeir to ane uther Man in Whoredome; Now they deſyre to be maried, becaus they have the Atteſtatioun of twa unſuſpectit Witneſſis, wha ſpake with Captane *Clark*, that her Husband was ſlaine in the Caſtle of *Barronburgh* in *Denmark*, upon *Paſch-day* bygane ane Zeir: *Quæritur*, whether if the Parties may be joynit in lawfull Mariage, or not? Ordaines the Names of the Man and Woman to be given up to the Seſſioun of the Kirk where they dwell, to be accuſit criminallie for their Offences given in tyme of her Husbands Lyfe, or before the Knowledge of his Death ſcho joynit her Bodie to the uther Man, that they both may be puniſchit accordinglie.

" Ane Man forwarnit that he might not marie his Father Brothers Daughter, paſt, in Contempt of the Kirk, and was maried in the Chappel Royall [*Cald.* the 16 of] *December* 1566: *Quæritur*, what Ordour ſalbe tane therwith? Ordaines to delate the Proces to the Juſtice-Clerk and Kirk, and declare their Names, to the effect they may be puniſchit.

" And farther, Becaus diverſe Perſons, alſweill Women as Men, who are ſeperate for Adultery, the Partie offendand joynes themſelves in Mariage againe, contrair the Law of God, wherthrow great Slanders and Inconvenients followes; Ordaines the Superintendents to admoniſch all Miniſters within their Juriſdictionis, that none joyne any Party ſeparatit for Adulterie in Mariage, under Pane of removeing from the Miniſtrie.

Calderwood.] " It was asked, what Order ſhould be taken with ſuch as have communicated at the Lord's Table, and afterwards became Witneſſes at the Baptiſm of Children baptized by a papiſtical Prieſt in a private Place? It was anſwered, after Admonition let the Cenſures of the Kirk be uſed (*a*).

Regiſter.] " Seſſion fourth, 28 *December*. Anent Biſchops, Abbots, Pryors, and uthers Perſons beneficed being of the Kirk, who receives Teynds, and awaites not upon the feiding of the Flocke committit to their Cure, nether preſents themſelves to the Generall Aſſemblie; Ordaines all Superintendents to ſummond and warne all Biſchops, Abbots, &c. that receives Teynds within their Juriſdictions; and wher no Superintendents are, that the Superintendent neireſt ſend his Lettres to the Miniſters nixt adjacent therto, to ſummond the foirſaids Perſons, to compeir at the nixt Generall Aſſemblie, to give their Aſſiſtance and Counſell to the ſaid Aſſemblie in ſick Things as appertaines to Chriſtian Religion and preaching of the true Word, and farther to know the Ordinances of the Kirk to be made theranent, &c.

Calderwood.] " The Superintendent of *Angus* deſired to be exonered of his burdenſome Calling, in reſpect of the Weakneſs and Debilitie of his Bodie, wherby he was unable to execute that Charge as was required; but the Aſſemblie wold not altogether exoner him, but permitted him to appoint ſome of the beſt qualified within his Bounds, to viſit when he found himſelf unable."

Mr. *Knox* informs us, that " in the ſame Aſſembly there was preſented a Remonſtrance by Writ by ſum Gentillmen of *Kyle*, conteining in effect, That

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(*a*) 'Tis viſible this Queſtion has been put, upon account of the Counteſs of *Argile*'s being preſent at the Baptiſm of the Prince, ſome ten Days before.

1566-7.

“ in aſmuch as the Tythes ought to be given only to the Miniſters and Schooles of the Word, and for Manteinance of the Poor, that therefore the Aſſembly would ſtatute and ordain, That all the Profeſſors of the Evangell ſould keip the ſame in thair own Hands, to the Effects aforeſaid, and no way permit the Papiſts to meddle tharewith. This Writing tuke no Effect at that Time, for thare was none elſe bot the Gentillmen of *Kyle* of that Opinioun. It was ſtatuted in the ſaid Aſſembly, That ſuch publike Fornicators, and ſcandalous Livers as would not confeſſe thair Offences, nor come to declare thair Repentance, ſould be declared by the Miniſter to be out of the Church, and not of the Body thareof, and thair Names to be declared publikely upoun the *Sunday*.” And this Author adds, “ Efter this Aſſembly, the Biſchop of *Galloway* (with the Superintendent of *Lowthian* and Mr. *Johne Row*) paſſing to *Stirling*, obtained thair Demands in an ample maner at the Quenes Majeſties Hand, according to thair Deſire; and likewiſe they obtained for every Borough, a Gift or Donatioun of the Altarages, Annuals, and Obites, which before were given to the Papiſts, now to be diſpoſed for the Maintenance of the Miniſters and Schooles within the Boroughs, and the reſt to the Poor or Hoſpitall.”

I here preſent the Readers with an authentick Copy of this Eccleſiaſtical Proviſion.

Striviling 10. *Januarij*, 1566-7.

SEDERUNT

Georgius *Comes de* Huntlie, Archibaldus *Comes de* Ergyle, Jacobus *Comes de* Murray, Georgius *Comes de* Caithnes, Joannes *Comes de* Sutherland, Joannes *Epiſcopus* Roſſen. Alexander *Epiſcopus* Candidæ Caſæ; *Secretarius*, *Clericus Regiſtri*, *Advocatus*, *Camerarius* Roſſen.

Proviſioun for Suſtentatioun of the Miniſteris in Burrowis.

Act for the Support of the new Miniſters in Cities and Towns.

The quhilk Day, the Quenis Majeſtie and Lordis of ſecret Counſall, being weill myndit that the Miniſteris within this haill Realme be intertenit, alſweill to Burgh and Land, as hir Majeſtie fand the ſamyn at hir Arryvall in Scotland: And becaus the haill Lordis of ſecret Counſall may nocht weill vaik at all tymes for the ordouring thairof, being occupyit with uther weichty Matteris; Thairfoir hir Hienes, with Avyis of hir Counſall foirſaid, hes conſtitute and namit hir Lovites under-wryttin, my Lord Huntly Chancellar, Ergyle, Murray, Bothwell, Atholl, Caſſills, Crawfurd and Marr; my Lordis Biſchopis of Galloway, Rois and Orknay; my Lord Secretare, Mr. John Spens of Condy Advocat, Sir John Bellenden Juſtice-Clerk, Sir James Balfour Clerk of Regiſter, and David Fores Generall of the Cunzie-hous, To quhom, be thir Preſentis, the Quenis Grace and hir Counſall foirſaid, gevis thair full Power and Commiſſioun, or to ony fyve or ſex of thame, to call befoir thame the haill Burghis of this Realme, generallie or particularlie, as thai, or ony fyve or ſex of thame ſall think expedient; and to conſider the Habilities of the ſaids Burghis particularlie, and according thairto, to appoint, imputt particular Taxatioun or Impoſitioun upoun everie Burgh yeirlie, to be gadderit and upliftit for Suſtentatioun of the ſaid Miniſterie, be thameſelfis, thair Collectouris or Chalmerlanis, as the ſaids Commiſſionaris, or ony fyve or ſex of thame ſall think expedient, as thai will anſwer to God and the Quenis Majeſtie thairupoun; and that quhatſumevir the ſaids Commiſſionaris, or ony fyve or ſex of thame ſall do in the Premiſſis, the ſamyn ſall haif the lyke Force and Effect, as gif the ſamyn were done in plane Counſall; and Letteris to be direct thairupoun as effeiris, as the ſaid Miniſterie and thair Collectouris will requeir. And alſwa, for Relief of the ſaids Burghis, the Quenis Grace, with Avyis of hir Counſall foirſaids, be thir Preſentis, gevis and grantis to the ſaids Burghis, and everie ane of thame, the Annuelis of Alteragis, Chaplanries, and Obitis within the ſamyn, quhairevir the ſamyn ſall happin to vaik be the Deceis of the Poſſeſſouris thairof, or utherwayis hes happenit to vaik ſen the Quenis Grace Arryvall in Scotland, quhilk as yit remains ungevin or diſtributit to ony Perſoun, and that to relief the Taxatioun and Contributioun foirſaid; and the Superplus of the ſaids Annuelis and Obitis, gif ony beis, to be diſtributit to the Poor and Hoſpitallis of everie Burgh within thameſelfis, be Avyis of the Miniſter and Eldaris thairof, as thai will anſwer to the maiſt Hieſt thairupoun; and Letteris to be directit to the Lordis of ſecret Counſall and Seſſioun, as thai ſalbe requirit, for Publicatioun of thir Premiſſis. R. M.

CHAP. VI.

Containing Church-Affairs from the Queen's Marriage with the Earl of Bothwell *in the Month of* May 1567, *until her Removal into* England, *after the Battle of* Lang-ſide, *in the Month of* May 1568.

THE Queen having formed the unlucky Reſolution of marrying with the Earl of *Bothwell*, there aroſe no ſmall Noiſe about the Proclamation of the Banns. To give an Account of the ſeveral Steps of the Demurs which therein intervened, would properly indeed fall in juſt now; but ſeeing the Regiſter of the next General Aſſembly will preſent that whole Matter into open View, I ſhall forbear to take any farther Notice of it here. Mr. *Knox* obſerves the emitting of a Proclamation ſome time after the Queen's Marriage, in favour of the Proteſtants; but the preciſe Tenor of the Proclamation will, I reckon, be more ſatisfactory to the beſt part of my Readers. It is this;

Edinburgh 23. *Maij*, 1567.

SEDERUNT

Jacobus *Dux* Orchaden. Georgius *Comes de* Huntlie, David *Comes de* Crawfurd, Joannes *Epiſcopus* Roſſen. Alexander *Epiſcopus* Candidæ Caſæ; *Secretarius*, *Theſaurarius*, *Clericus Regiſtri*, *Clericus Juſticiariæ*, *Camerarius* Roſſen.

The Quenis Majeſties Revocatioun of certane Letteris.

Act recalling any Grants derogating from the new Form;

THe Quenis Majeſtie calling to mynd the Stait of hir Hienes Realme at hir Arryvall thairin, and the gude Succes of hir Government continuit unto this preſent Tyme, hes found be certane Experience that nathing hes ſa effectuallie nuriſſit and intertenit the publict Quietnes amangis hir Hienes Subjectis, nor contenit thame in hir dew Obedience, as the Act, Ordinance and Proclamatioun maid be hir Majeſtie at hir ſaid Arryvall upoun the XXV. Day of Auguſti, the Yeir of God 1561 Years; be the quhilk all Men wer commandit to contene thameſelfis in Quietnes, keip Peace and civill

1567. civill Societie amangis thame; and that nane privatlie or opinlie ſould mak Alteratioun or Innovatioun of the Stait of Religioun, or attempt ony thing aganis the Forme quhilk hir Hienes fand publictlie and univerſallie ſtanding at hir Majeſties Arryvall in this Realme, under the Pane of Deid, as the ſaid Act at mair lenth proportis: Bot as malicious Men, and unquiet Spiritis, can never abyde to ſie lang Peace endure in ony Realme or Comoun-wealth, ſa hes the above nameit gude Ordinance not onelie bein oftymes callit in doubt, and prevelie impugnat, as that hir Hienes means nathing leſs than the Obſervatioun thairof; but als the publict Quietnes hes bein brokin, and divers Troublis hes intervenit; out of quhilk, as Almichty God hes deliverit and preſervit hir Majeſtie from tyme to tyme, even ſa hes He manifeſted hir Hienes Meaning and Intentioun to hir loving Subjectis, and the Sawours of ſic ſeditious Rumouris to appeir, as thai wer indeid, Calumniatoris and untrew Spekaris. However ſic Occaſionis hes movit, and in a maner conſtrenit hir Majeſtie to renew the ſaid Ordinance and Proclamatioun, for Satisfactioun of the troubled Myndis of thame quhilks conſavit Doubt of the ſaids Rumouris, none are ignorant, and ſuperflewous it were to mak ony new Repetitioun of the ſamyn: And how lykwyis, in hir Hienes laſt Parliament, all penall Lawis and Statutis repugnant and prejudiciall to the ſaid Forme of Religioun, and Profeſſouris thairof, are aboliſchit for thair Surtie, all Men knawis; and ſwa at this preſent can juſtlie pretend na Caus of miſlyking nor Diſcontentatioun: Zit heiring ſum Eleſt to be tane, and conſavit be the People in ſum Partis of this Realme, through certane previe Wrytingis purcheſt of hir Majeſtie, permittand ſum Perſonis to uſe the Forme of thair Religioun, without Contraventioun of the ſaid publict Act and Ordinance, and that thairthrow the ſaid Act ſould be infirmit and callit in Queſtioun or Doubt, quhilk is nocht of Veritie; Hir Majeſtie, with Avyis of hir deireſt Husband James Duke of Orknay, Erle of Bothwell, Lord Hailis, Creichtoun and Liddiſdaill, Greit Admirall of this Realme, &c. and Lordis of ſecreit Counſall, hes thought expedient and requiſit to gif Declaratioun of hir Mynd; And thairfoir makes manifeſt and declairs, That in granting and ſubſcryving of ony ſic previe Wrytingis, hir Majeſtie nevir meant or means the Violatioun, Prejudice or Derogatioun of the ſaid publict Act, Ordinance and Proclamatioun; and in ſa far as thai, or ony the lyke to be impetrat heirafter, may appeir repugnant or prejudiciall to the ſame, hir Majeſtie, with Avyis and Conſent foirſaid, revokes, annullis and diſcharges thame, decerning thame to be eſtemit but as previat, and have na Fayth in Jugement or outwith, quhairevir thai be producit; and the firſt Act, Ordinance and Proclamatioun maid at hir Hienes Arryvall in this Realme, and all utheris maid and paſt conforme thairto, to have full Strenth, Force and Effect in tyme tocum, bot Alteratioun or Contradictioun quhatſumevir: And that Letteris be direct for Publicatioun heirof in dew Forme as effeiris.
R. M.

Fourteenth General Aſſembly.

Fourteenth General Aſſembly.

Regiſter.] “ The Generall Aſſemblie of the Kirk convenit at *Edinburgh* in the Nether Tolbuith thereof, the 25 Day of *Junij* 1567: In the quhilk were preſent the Erles, Lords, Barons, Superintendents, Miniſters and Commiſſioners of Townes. The Invocatioun of the Name of GOD was made be Mr. *Johne Craig* Miniſter of *Edinburgh.*

“ Seſſion firſt, 25 *Junij.* For eſchewing of Confuſioun in reaſoning, the whole Aſſemblie preſent convenit, nameit Mr. *George Buchanan* Principall

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“ of *Sanct Leonard's* Colledge Moderator during the Conventioun, who accepted the Charge *hac vice.*

“ The Kirk appointit the Lairds of *Dun* and *Bargany* to paſs to the Lords of ſecreit Counſell, and to requeiſt their Lordſchips to conveine and concurre with the Kirk preſentlie aſſemblit, for heiring of ſick Articles as ſalbe thoght good, for the eſtabliſching of Gods Word, the true Religioun, and ſupporting all the Miniſtrie within this Realme.

Calderwood] “ Some were appointed to decide Queſtions which were to be proponed, and to reviſe the Order of Excommunication, penned be Mr. *Knox*; and to report their Judgment to the Aſſemblie.

Regiſter.] “ Seſſion ſecond, 26 *Junij.* Foraſmeikle as it is thoght good be all the Brethren preſentlie conveinit, that ane Aſſemblie Generall be appointit to conveine againe the 20 Day of *Julij* nixt to come, in this Towne of *Edinburgh*, for the ſetting fordward ſick Things as ſalbe at that Tyme proponit: And for that Purpoſe ordaines to wryte Miſſives to all and ſundrie Erles, Lords, Barrons, and uthers Brethren, requyreing them to conveine the ſaid 20 Day of *Julij*; and to that Effect appointit alſo Commiſſioners to preſent the ſaid Miſſives, and requyre according to their Commiſſions. [The Names of the Lords, Earles, Barrons, to whom the ſaids Miſſives were to be ſent, follow: Earles, *Huntley, Argile, Caſſiles, Rotheſſe, Crawfurd, Marſhell, Menteith, Glencairn.* Lords, *Boyd, Drummond, Sanquhar, Hereis, Cathcart, Teſter.* Maſters of *Grahame, Flemming, Livinſtone, Forbes, Salton, Glames, Ogilvie,* Maſter of *Sinclair, Gray, Oliphant, Methven, Ennermeth,* Maſter of *Somervaill.* Barrons of *Lochinvar, Garles*; the Sheriff of *Air, Glenurquhart,* Sir *James Hammiltone, Bonitone.* Commendators, *Aberbroth, Killwinning, Dumfermling, Sanct Colmes, Newbotle, Hallirudhouſe.* Calderwood.]

Tenour of the ſaids Lettres Miſſive ſent to the ſaids Erles, Lords, Barrons, Commendators of Abbayes, followeth:

“ My Lord, (or, Worſchipfull Sir,) After our maiſt heartlie Commendatiouns of Service in the *Lord Jeſus*, having now of lang tyme travellit both in publick and privat, with all the Eſtates, continually craveing of zour Honours in ſpeciall, that the Courſe of the Evangell of Salvatioun, now once of the liberall Mercie of God reſtoreit to this Realme, might continue to all zour Conforts and zour Poſteritie; and that for the Maintenance and furthering therof, a perfyte Policie and full Libertie might be granted to this reformed Kirk within *Scotland*, the Miniſtrie, the Pure and Failzeit, provydit for ſufficientlie, as God and all good Policie and civill Lawes ordaines and requyres; and that all Superſtitioun and Idolatrie, and the Monuments therof, might be utterlye removeit and baniſht out of this Realme, quhilk God of his infinit Mercye hes ſo lovingly and willingly callit from Darknes to Light. This Mater indeid was lyked of all Men; but ſick Impediment gave the Enemye of the Kirk in his Members to ſtay the good Work of God, that Moyen could there none be had, bot be the contrair, at every light Occaſioun, the Miniſtrie fruſtrat of all Lyſe and Suſtentatioun, the lame and impotent Members of *Chryſt* lying in the Streit as Dung, periſhing for Hunger and Cold, zea and the whole Flocke of *Jeſus Chryſt* within this Realme continuallie threatnit with the Executioun of that moſt cruell Decreit of the lait Counſell of *Trent*, quherin was determinit and decreit to mak ane Sacrifice of the whole Profeſſours within all *Europe*, by the Tyrrany of that *Romane* Antichryſt. We are not ignorant how farre the ſamein was attemptit be way of Deid within the Realme of *France*, how farre now *Flanders*, and the Parts neir adjacent therto; and alſo quhat practiſeing to that Effect hes been continually thir three Zeirs bypaſt, and evin now of lait Dayes within our awin Bowels, be our common conſpired Enemyes, alſweill within as without this Realme, how they were bent to their Enterpryſe, if God had not

1567. “ of his meere Mercie prevented, bezond all our Knowledge and Expectatioun, their cruell and craftie Practiſes. Upon the quhilk Conſideratioun, the Aſſemblie at this preſent Conventioun of the Kirk, accuſtomit at the Courſe of Tyme occurreand, hes thoght it neidfull to repare the Decay and Ruine of that Work ſo verteouſly begun among us be ane univerſall Concurrence and Conſent of the haill Profeſſours of *Chryſt Jeſus* within this Realme, and be the ſame meanes to meit the forſaid Dangers hingand over our Heids, proceiding from the Craft of our implacabill Enemies, alſweill within as without the ſame; and to that Effect hes ordainit ane Generall Aſſemblie of the haill Profeſſours of all Eſtates and Degries within the Kirks of *Scotland*, to be haldin heir within this Towne of *Edinburgh* upon the 20 of this nixt Moneth of *Julij*, quherby ane perpetuall Ordour may be takin for the Libertie of the Kirk of God, Suſtentatioun of the Miniſters and failzeit Members therof, and that ane ſure Unioun and Conjunctioun may be had amongſt the haill Members for the Libertie of Gods Kirk, quherby we may be able to withſtand the Rage and Violence of our forſaids Enemies: And becaus it hes pleaſed the Goodnes of God ſo to move zour Lordſchip's Heart, that ze are ane notable Inſtrument and Member of his Kirk, as our Hope is; ſo ſall our Prayer be, that ze may continue increaſing from Vertue to Vertue unto Lyfe everlaſting. We thoght it our Duetie, in Name of the haill Brethren heir convenit, to notifie to zour Lordſchip the forſaid Appointment of the ſaid Aſſemblie, and in Name of the Eternall, our God, to recommend to zour Care and Solicitude the building of this ruinous Houſe of God within this Realme; requyreing alſo in his Name, that ze will give zour perſonall Preſence, zour Labours and Concurrences to that Effect, in the forſaid Aſſemblie to be haldin on the ſaid Day, that the haill Body may be conforted be the Preſence and good Advyce of ſo notour ane Member therof. And becaus we doubt nothing but zour Lordſchip ſalbe preſent, ſhewing ſo long Experience of zour good Part in all Tymes paſt, we ceaſe troubleing zou with a longer Lettre, referring the reſt to be declareit be our Brethren the Commiſſioners of the Kirk, quho to this Effect are direct to zour Lordſchip, and uthers our Brethren in theſe Parts; and we for our Part, with earneſt Prayer to God, ſall pray to augment in zou his Love and Feare, and bleſſe zour Lordſchip to the Confort of his Kirk. *Amen.* From *Edinburgh* the 26 of *Junij* 1567.

We zour Lordſchip's to command with Service in Chryſt Jeſus, in Name and at Command of the reſt of our Brethren, Johne Erskine *of* Dun, *Mr.* Johne Spotiſwood, Johne Douglas, Johne Knox, Johne Row, *and* Johne Craig.

“ The Superintendents and Quarters of Countreyis were ordained to direct this Letter to the forſaids Perſons ſeverallie.

Tenour of the Commiſſions gevin to every ane of the forſaids Commiſſioners within every ane of their Bounds reſpective, *followes:*

“ Forſameikle as *Sathan* this long tyme in his Members hes ſo rageit and perturbit the good Succeſſe and Proceiding of *Chryſts* Religioun within this Realme, be craftie Meanes and ſubtile Conſpiracies, that the ſame from tyme to tyme doeth decay, in haſart altogether to be ſubvertit, unleſſe God of his Mercie find haſtie Remeid, and that cheiflie through the extreame Povertie of the Miniſters quho ſould preach the Word of Lyfe to the Peiple, who therthrow are compellit, ſum to leave the Vocatioun alluterlie, and ſum uthers ſo abſtractit be carefull Povertie, that they may not inſiſt ſo diligentlie in the Exerciſe of the Word as they wold doe; and therfor the Kirk preſentlie conveinit at *Edinburgh* in this Generall Aſſemblie, hes thoght it moſt neceſſar be thir Preſents to requeiſt and admoniſch moſt brotherlie all ſick Perſons as truely profeſſes the *Lord Jeſus* within this Realme, of what Eſtate or Degrie that evir they be, alſweill the Nobilitie, Barrones and Gentlemen, as all uthers true Profeſſours, to convein in *Edinburgh* the 20 Day of *Julij* nixt,

“ in

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“in their perſonall Preſence there, to aſſiſt with their Counſell and Power, for Ordour to be tane alſweill toward the eſtabliſching of *Chryſts* Religioun univerſallie throughout this haill Realme, and aboliſching the contrarie, quhilk is Papiſtrie; as the Suſtentatioun of the Miniſters, not only for the preſent Tyme and inſtant Neceſſitie, but alſo for ane perfyte Ordour to be tane and eſtabliſchit in all Tyme comeing toward the haill Libertie of the Patrimonie of the Kirk, and the due reſtoring of the ſame to the juſt Profeſſours therof, according to the Word of God: With Certificatioun to all and ſundrie, of what Eſtate and Degrie ſoevir they be that compeirs not, due Advertiſement being made, that they ſalbe repute heirafter as Hinderers of this godly Purpoſe, and as diſſimulat Brethren, unworthie to be eſteimit heirafter of *Chryſts* Flocke, ſeing God of his Mercie at this preſent hes offerit ſome bettir Occaſioun nor in Tymes bygane, and hes begune to tred downe *Sathan* under foote. And for the dew Requiſitioun and Admonitioun, in Name of the Eternall GOD, to the Effect forſaid, to all and ſundrie the Brethren, alſweill to Brugh as to Land; The Kirk preſentlie conveinit in this Generall Aſſemblie, be thir Preſents, gives their full Power and Commiſſioun to their Lovits *N* and *N*, for the Bounds of *N*. In Verificatioun heirof, thir Preſents are ſubſcryvit be the commoun Clerk of the Kirk in the ſaid Generall Aſſemblie, and ſecond Seſſioun therof, haldin at *Edinburgh* the 26 Day of *Junii* 1567.

Calderwood.] “In the third Seſſion, Mr. *John Row* Miniſter of *Sanct Johnſtone*, was ordained to attend upon the printing of the Commiſſion direct be the Kirk, for preſenting of the forſaid Miſſives, and to bring ſo many as ſhall be neceſſarie to be ſent, to be ſubſcrived be the Clerk of the Aſſemblie, and the Names of the Commiſſioners to be inſert accordingly. And in like manner ordained Mr. *John Wood* to cauſe write ſo many Miſſives as ſhall be needfull, to be ſent to the Earles, Lords, and Barrons, and other Brethren, and to return the ſaid Miſſives to be ſubſcrived and directed.

“Mr. *John Davidſone* and Mr. *David Wemes* Miniſters of *Hammiltoun* and *Glaſgow*, were ordained to paſs to *Lanerk*, and there to conveen the Balzies and Counſellours of the ſaid Town, and to require them to aſſiſt *John Leverance* Miniſter, and to puniſh manifeſt Offences, maintain Chriſtian Religion within that Town, and to ſupport the ſaid Miniſter with Things neceſſary for his Suſtentation; and if they deny to doe the ſaid Premiſſes, then the forſaid Miniſters to give to the ſaid *John Leverance* their Teſtimoniall of ſimple Demiſſion from the ſaid Kirk of *Lanerk*, and Libertie to be placed whereſoever it ſhall pleaſe God to call him.

“Mr. *John Row*, Mr. *John Douglaſs* Rector, Mr. *John Craig*, *William Chriſteſon* Miniſter at *Dundie*, Mr. *Robert Hamiltoun* Miniſter at *Irving*, Mr. *Robert Hamiltoun* Miniſter at *Sanct Andrews*, Mr. *James Melvill* Miniſter at *Tannades*, appointed in the firſt Seſſion to decide Queſtions, report their Deciſions at this Seſſion.” All above wanting in the *Regiſter*.

Regiſter.] *Queſtions and their Anſwers.*

“Ane Man being accuſeit of notorious Fornicatioun, promiſeit faithfullie to the Miniſter for the tyme to abſtaine in all tymes comeing from all Societie of that Woman; and in caice he chanceit to have any Dealeings with her heirafter, he ſould marie her: Therafter he medlit with the ſame Woman. *Quæritur*, Whether this Man may be compellit to keip the forſaid Mariage or not? The Kirk decernes all ſick Promiſes to be of none Effect, and that none be compellit to marie upon ſick Promiſes; and ordaines this Offender to be puniſched for his Offence.

“Whether if it be lawfull to marie her whom he before in his Wyfe's tyme had pollutit with Adulterie, his Wyfe being now dead? The Kirk will not grant that Thing to be lawfull quhilk Gods Law damnes; neither zet admit any ſick Mariages, for Cauſes conteinit in the Law.

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“Ane Man being divorceit for Adulterie; *Quæritur*, Whether he may marie againe lawfullie or not? The Kirk will not reſolve heirin ſchortlie; bot preſentlie inhibites all Miniſters to medle with any ſick Mariages, quhyll full Deciſion of the Queſtion.

“Seſſion fourth, 28 *Junij*. Anent ane Complaint given in be the Brethren of *Machlen*, That wher they had, be the juſt Law of God, pronounceit the Sentence of Excommunicatioun agains *Johne Spotiſwood* of *Foullar*, ſometymes ane Eldar of the ſaid Kirk, for the horrible Cryme of Adulterie committed be him: Nottheles Sir *William Hamiltoun* of *Sanquhar* Knicht, now an Eldar of the ſaid Kirk, planelie mantaineth the ſaid *Johne* in his Houſe, notwithſtanding the ſaid *Johne* is excommunicat, to the greater Slander and Offenſe of God and his Law; and albeit the ſaid *William* hes bein diverſe tymes admoniſched to withdraw his familiar Companie fra the ſaid *Johne*, zet will not abſtract the ſame, to the Offence of many. Requyring the Kirk preſentlie aſſemblit to take Ordour heirin, according to the Wiſdome of the Brethren preſent, that farder Slander ryſe not theirthrow: The Kirk ordaines ane Letter to be ſent to the ſaid Sir *William*, requyring him to remove the ſaid *Johne Spotiſwood* out of his Companie, and the ſame to be ſubſcryvit by the Scribe of the Aſſemblie, the Tenour wherof followeth:

“Right Worſchipfull, &c. Forſameikle as we are informit be the Miniſter and ane Part of the Eldars of the Kirk of *Machlen*, that ane callit *Johne Spotiſwood*, ſometyme ane Eldar of the ſaid Kirk, for the Adulterie committed be him in the tyme he was ane Eldar; and the ſame beand ſufficientlie proven, hes bein and is excommunicat: Nottheles ze now being ane Eldar of the ſaid Kirk, contrair to zour Charge and Vocatioun, maintains and keips in zour Company the ſaid *Johne*, notwithſtanding diverſe Admonitions made to zou to put him therfra, to the great Contempt of Gods Ordinance and Slander of the Kirk of *Jeſus Chryſt*; quhilk we lookit not for at zour Hands, being placeit in ſo honourable ane Rowm within his Kirk. Heirfor this is moſt heartlie to requyre zou, in the Name of the Eternall GOD, and as zou look to reign with his Sonne *Jeſus Chryſt* for evir, to remove from zou all maner of Slander, and be not Partaker of uther Mens Sins, bot remove from zour Societie that wickeit Perſon, who being abhorreit be the Faithfull, may be Gods Grace repent his Impietie, and returne to that Companie of the Faithfull fra the quhilk be his haynous Offence he hes ſo horriblie fallin: In the quhilk doing, ze ſall not only pleaſe God, but alſo have Praiſe of us zour Brethren. Utherwayes we may not with ſafe Conſcience ſuffer ſick mantaining of maniſeſt Wickednes, but muſt oppone ourſelves therunto, and uſe the Cenſures of the Kirk alſweill againſt the Maintainer as the Committer of maniſeſt Crymes. Thus wiſching unto zou the Spirit of righteous Judgement, committs zou to the Protectioun of the Omnipotent. From *Edinburgh*, out of our Generall Aſſemblie, and fourth Seſſion therof, the 28 of *Junij* 1567.

“The haill Kirk thoght good that ane publick Faſt ſould be proclaimed in the Towne of *Edinburgh* only, to begin on *Sonday* the 13 of *Julij* nixt, and on *Sonday* the 20 of the ſame; and ſo was the Aſſemblie diſſolvit, and appointit the 20 Day of *Julij* nixt to come in the Towne of *Edinburgh*.”

The Reaſon why the General Aſſembly ſent circular Letters to the Nobility, and others.

The Occaſion of ſending the circular Letters from this Aſſembly, Mr. *Knox* informeth, was this; “The Nobles, quho had ſo proceeded againſt *Bothwell*, and dealt ſo with the Quene, hearing that the *Hamiltons* had a grit Number of Men, and had drawn the Erles of *Argyle* and *Huntley* to their Side, ſent to *Hamilton*, deſiring thoſe that wer thare to joyn with thame, for the Redreſſe of the Diſorders of Church and State: Bot the *Hamiltons* thinking now they had a fair Occaſioun fallen unto thame to have all agane in their Hands, and to diſpoſe of all according to their own Mind, did refuſe Audience

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" dience to the Meſſage ſent by the Lords (*a*). Upon this, the Lords moved the Generall Aſſembly (*b*) then met in *Edinburgh* in the Moneth of *June*, to write to the Lords that either wer actually declared for the *Hamiltons*, or wer Neuters: And ſo ſeverall Letters wer directed to the Erles of *Argyle*," &c. And then this Writer proceeds to narrate the Meſſage that was ſent to theſe Lords by certain Delegates of the Aſſembly, whoſe Names, he ſays, were, " *Johne Knox*, *Johne Douglas*, *Johne Row*, and *Johne Craig*——Bot neyther the Commiſſionars nor the Letters did prevail with the Lords there," &c.

Fifteenth General Aſſembly.

Fifteenth General Aſſembly.

Regiſter.] " The Generall Aſſemblie of the Kirk of *Scotland* convenit at *Edinburgh* in the Over-Tolbuith of the ſame, the 21 Day of *Julij* 1567: In the quhilk were aſſemblit Erles, Lords, Barrons, whoſe Names are wryten after the Articles be them ſubſcryvit; with the Superintendents, Miniſters and Commiſſioners of Townes. Thanks was given to God be Mr. *Johne Craig* Miniſter of *Edinburgh*. [Mr. *John Row* Miniſter at *Sanct Johnſton* was choſen Moderator, *Cald.*]

Calderwood.] " In the firſt Seſſion it was ordained, That the Brethren of every Shire ſhould chuſe ſome out of their Number, and the Miniſters likewiſe chuſe ſo many from among themſelves, to reaſon and confer upon the Affairs of the Kirk, and to form Articles in Write, and preſent the ſame to the Aſſemblie, to be conſidered.

" In the ſecond Seſſion, the Commiſſioners appointed to deliver their Miſſives to the Earles, Lords, Barrons, and other Brethren nominat, exhibited their Rolls: The Earle of *Argile* his Letter, excuſing his Abſence, alledged, That the Brethren already aſſembled in *Edinburgh* were in Armes, and ſo far as he underſtood the reſt were to come likewiſe in the ſame manner, and he not being privie to their Proceedings, nor having yet joyned himſelf to them, therefore he could not at this time be preſent. In the mean time deſireth, that no Innovations be attempted till the meeting of the other Brethren; ſo much the rather, becauſe their Adverſaries would not allow of their Doings: promiſeth in the mean time to continue in the Maintainance of true Religion. The Commendator of *Arbroth* alledged the like Reaſons for his Abſence.

Regiſter.] *Tenour of the Lettres of Excuſatioun of the Erle of* Argyle *of his Abſence fra this Aſſemblie, followeth:*

" After our moſt heartlie Commendations, we have receavit zour Wrytings, underſtandand be the ſame zour earneſt Travells and godlie Zeale of erecting this our Kirk within *Scotland*, according to our Dewties and zour Aſſemblie to this Effect, quherunto ze have deſyrit us; zet ſomething having in Admiratioun, that ze ſould have aſſignit zour Aſſemblie, quherunto ze deſyre the principall Members of the haill Kirk, without their awin Advyſe and univerſall Conſent, having concurrit with them of before, alſweill anent the Brethren els aſſemblit in *Edinburgh*, are in Armes, and, as we underſtand, the reſt that are to come there, comes in the lyke maner, quhilk is far by Uſe and accuſtomit Maner and Faſhioun that we have ſein of befor; and as it is not unknown unto zou quhat Varietie is preſentlie in this Realme, zet not doubting their Intents and Mynds to be only directit as ze have after ſhawin. Notheles becaus our Brethren, els aſſemblit in *Edinburgh*, are in Armes, accompanied with Men of Warre, we not being participant with their Proceiding, neither zet hes adjoynit ourſelves therintill, cannot at this tyme be preſent in the Place appointit according to zour Deſyre; zet aſſuring zou, lykas in tymes paſt we have not only beſtowed our Goods in the Mantenance of

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(*a*) See what Sir *James Melvil* ſays of this Matter, *p.* 435, 436 of our Civil Part.

(*b*) We may be aſſured that the Reaſon why the General Aſſembly was prorogate till the 20th Day of *July*, has been to try, in the intervening Time, to gain over the other Noblemen to the Party of the Lords aſſociated againſt the Queen.

1567. " Gods Cauſe, but alſo hes hazarded our Lyfe and Friends, in the ſame Sute we mynd ſtill to continue, and ſen the Impediment of our conveining, albeit willing to all godlie Proceidings, for the Cauſes afoir ſpecifiet. In the mean tyme we will earneſtlie requeiſt zou, that no Novatiouns or Alteratiouns be made or attempted quhyll our Meiting, quhilk we truſt to God ſalbe ſchortlie ; ſo that nane of our Brethren, nor we in abſence, have occaſioun to miſlyke any of zour Proceidings, becaus ſick grave Matters requyre ane comoun Conſent, alſweill in their approving, as that they may be the bettir borne out : For their awin Wiſdomes, we doubt not, will conſider the Factions of our Adverſares, that they will never allow our Doings, and therfor it is more then neceſſar there be no Diverſitie of Mynds amongſt ourſelves ; zea we will find all Matters frame the bettir, if we be all preſent quhen they are concludit. Sa not willing to impeaſche zou with farder Lettre, hes committed farder of our Mynd to this Bearer zour Servitour, to quhom, if ze pleaſe, give Credit : And ſwa committs zou to God. Of *But* the 28 Day of *Julij* 1567.

Zours aſſurit in the Lord,
AR. ARGYLL.

The Tenour of the Commendators of Arbroth, Kilwinning, *and my Lord* Boyds *Excuſatioun, aggreing in all Points as followes:*

" After moſt heartlie Commendatiouns in the *Lord Jeſus*: We have receivit zour Wryting daitit at *Edinburgh* the 26 Day of *Junij*, ſhawand in effect, albeit God of his Goodneſs hes ſent the Light of the Evangell of Salvatioun within this Realme, to the great Confort and Proſperitie of all the Faithfull within this Realme and their Poſteritie ; zet nevertheles *Sathan*, with his Miniſters, at every light Occaſioun, hath fruſtrate in tymes bypaſt the Miniſters of their Lyfe and Suſtentatioun, the lame and impotent Members of *Chryſt* aſweill fruſtrate of their Livings, dieing in the Streits for Hunger and Cold, and the haill Flock of *Chryſt Jeſus* within this Realme continuallie threatned to be made Sacrifice of, be the Practiſe of the Enemies, as zour Wryting conteins at lenth ; for in meiting of the quhilk, and provyding of Remeid therto, ze deſyre us to be in *Edinburgh* the 20 of this Inſtant, at the Aſſemblie of the Kirk, quherby ane perpetuall Ordour may be takin for the Libertie of the Kirk of God, the Suſtentatioun of the Miniſters and failziet Members therof, ſo that the haill Members of the Kirk might be ſure Unioun and Conjunctioun be more able to gainſtand the Violence of the forſaid Enemies. For Anſwer, it is not unknown unto zou how the Nobilitie of this Realme are devydit, be reaſon of the Quenis Majeſties haldin where ſcho is : And the Towne of *Edinburgh*, where ze deſyre us to conveine, is keipit ſtraitlie be one Part of the Nobilitie, and Men of Warre of their Retinew ; to whoſe Opinioun we are not adjoynit as zet, and therfor we cannot think ourſelves ſure to conveine the ſaid Day and Place ze deſyre us to keip, and els thinks marvell the haill Multitude of Proteſtants within this Realme ſould have bein deſyrit to have conveinit in ſick a Place, the Mater ſtandand as it does. Nevertheles we for our awin Part ſalbe weill willing at all tymes to ſet fordward the Light of *Chryſts* Evangell to be truely preachit, and the Miniſters therof to be ſuſtainit, and the forthſetting of the Policie concerning the Kirk in all ſorts, ſo farre as it may ſtand be ane Law ; lykas we have bein in all tymes bypaſt, ſen it pleaſed God to opin our Eyes and ſhew the Light of his bleſſed Word. And thus will cumber zou with no langer Lettre, bot prayes God to have zou in his eternall Protectioun. Of *Hamiltoun* 19 of *Julij* 1567.

Zour loving Friend at Power in all Godlines,
ARBROTHE.

Aberdeine *Excuſatioun.*

" Right Honourable and weilbelovit Brethren : After our heartlie Commendatioun in the *Lord Jeſus*, this preſent is to advertiſe zou, that we have receivit zour Lettre, and at the Requiſitioun of our Miniſter and Proveſt, ha-

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ving Commiſſioun therto, hes ſighted, ſein and conſiderit zour Wryting and Act of the Generall Aſſemblie, in the quhilk is containit the great Labours tane be *Sathan* and his Members, makand Impediment to the Proceidings of the Evangell and forthſetting of the Glorie of God, Suſtentatioun of the Miniſtrie, the Poore and Neidie, and the contrair, now to be provydit be the Aſſemble Generall of the Chriſtian Kirk of this Realme now to be conveinit the 20 Day of *Julij* inſtant, craveing of us our Concurrance to the Effect forſaid, together with our perſonall Preſence. It ſall pleaſe zour Wiſdomes to underſtand, and moſt aſſuredlie to believe us Profeſſours of the Evangell within the Kirk of *Aberdeine*, to be of ane Mynd, and be the Grace of God to continue to the Mantenance of the forthſetting of the Glorie of God, teaching of the true Evangell, and Suſtentatioun of the Miniſters, with Help unto the Poore: And unto the tyme zour Wiſdomes, with the Nobilitie, find ane Ordour univerſall for the Miniſtrie, we ſall for our awin Part, God willing, ſuſtaine our Miniſter, ſo that of Reaſon he ſall have no Cauſe of Plaint; and to the Poore, according to our Power, doe ſemblablie as uther Burrowes ſall take Ordour. And as to our perſonall Preſence to conveine at this tyme, hes given and ſend our Miniſter *Adam Heriott*, to concurre and aſſiſt in our Name to the Effect forſaid, and to declare unto zour Wiſdomes the Impediment of our perſonall Preſence at this tyme, craveing zour Wiſdomes, notwithſtanding of our Abſence, to credit us faithfullie to abyde at zour Decree to be ſett out be zou and the Aſſemblie, to the Effect forſaid, and to maintain the ſame with our Bodies and Goods, as tyme ſall requyre. And farther, having no Occaſioun for the preſent, committs zou to the Protectioun of the Higheſt. Wrytin the 12 of this inſtant *Julij*, and ſubſcryvit with our Proveſts Hand at our Command at *Aberdeine*, be them that are zour aſſurit. THOMAS MEINZIES (a).

Calderwood.] " The Aſſemblie appointed ſome Brethren to conveen in Mr. *James Macgill*'s Houſe, to viſite and adviſe upon the Aſſignations made latelie be the Queen to the Miniſters, and of the Payment thereof.

Regiſter.] " Seſſion third, 23 *Julij.*" For all this third Seſſion, *Calderwood* ſays only, " In the third Seſſion they reported what they found payed or unpayed, and their Advice how that which is not payed ſhall be payed." But the *Regiſter* is more large, *viz.* " Certane Brethren was appointit to conveine to ſie and advyſe upon the Aſſignatioun of the Stipends of the Miniſtrie latelie aſſignit be the Quenis Majeſtie, the good Payment, who fand in effect as followes:

" We have ſein the Aſſignatiouns within the Sherifdomes of *Kincardin*, *Forfar*, *Perth* and *Fyfe*, and finds, That all the heale conteinit therin, at leaſt for the moſt part, hes bein thankfullie payit, and that the Collectour hes given his Charges for Payment therof dewlie, and reſts nothing but to put them to the Horne; that there be Lettres directit, and Commiſſioun given in the ſaid Lettres, with Conſent of the Theſerer, to collect and uptak the haill Fruits of the Benefices of ſo many as paſs to the Horne for the 1566 Zeir, and ſiclyk for the 1567 Zeir inſtant, ſo long as they remaine at the Horne, and to make Count of the Thrid to the Miniſtrie, and ſa meikle of the Twa-pairt as they intromet with, to the Theſerer, as Eſcheitt. And as to the Victuals within the foirſaids Shyres, we find, That long before any Lettres raiſit upon this Aſſignatioun, and before the Baptiſme of the Prince, they were ſauld be the Comptroller; and therfore he man be chargeit in his Compts to rander ſa meikle of the Prices heirof againe to the Miniſtrie as is containit in this Aſſignatioun. Tuiching the Thrids of the Miniſters Aſſignatioun bezond *Die*, except *Orknay*, finds be the Collector, That the 1566 Zeirs Crope is not uſit to be payit quhyll *Lambmes* in the 1567 Zeir, and

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(a) He was Provoſt of *Aberdeen*: And this ſerves to clear up what might have appeared otherwiſe obſcure in the *Regiſter*, *viz.* that the Superintendents, &c. in the ſeveral Countries were appointed to ſend Copies of the Letters to ſuch Perſons as were judged convenient; ſo here has been a Letter directed to the Community of *Aberdeen*.

1567. after; and for Executioun given to him within the Bounds, ſall paſſe with poſſible Diligence, and charge that haill Boundis according to the Lettres, of the quhilkis he ſuppones good Payment, as hes bein of befoir, except the Biſchoprick of *Caithnes*, quhilk the Collector alledges the Biſchop payes to the Miniſters of his awin Kirks, conforme to the Book and Compts made of befoir.

“*Item*, *Deare*, *Dunet* and *Pillorth*, are given frie to the Erle of *Marſchell* and Friers of *Aberdeine*, and Captaine *Lauder*; bot it is underſtude, that all the Gifts are revockit, and therfore the Collector is to charge them. *Item*, That Victuals within the ſame Bounds are ſauld *ut ſupra*, and therfore the Comptroller in his Compts ſall rander conforme to the firſt Article. *Item*, Beſouth *Forth* nothing gottin in, bot the Collector alledges that *Duncane Levingſtone* hes tane up the 237 *l.* 2 *s.* 11 *d.* as he hes grantit be the particular Reſſait, and therfor he man be chargit to delyver the ſame to the ſaid Collector.

“*Item*, Of the Thrids that is conteinit within this Collectorie that is alledgit diſcharged, the Thrid of the Abbay of *Cambuskeneth* to 333 *l.* 6 *s.* 8 *d.* 3 Chalders Beir and 3 Chalders Meill. The Thrids of *Machina-homo* 55 *l.* 6 *s.* 8 *d.* 2 Chalders Beir, 3 Chalders Meill. The Thrids of *Dryburgh* 304 *l.* and 62 Part Bolls Wheit; 8 Chalders, 2 Bolls, 2 Part Bolls Beir; 7 Chalders, 10 Bolls, 2 Part Bolls Meill. The Thrids of *Melroſe*, *Haddingtoune* and *Northberwick*; the Thrid of *Kelſo* and *Coldinghame*. As to *Dumfreis*, *Annandaill*, *Kirkudbright* and *Wigtoun*, the Biſchop of *Galloway* hes depute certain Collectors for Satisfactioun of the Miniſtrie within the ſame.

Item, Within *Kyle*, *Carrick*, *Cunninghame*, Executions paſt, and believes to have Payment at the nixt ganging in the Countrey. *Item*, *Corſraguell* is given frie, and the Miniſter of *Failfurd* is ill payed.

“*Memor*. That the Act be raſit made be the Quenes Grace and ſecreit Counſell, diſchargeand the Gifts and Tacks of all the Thrids, and that nane ſould be given heirafter without Advyſe of the ſecreit Counſell, to the Effect the Collector may charge notwithſtanding any ſick Gifts. Remember that ilk Collector execute within his Bounds, that Lettres be direct with Conſent of the Theſerer, according to the firſt Article.”

The fourth Seſſion is wanting in the *Regiſter*, but is in *Calderwood* thus, “In the fourth Seſſion, it was thought expedient that the Portions aſſigned to the Miniſters for 1566 Years, be diſtributed be the Collectors already appointed, and that they diſtribute the ſame according to their Rolls to be given be the Superintendents, and Commiſſioners which are to be appointed in this Aſſemblie where there are no Superintendents to the ſaid Collectors.

The Tennor of the Commiſſion which is to be given to the Reviſer of the Rolls of Miniſters Stipends.

“At *Edinburgh* the 24 Day of *July* 1567, the whole Aſſemblie in one Voice thought meet, annent the Aſſignation of Money and Victuals be the Queen's Majeſty, for the Suſtentation of the Miniſtry the 1566 Years, that the Diſtribution therof ſhall be made be the Collectors already appointed, according to the Tennor of the Rolls of Appointment of Stipends, which the Superintendents and Commiſſioners to be appointed ſhall receave from the Keeper of the Book of the Miniſters Stipends; and after the ſaid Superintendents and Commiſſioners have diligently marked theſe that are dead, or have not diligently waited on their Charges, as they will anſwer to God and the Kirk thereupon, to deliver the Rolls to the ſaids Collectors, to every one within his own Bounds; commanding the Collectors to pay every Miniſter, Exhorter and Reader, the Thrid-part of that appointed in the Rolls forſaid, the Superpluſs to be made Compt of to the Aſſemblie.”

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Fifth Seſſion, the Beginning thereof is not in the *Regiſter*, but is in *Calderwood* thus, “In the fifth Seſſion, the Articles adviſed upon and formed be ſuch as were choſen in the firſt Seſſion, were read publictly in Preſence of the whole Nobility and Brethren aſſembled, and were allowed be them all who were preſent, and ſubſcrived firſt be the Nobility, and after be the Barrons, Superintendents and Commiſſioners of Townes: It was ordained, That the Commiſſioners appointed in the laſt Aſſembly ſhould every one of them have an authentick Coppie of the Articles, ſubſcrived be the Clerk of the Aſſembly, or *Alexander Hay* Scribe to the ſecret Counſell, and that the ſaids Commiſſioners require all and ſundry Earles, Lords, Barrons, and other faithfull Brethren who excuſed themſelves for not giving their perſonall Preſence to this Aſſembly, to ſubſcrive the ſaid Articles with the reſt of their Brethren, according to their Promiſes made be Word or be Write: With Certification to them that refuſe, that the Kirk hereafter will not repute them as Members of their Body; and to return the Rolls of the ſaid Articles ſubſcrived be the Scribe of the Aſſembly, to the Effect their Subſcriptions may be ſet down in the Regiſter with the reſt. The Tennor of the Articles, and the Names of them that ſubſcrived preſently,” &c. The *Regiſter* proceeds now with more Exactneſs in theſe Articles, after this manner:

The Noblemen, Barrons, and uthers underſubſcryvand in this preſent Aſſemblie of the Kirk of God, hes aggriet and condiſcendit to the Articles after following, at Edinburgh 20 Julij 1567.

“In the *Firſt*, Forſameikle as there was ane Parliament haldin in this Realme before the Quenes Majeſties Arryvall in the ſame, be the Eſtaites conveinit for the tyme, with her Hienes awin Power and Commiſſioun; in the quhilk Parliament it was concludit, That the Religioun of *Jeſus Chryſt* then univerſallie receivit within this Realme, ſould be univerſallie eſtabliſched (a) and approvit within the ſame, and all Papiſtrie, with the Papiſts uſurpit Juriſdictioun, all Idolatrie, and in ſpeciall the blaſphemous Meſs, be aboliſchit and *ſimpliciter* putt away, as the Acts made therupon proportis: Quhilks Acts, together with the Quenes Majeſties Power to hald the ſame Parliament, the Noblemen, Barrons, and uthers underſubſcryvand, wills to be extractit and put in full Executioun as ane publick Law, and that the Tranſgreſſours therof be puniſchit according to the ſame, throughout the whole Realme, without Exceptioun. Quhilk Parliament, in all Things concerning the Religioun, they ſall defend and maintaine at their uttermoſt in the firſt Parliament quhilk ſalbe haldin, and at all uther Tymes and Occaſions convenient.

“*Item*, That the Act already made towards the Thrids of the Benefices within this Realme, principallie for Suſtentatioun of the Miniſtrie, may be dewlie put to Executioun, according to the Ordour of the Booke of the Appointment of Miniſters Stipends, alſweill for them that are to be appointit as for them already placit; and that the Miniſters be firſt dewlie anſwerit and ſufficientlie ſuſtainit of the ſame, to the Releife of their preſent Neceſſitie, ay and quhyll ane perfyte Ordour may be tane and eſtabliſchit toward the full Diſtributioun of the Patrimonie of the Kirk, according to Gods Word: And that alſo the Ordinance made be the Quenes Majeſtie and her Counſell, toward the ſmall Benefices, now extending to the Valour of three hundreth Marks, be dewlie put to Executioun, alſweill toward the Benefices quhilk hes vaikit ſen the Dait of the ſaid Ordinance, as concerning them that ſall happin heirafter to vaik; and ſicklyke, the Act made toward the Annuels, Obits and Altarages of Burrowes.

“*Item*, How ſoone ane lawfull Parliament may be had, or that the Occaſioun utherwayes juſtlie ſerve, the Nobills, Barrons, and uthers of the Kirk underſubſcryveand, ſall labour and preaſe to their uttermoſt, that the faithfull

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(a) I have often deſired the Readers to obſerve, that *that* Parliament had not only no Authority to proceed in Matters of Religion, but by the Articles of Agreement was moſt expreſly prohibited to medle with any ſuch Matters.

1567. “Kirk of *Jeſus Chryſt* profeſt within this Realme, ſalbe put in full Libertie of the Patrimonie of the Kirk, according to the Book of God and the Ordour and Practiſes of the primitive Kirk: And that nothing ſall paſſe in Parliament unto the tyme the Matters of the Kirk foirſaid be firſt conſiderit, approvit and eſtabliſchit; and in the meane tyme the Profeſſours underſubſcryvand conſents and offers to reforme themſelves according to the Book of God, quhilk they ſall put in Practiſe, and the Refuſers and Contraveners to be ſecludit fra the Boſom of the Kirk. And moreover in the ſaid nixt Parliament, or utherwayes at the firſt Occaſioun, Ordour ſalbe tane for Eaſe of the poore Labourers of the Ground, toward the Payment of their Teynds in reaſonable maner, and how the ſame ſall not be ſett over their Heids without their Advyſe and Conſent.

“*Item*, That nane be admittit nor permittit heirafter to have Charge over Schooles, Colledges or Univerſities, or zet oppinlie or publicklie to inſtruct the Youthheid, but ſick as hes bein tryed be the Superintendent and Viſitors of the Kirk, and ſalbe found ſound and able in Doctrine, and admittit be them to their Charges.

“*Item*, That all Crymes, Vyces and Offences committit agains Gods Law, may be ſeverely puniſchit, according to the Word of God; and where Lawes are preſentlie appointit for the Puniſchment, and Judges alſo to that Effect deput, that the Executioun be made therupon as effeirs; and where neither Law nor Judges are appointit for ſick Crymes as are to be puniſchit be the Law of God, that in the firſt Parliament the ſame Judges may be appointit, Lawes eſtabliſchit, as God commands in his Word.

“*Item*, That ſen the horrible Murther of the King, the Quenes Majeſties Husband, is ſo odious not only before God, but alſo the whole World, be continuall Infamie and Schame to this haill Realme, if the ſame Murther ſall not be puniſchit accordinglie; Therfor the Noblemen, Barrons, and uthers underſubſcryvand, ſall with all their Forces, Strenth and Power, concurre and aſſiſt to take plaine Part together, to further and maintaine the Puniſchment of the ſaid Murther, on all and quhatſumevir Perſones that ſalbe found guiltie of the ſame; ſeing the Plague of God ſall not depart from the Countrey or Towne where innocent Blood is ſched, before the ſame ſalbe cleanſit be ſchedding the Blood of the Offenders.

“*Item*, Sen it hes pleiſit Almightie God of his Mercie to give ane native Prince to this Countrey, appeirand to be our Soveraign; to the end he be not cruellie and ſchamefullie murtherit as his Father was, the Nobilitie, Barrons, and uthers underſubſcryvand, ſall aſſiſt, maintaine and defend the Prince againſt all that wald violentlie oppreſſe him or doe him Injurie.

“*Item*, That all Kings, Princes and Magiſtrates, quhilk heirafter in any tyme to come ſall happin to reigne and beare Rule over this Realme, at their firſt Entres, befor they be crownit and inaugurat, ſall make their faithfull League and Promiſe to the true Kirk of God, that they ſall mantaine and defend, and be all lawfull Meanes ſett fordward the true Religioun of *Jeſus Chryſt* preſentlie confeſſit and eſtabliſchit within this Realme, evin as they are obleiſchit and aſtrictit in the Law of God, alſweill in *Deuteronomie* as in the ſecond Chapter of the Book of *Kings*; as they crave Obedience of their Subjects, ſo the Band and Contract to be mutuall and reciproque in all tymes comeing betwixt the Prince and God, and alſo betwixt the Prince and faithfull People, according to the Word of God.

“*Item*, That the Prince whom God hes given us, alſweill for his Suretie as good Educatioun, ſalbe committit to wiſe, ancient, godlie and learned Men of the Realme, to be brocht up within the ſame in the Feare of God and Vertue, whereby he may ſo profite in his Zouth, that when he ſall come to the Zeirs of Majoritie, he may be able to diſcharge himſelf ſufficientlie of that Honour and Place wherto he ſalbe callit, and prove that good King quhilk with all their Hearts they wiſch him to be.

1567.

“ *Item*, The Nobilitie, Barrons, and uthers of the Kirk underſubſcryand, in the Preſence of God, hes faithfullie promeiſit to conveine themſelves, together with their Power and Forces, and heir to begin to ruit out, deſtroy, and alutterlie ſubvert all Monuments of Idolatrie, and namelie the odious blaſphemous Meſſe; and therafter to goe fordwart throughout this whole Realme to all and ſundrie Places quhatſumevir Idolatrie hes foſtred, haunted or mantained, and cheiflie where Meſſe is ſaid, to execute the Reformatioun foirſaid, without Exceptioun of Place or Perſones, and ſall to the uttermoſt of their Power remove all Idolaters, and uthers that are not admittit to the Miniſtrie of the Kirk, fra all Functioun therof, aſweill privat as publick, that they hinder not the Miniſtrie any maner of way in their Vocatioun: And in place of the Premiſſes, ſett up and eſtabliſch the true Religioun of *Jeſus Chryſt* throughout this haill Realme, be planting of Superintendents, Miniſters, and uthers neidfull Members of the Kirk, ſeing the Hoſt of the Lord ſall paſſe throuch the whole Countrey to this Effect; and alſo ſall proceid to the Puniſchment of Idolaters, according to the Laws therupon pronuncit. And ſicklyke ſall puniſch and cauſe be puniſchit all uther Vyces that preſentlie abounds within this Realme, quhilk Gods Law and the Civill Law of this Realme commands to be puniſched, and cheiflie the Murther of the King laitlie committit. And in lyke maner promiſe faithfullie to reforme Schooles, Colledges and Univerſiteis throughout the whole Realme, and expell and remove the Idolaters that hes Charges therof, and uthers quho hes not as zet joynit themſelfe to the true Kirk of *Chryſt*, and plant faithfull Inſtructers in their Roumes; to the Effect that Zouth be not infectit be poyſonable Doctrine at the beginning, quhilk afterward cannot be weill removeit away.

“ Followes the Subſcriptiouns of the Erles, Lords, Barrons, and uthers Commiſſioners preſent for the tyme:

Mortoune, *Glencarne*, *Mar*, *Hume*, *William* Lord *Ruthven*, *Sanchar*, *Patrick* Lord *Lindſay*, *Grahame*, Lord *Innermeith*, *Ochiltrie*, Sir *James Balfour*, *James Macgill*, *Tullibardin* Comptroller, *William Maitland*, *John Erskine*, *John Wiſchart*, *Glenbervie*, *John Cunighame* of *Drumquhaſſill*, *William Kirkaldie*, *John Cathcart* of *Carilton*, *William Moncreiff*, *Drumlangrick*, *Bargeny*, *Andro Wood* of *Largo*, *Andro Stewart*, *Robert Fairlie* of *Braid*, *Archibald Wood*, *George Barclay* of *Mathirs*, *George Corrie* of *Kelwood*, *George Hoome* of *Spott*, Mr. *William Lundie*, *Gilbert Kennedy* of *Dalquharrane*, *John Melvill* of *Raith*, *Quhittinghame*, *Raſſyth*, *Baro*, *Pittencreif*, *Andro Car* of *Faudonſyde*, *Thomas Scott* of *Haryn* †, *Robert Campbell*, *Henrie Grahame*, *John Fullerton* of *Dreghorn*, *Alexander Guthrie* of that Ilk, *William* of *Craigings*, *William Durhame* of *Grange*, *Thomas Diſchingtoun*, *Thomas Scot* of *Thirlſton*, *George Straitoun* of that Ilk, *Alexander Creichtoun* of *Karko*, Mr. *John Wood*, *Alexander Ogſton* of *Fethercarnie*, *Patrick Kyninmounth*, *Robert Lindſay* Theſaurer, *John Colles*, *William Meinzies*, *John Melvill*, *William Edmeiſton* of *Duntreth*, *Robert Murray*, [*Calderwood* inſerts here, *Thomas Kennedy* of ——] *John Schaw*, *John Stewart* of *Minto*, *Gilbert Ogilbie* of that Ilk, *James* * *Chalmer* of *Gaitgirth*. Commiſſioners of Townes: For *Edinburgh*, *Alexander Clerk* Balzie, Mr. *Clement Little*, Mr. *John Preſtoun*, Mr. *Richard Strang*. For *Air*, *Paul Reid*, *Richard Banatyne*, *Gilbert Macmillane*. For *Irvine*, *Alexander Cuninghame*, *Alexander* Commendator of *Culros*. For *Glaſgow*, Mr. *David Weymis*, *William Howburne*, *James Boyd*, *Alexander Forreſter*. For *Jedbrut* (a), *William Chirnſyde*, *Kenneth Mackenzie*, *Robert Monro* of *Fowlis* (b).

† ſ. *Harden*.

* *Thomas*, according to *Calderwood*.

(a) *Calderwood* places them thus, “ For *Glaſgow*, Mr. *David Weems*, *James Boyd*. For *Jedburgh*, *William Howburn*, *Alexander Foreſter*.”

(b) In the Front of theſe three laſt Names, *Calderwood* ſets down thus, *viz*. “ Names of thoſe that ſubſcribed afterward at the Deſire of the Commiſſioners.” A very poor Number ſurely!

1567.

The mutinous Lords make fair Promiſes to the Kirk; but are not ſo punctual in Performances.

When the aſſociated Lords perceived that neither they themſelves, nor the Aſſembly of the Kirk, could prevail upon the other Noblemen, *&c.* to come into their Meaſures againſt the Queen, and likewiſe that their own Party was not likely to prove ſo powerful as they at firſt expected; they very wiſely judged that the faireſt way for them to ſecure their Intereſt with the common People was to ſtrike in with the Aſſembly, and grant the Miniſters their ſo often ſuited Requeſts, with all the ſtrongeſt Grimace they could put on. "The Lords at *Edinburgh*, ſays Mr. *Knox*, ſeeing this, [*viz.* the Refuſal of the other Noblemen] joyneth abſolutely with the Aſſembly, and promiſeth to make gude all the Artickles they thought fit to reſolve upoun in the Aſſembly: *Bot*, adds he, *how they performed their Promiſes, God knows.*" And we may ſay, had this Gentleman been as ſagacious as he was fiery and ſcurrilous, he might have learned before this Time, what was to be expected from the Heads of his Faction, when the Affair of *Money* came into the Plea.

I ſcarcely need to repeat here, how that the Earl of *Murray* having by this Time taken upon him the Regency of the Kingdom, had called a Parliament to meet on the 15th Day of *December* this Year; in which the firſt Thing after the conſtituting of his own Regency, was to make good a Promiſe to the preceding Aſſembly, in aſſerting the Validity of the Parliamentary Convention in the Month of *Auguſt* 1560, and to confirm the Acts concerning Religion which had paſs'd in that Convention; to which the Queen's Majeſty had all along refuſed to confer a Royal Sanction. 'Tis not neceſſary that I ſhould enter upon a particular Enumeration of the Acts of this Parliament in *December* 1567, relating to Religion, ſince they have been publiſhed ſeveral times in the Collection of the Acts of our Parliaments: However there is one Thing I judge not improper to be noticed here, that neither in the preceding Aſſembly, nor in this Parliament, is there any Regard at all taken of Mr. *Knox*'s Book of Diſcipline *(a)*; nay, nor was this Parliament ſo careful as the Miniſters might have expected, to perform what the Lords had promiſed in the laſt Aſſembly, *to put the faithfull Kirk of Jeſus Chryſt profeſſit within this Realme in full Liberty of the Patrimony of the Kirk according to the Book of God, and the Ordour and Practiſe of the primitive Kirk*; even tho' this Promiſe had been made with this expreſs Proviſion, that *nothing ſhall paſſe in Parliament, till the Tyme the Intereſts of the Kirk forſaid be firſt conſiderit, approvit and eſtabliſchit*, &c. ſo that Mr. *Knox* had ſome Reaſon to ſay, *Bot how they performed their Promiſe, God knows.* What the Aſſembly might have meant here by the *Book of God*, I ſhall not take upon me to reſolve. If it was the Holy Bible, ſure there is not in all that Book one ſingle Word concerning the *Patrimony of the Kirk*.

Convention of the Kirk.

Regiſter.] "The Conventioun of the Brethren haldin in *Edinburgh* the 18 of *December* 1567 Zeirs, before the Generall Aſſemblie of the haill Kirk to begin the 25 of the Moneth forſaid.

"Firſt

(*a*) Perhaps it may not be unſatisfactory to ſome Readers to ſee inſerted here the following Act of this Parliament, as not being reprinted in the common Editions of the Acts thereof, *viz.* Item, Anent the Artickle proponit, and gevin in be the Kirk to my Lord Regent and thre Eſtatis of this preſent Parliament, anent the Juriſdictioun juſtlie appertening to the trew Kirk and immaculat Spous of Jeſus Chriſt, to be declarit and expreſſit, as the Artickle at mair lenth is conſavit: The Kingis Grace, with Aviſe of my Lord Regent and thre Eſtatis of this preſent Parliament, hes declarit, and grantit Juriſdictioun to the ſaid Kirk; quhilk conſiſtis and ſtandis in preicheing of the trew Word of Jeſus Chriſt, Correctioun of Maneris, and Adminiſtratioun of haly Sacramentis: And declairis that thair is na uther face of Kirk, nor uther face of Religioun, than is preſentlie be the Favour of God eſtabliſcheit within this Realme: And that thair be na uther Juriſdictioun Eccleſiaſticall acknawlegeit within this Realme, uther than that quhilk is, and ſalbe within the ſame Kirk, or that quhilk flowis thairfra concerning the Premiſſis. And forther, our Soverane Lord, with Aviſe of my Lord Regent and thre Eſtatis foirſaidis, hes gevin, and gevis Power and Commiſſioun to Schir James Balfour of Pettindreich Knycht, Priour of Pettinweme, Mark Commendatour of Newbottill, Johne Priour of Coldinghame, Lord Previe Seill, Maiſter James Mackgill of Rankelour-nether, Clerk of Regiſter, Williame Maitland zounger of Lethingtoun, Secretar to our Soverane Lord, Schir Johne Bellenden of Auchinoull Knycht. Juſtice Clerk, Johne Erskin of Dune, Maiſter Johne Spottiſwod Superintendent of Lowthiane, Johne Knox, Maiſter Johne Craig, and Maiſter David Lindeſay, Miniſteris of the Word of God; To ſeirche furth mair ſpeciallie, and to conſidder quhat uther ſpeciall Pointis or Clauſis ſould appertene to the Juriſdictioun, Privilege and Authoritie of the ſaid Kirk; And to declair thair Myndis thairanentis to my Lord Regent and thre Eſtatis of this Realme, at the nixt Parliament, ſwa that thay may tak Ordour thairintill, and authoreis the ſamin be Act of Parliament, as ſalbe fund aggreabill to the Word of God.

1567.

“ Firſt were nominat and choſen for every Province certaine Brethren, to reaſon and conferre upon ſick Things as appeirandly ſould be neceſſar for ſetting fordwart the Affaires of the Kirk, without Prejudice of the Generall Aſſemblie and Actions therof, &c.

“ 22 *Decembris.* Anent the Crymes of Inceſt and Adulterie, and Puniſchment to be takin theranent in the nixt Generall Aſſemblie; The Brethren preſentlie conveinit thinks it neceſſar that every Miniſter, with the Elders and Deacons, ſall ſearch out within their awin Bounds, at their Seſſiouns, the foirſaid Crymes, if they be notour; therafter to ſignifie the ſame to the Superintendent of the Dyocie at his Synodall Conventioun, and he therafter to notifie the ſame to the ſupreme Magiſtrate, requyring him to miniſter Juſtice, and puniſch ſick haynous Offences according to the Law of God, as he will anſwer to that ſupreme Judge at that Day, when no reſpect of Perſons ſalbe had. And wher no Superintendent is zet placed, that the Miniſters, Elders and Deacons declare the ſaids Crymes to the Generall Aſſemblie, to the Effect foirſaid.” This Convention not noticed at all by *Calderwood.*

Sixteenth General Aſſembly.

Sixteenth General Aſſembly.

Regiſter.] “ The Generall Aſſemblie of the Kirk conveinit in *Edinburgh* in the Nether-Tolbuith therof, the 25 of *December* 1567: In the quhilk were preſent, Erles, Lords, Barrons, Superintendents, Miniſters and Commiſſioners of Townes and Kirks. The Invocatioun of GODS Name was made be Mr. *Johne Craig* ane of the Miniſters of *Edinburgh.* For eſchewing of Confuſioun in reaſoning in this preſant Aſſemblie, was choſen Mr. *Johne Row* Miniſter of *Sanct Johnſtoun* to be Moderator.

Calderwood] “ In the firſt Seſſion the Superintendent of *Fife* was complained upon, for not viſiting Kirks, nor teaching in Kirks ſubject to his Charge, nor taking up Crymes and Offenſes to be puniſhed. *Adam* called Biſhop of *Orkney*, Commiſſioner of *Orkney*, being abſent, was delated for not viſiting the Kirks of his Country, but from *Lambmeſs* to *Hallowmeſs*. *Item*, That he occupied the Room of a Judge in the Seſſion, the Sheep wandering without a Paſtor. *Item*, Becauſe he retained in his own Companie Sir *Francis Bothuell* a Papiſt, to whom he had given Benefices, and placed a Miniſter. *Item*, Becauſe he ſolemnized the Marriage of the Queen and the Earl of *Bothuell*, which was altogither wicked and contrair to God's Law and the Statutes of the Kirk. *Alexander* called Biſhop of *Galloway*, Commiſſioner, was accuſed, That he had not viſited theſe three Years bygone the Kirks within his Charge; That he had left off the viſiting and planting of Kirks, and he haunted Court too much, and had now purchaſed to be one of the Seſſion and Privie Councell, which cannot agree with the Office of a Paſtor or Biſhop; That he had reſigned *Inchchaffrey* in favours of a young Child, and ſet diverſe Lands in Feu, in Prejudice of the Kirk. Certain Commiſſioners were appointed to viſit Kirks: Mr. *John Knox* Miniſter of *Edinburgh* was appointed to aſſiſt the Superintendent of *Louthian*, in his Viſitation from *Stirline* to *Berwick*, and therafter to viſit *Kyle*, *Carrict* and *Cuninghame*.

“ In the ſecond Seſſion, Mr. *John Craig*, *David Lindſay*, *George Buchanan* Principall of *Sanct Leonards* Colledge, and Mr. *George Hay*, or any two of them, were appointed to direct their Edicts to all Miniſters, Elders and Deacons of Kirks under the Superintendent of *Fife* his Charge, to compear at *Couper* the 22 Day of *Januar*, with their Complaints againſt the ſaid Superintendent, to try and report to the nixt Aſſemblie.” All this wanting in the *Regiſter*.

Regiſter.] “ The haill Kirk aſſemblit thoght it meitt, that certaine Brethren be appointit to concurre at all tymes with ſick Perſons of Parliament or ſecreit Counſell, as my Lord Regents Grace hes nominat for ſick Affaires as pertaines to the Kirk and Juriſdictioun therof, and alſo for Deciſions of Que-

1567. " ſtions that may occurre in the meane tyme, whoſe Names followe, Mrs. " *Johne Knox* and *Johne Craig* Miniſters of *Edinburgh*, the Superintendents " of *Angus* and *Louthiane*, *David Borthwick*, *Thomas Macalzean*, Mrs. " *David Lindſay* Miniſter of *Leith*, *George Hay* of *Ruthven*, and *Johne* " *Row* of *Sanct Johnſtoun*.

Calderwood.] " Mr. *Clement Little*, *Alexander Sim* and *Richard Strang*, " were appointed Procurators, to defend and purſue all Actions pertaining to " the Kirk, before whatſoever Judge or Judges; Mr. *George Makeſon* was " choſen Soliciter, *James Nicolſon* was Comptroller, keeping the Rentalls of " the Thirds of Benefices, and Aſſumptions therof.

" In the third Seſſion, the Lairds of *Braid*, *Whittinghame* and *Elphingſtone*, Mr. *Alexander Arbuthnet*, *John Braid* Miniſter, were joyned to " the Brethren nominat in the ſecond Seſſion appointed to concur with the " Lords of ſecret Counſell, for Deciſion of Queſtions after the Aſſembly.

Regiſter.] " Ordaines that Superintendents and Commiſſioners appointit ſall " plant Miniſters vacand in ſick Rowmes, where the Parochiners will gladlie " ſuſtaine them on their awin Expenſis, quhyll uther Ordour be had, and that " they remove none out of the Rowmes, being found qualifyit, without Advyſe " and Conſent both of the Kirk and Miniſter that is found worthie of the Place.

Calderwood.] " In the fourth Seſſion, Mr. *Patrick Craigh* Miniſter of *Ratho*, for celebrating the Mariage of Mr. *James Lindſay* and a Woman whom " he had abuſed in Fornication, without Proclamation of Bands or Teſtimoniall " therof, and upon a Ferial Day, contrair to all Order eſtabliſhed in the Kirk, " and cheifly ane Act made in *December* 1565, was ſuſpended from his Miniſtrie, and lifting up of his Stipend.

Regiſter.] " Anent the Accuſatioun laid to my Lord *Argylls* Charge, tuitching the Separatioun betwixt him and his Wyfe, declarit that he was not " the Occaſioun therof. As to uther Offences quhatſoever quherthrow he hes " bein any wayes ſlanderous to the Kirk, he was content to ſubmitt himſelf to " the Diſcipline of the Kirk at all tymes moſt willinglie; and therfor the Kirk " ordaines the Superintendent of *Argyll* to take Tryall of the ſaids Slanders " committit be the ſaid Erle, and therafter to caus ſick Satisfactioun be made as " Gods Law appoints, and to report the Ordour therof to the nixt Generall Aſſemblie of the Kirk, together with his awin Diligence in Executioun of his " Office of Superintendrie.

Calderwood.] " The Biſhop of *Galloway* accuſed for Neglect of preaching " and overſeeing the Kirks within his Juriſdiction theſe three Years bygone, " and attending upon Court, Seſſion and ſecret Counſeil: He granted that he " offended in all that was laid to his Charge, yet upon ſome Conſiderations, " not expreſſed in the *Regiſter*, his Commiſſion was continued till the nixt Aſſemblie, with Admonition to be diligent in Viſitation.

Regiſter.] " Anent the Mariage of the Quene with the Erle of *Bothwell*, " be *Adam* callit Biſchop of *Orknay*; The haill Kirk finds that he tranſgreſt " the Act of the Kirk, in marieing the divorcit Adulterer, and therfor depryves " him fra all Functioun of the Miniſtrie, conforme to the Tenour of the Act " made therupon, ay and quhyll the Kirk be ſatiſfyit of the Slander committit " be him, &c." (a). *Calderwood* informs thus in the Front of this Cenſure, *viz.* " *Adam* called Biſhop of *Orkney* pretended he might not remain in *Orkney* all " the Year, be reaſon of the evill Air and Weakneſs of his Body: He denyed " that he underſtood *Francis Bothuell* to be a Papiſt, or that he placed him in " the Miniſtry.

Regiſter.] " The ſame Day M,. *Johne Craig* was bruitit for proclaiming the " Bands betwixt the Quene and the Erle *Bothwell*, who anſwerit be Word, juſtifieing his Proceidings theranent; and was ordainit to give in his Purgatioun " in Wryte, to the Effect that his good Mynd and Proceidings may be knawin " to all and ſundrie that heirafter wald be ſatisfyit heiranent.

Tenour

(a) See Appendix, Numb. 2.

Tenour of the foirſaid Purgatioun.

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Calderwood.] "In the fifth Seſſion, the Power of Commiſſioners appointed to viſit and plant Kirks, was limited in manner following; They are to conſider what Perſons poſſeſs Benefices within the Bounds of their Viſitation, how long, and at whoſe Preſentation, alſo their Qualities and Sufficiencies: And if any vaick in the Time of their Preſentation, to diſpone the ſame to qualified Perſons, being preſented be the right Patrons; and if they diſpone any Benefice to unqualified Perſons, they ſhall underly the Cenſure of the Kirk at the nixt Aſſembly, ſhall be puniſhed accordingly, and the Benefice ſhall be beſtowed upon another who is qualified.

Regiſter.] "Anent the Complaint given in againſt my Lady *Argyll*, declareing how ſcho once being at the Table of the *Lord Jeſus*, and profeſſing his Evangell, had revoltit therfra, in giving her Aſſiſtance and Preſence to the baptizeing of the King in a Papiſticall Maner. The ſaid Ladie being preſent, grantit that ſcho had offendit to the Eternall God, and bein ane Slander to the Kirk, in committing the Premiſſis; and therfor willinglie ſubmittit herſelf to the Diſcipline of the Kirk, and Diſcretioun of them: Therfor the Kirk ordaines the ſaid Ladie to make publick Repentance in the Chappel Royall of *Striveling* upon ane *Sonday* in tyme of Preaching; and this to be done at ſick tyme as the Kirk heirafter ſall appoint, be the Superintendent of *Louthiane*, provyding alwayes it be before the nixt Aſſemblie."

The *Regiſter* contains no more of this Aſſembly; but we find a good deal more in *Calderwood, viz.* "Twelve or thirteen Brethren wer appointed to conveen and chooſe Collectors, for uplifting and inbringing the Thrids of Benefices in every Province, and to enjoyn what every one of them ſhall obſerve; The Kirk preſently aſſembled in the Tolbooth of *Edinburgh*, hath elected, nominate, made, conſtitute and ordained, and be the Tennor hereof, elects, makes, nominates, conſtitutes and ordaines their beloved Brother *N* their Collector within the Bounds of *N*; granting, giving and committing to him full Power, Authority, ſpeciall Command and Charge, to ask, crave and receave, in Name of the ſaid Kirk, intromett and uptake all and ſundrie the Thrids of whatſomever Benefices lying within the ſaids Bounds; together with the whole Fruits of common Kirks, and all other common Rents; whole Fruits and Rents of Freirs Lands, Places and Livings; whole Superpluſs omitted and Benefices, or Chapplanries not given up in Rentalls, lying within the Bounds above ſpecified, which are now be Parliament given and aſſigned to the Miniſtrie of the Kirk, of the Crop and Year of God 1567 Years inſtant, and ſicklike yearly in Time coming, whill he be lawfully diſcharged; Acquittances and Diſcharges thereupon to make, give and ſubſcrive; and generally all and ſundry other Things to doe and exerce, that to the Office of Collectorie in ſuch Caſes, by Law or Conſuetude, is knowen to pertain, firm and ſtable holding, and for to hold all and whatſomevir Things the ſaid Collector doeth in the Premiſſes, or lawfully leadeth to be done: Providing alwiſe that he uſe the ſaid Office of Collectorie, and behave himſelf theirin according to the Injunctions given to him therupon; and make Compt, Reckoning and Payment of his Intromiſſion, after the Form and Tennor therof. Given in the Generall Aſſemblie, and fifth Seſſion therof.

(a) See Appendix, Numb. 3.

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The Tennor of the Caution for everie Collector, according to the Injunctions, followeth:

“ We *N* and *N:* Forſameikle as the Aſſembly holden at *Edinburgh* the 2d of *Januar* 1567 Years, hath made and conſtitute their loving Brother *N*, within the Bounds of *N*, Collector, and hath made and given to him certain Injunctions, with Commiſſion for uſing of the ſaid Office for the Crop and Year of God 1567 Years inſtant, and ſiklike yearly, and in Time coming, whill he be lawfully diſcharged, as at more lenth is contained in theſe ſaid Injunctions and Commiſſion: Therfor we bind and obleige our ſelves, our Heirs, Executors and Aſſigneys, to Mrs. *Clement Little* and *Richard Strang* Procurators for the Kirk, and in their Names, that the ſaid *N* ſhall truely, leilly and diligently uſe and exerce the ſaid Office, to the Weel and Utility of the Kirk, without Fraud or Guile, according to the Commiſſion and Injunctions given to him thereupon; and ſhall make Reckoning and thankfull Payment of his Intromiſſion during all the Time of his Office; and if he fail, we ſhall refound and pay to the Kirk all and whatſomever Things the ſaid *N* ſhall happen to be addebted to them during all the Time forſaid: And for more ſure Payment of the Premiſſes, we are content and conſents that this our Aſſignation be acted in the Books of Counſell, and decerned to have the Strenth of a Decreit of the Lords, and Executorials to paſs thereupon in Form as effeirs. And I the ſaid *N* bind and oblige me myſelf, my Heirs, Executors and Aſſigneys, to free, releeve and keip skaithleſs the ſaid *N* and *N* my Soverties, &c. In witneſs of the whilks, we have ſubſcrived this Obligation with our Hand at *Edinburgh* the —— Day of ——

“ In the Injunctions it was required, that every Collector be known to be of ſound Religion; that they ſhall do their Office without Suſpicion of Fraud or Avarice, make Payment to every Superintendent, Commiſſioner of the Kirk, Miniſter or Reader living within their Bounds, of the Stipend appointed to them quarterly, at four Terms in the Year, and that the ſaid Payment be made to every one that ſerveth that hath Stipend or Fee, at their own Houſes, that they be not compelled to ſeek abroad and leave their Vocation: That where the Rentall beareth Victuall, they ſhall not have Power to ſell the Victuall or any Part thereof, or ſett Price therupon, but be the Advice of the Aſſembly allenerly, or ſuch as they ſhall deput Commiſſioners therto in every Province; and that the ſaid Collectors ſhall have their Hand-writs to ſhew at their Compts, and ſhall ſell no Victuall till the Miniſters be firſt furniſhed, or els refuſe to receave the ſamen upon the Prices which ſhall be appointed: And if the poor Labourers be not able for Povertie to deliver the Bolls, he ſhall take no higher Prices than is appointed, nor put up in the Garnell, where he may have the Prices befor appointed. *Item*, That they ſhall not drive Time fraudulently, in payment of Miniſters Stipends; that they be not compelled through Neceſſity to give Acquittances of greater Sumes then they ſhall happen to receave, or take the Victualls at dearer Prices then ſhall be appointed: And if it be known that he hath dealt fraudulently or covetouſly, to the Hurt either of Miniſters or Subjects, that he ſhall incurr the Pain of twa hundereth Pounds, to be applyed to godly Uſes. *Item*, That they ſhall make a juſt Accompt to the Aſſembly, or others to be appointed to receave the ſame, of their particular Intromiſſions with their forſaids Thirds, and make faithfull Payment of the Superpluſes reſting in their Hands above the Payment to the Miniſters, or els give in Letters of Horning ſufficiently execut and indorſed, of their Diligence. *Item*, That they reſign their Office in the Hands of the Aſſembly, whenſoever they ſhall be charged, or found negligent or fraudulent. *Item*, That they find ſome ſufficient landed Man or Burgeſs, Cautioner, one or moe, if one be not ſufficient, for the faithful Adminiſtration of their Office, under Pain of refounding all Damages, Skaiths and Entreſs which the Kirk or any Member therof ſhall

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“ ſuſtain through their Defaults, the ſamen being ſummarly liquidat and known, and Loſs of their Office *ipſo facto*, and under Pain befor expreſſed in the fourth Article.

“ In the ſixth Seſſion, the Superintendent of *Angus* preſented a Supplication in Write, or rather a Dimiſſion of his Office of Superintendrie, be reaſon he was not able to diſcharge that Office, in reſpect of his Age and Infirmity: The Aſſembly notwithſtanding would not accept this his Dimiſſion, for divers reſpects, to be ſhown to the ſaid Superintendent, and continued him in the ſaid Vocation till farder Adviſement.

“ In the laſt Seſſion, it was ordained that a Letter ſhould be ſent to *England* to Mr. *Willocks*, to requeſt him to return: The Tennor wherof followeth;

Videbam Satanam ſicut fulgur de cœlo cadentem.

“ As the Lord our God hath at all Times been from the Beginning of this his Work of Reformation and Reſtitution of the Purity of his true Worſhip and Religion within *Scotland*, loving Brother in the Lord, moſt beneficiall and bountifull toward this Realme, ſo hath He now be this laſt, but moſt miraculous Victory and Overthrow, poured forth in greateſt Abundance the Riches of his Mercies, in that not only He hath driven away the Tempeſt and Storm, but alſo hath quieted and calmed all Sourges of Perſecution; as now we may think weal our Ship is receaved, and placed in a moſt happy and bleſſed Port; our Enemies, praiſed be God, are daſhed; Religion eſtabliſhed; ſufficient Proviſion made for Miniſters; Order taken, and Penaltie appointed, for all ſort of Tranſgreſſion and Tranſgreſſours; and above all, a godly Magiſtrat, whom God of his eternall and heavenly Providence hath reſerved to this Age, to put in Execution whatſoever he by his Law commandeth. Now then, loving Brother, as your Preſence was to us all in time of Trouble moſt comfortable, ſo it is now of us all univerſally wiſhed, but moſt earneſtly craved be your own Flock, who continually at all Aſſemblies have declared the Force of that Conjunction, the Earneſtneſs of that Love, the Pith of that Zeal, and mutuall Care that bindeth the Paſtor with his Flock, which neither be Progreſs of Time is diminiſhed, nor be Separation and Diſtance of Places reſtringed, nor yet be Tyrannie and Fear diſſolved. True it is, that at this their moſt earneſt and juſt Petitions we have ever ſtill winked this Time paſt; not but that to us all your Abſence was moſt dolourous, but in reſpect of Troubles, we judged more meet to await for ſuch Opportunity, as now God in this moſt wonderfull Victory of his Evangell hath offered: Therfor ſeing all Impediments are removed, and your Flock ſtill continueth in earneſt Sute for you, and now every wher throughout the Realme Commiſſioners and Superintendents placed, and one offered to them, and be them refuſed altogither, awaiting for you; we could no longer ſtay, but agree to this their Deſire and Suit, whereof neither through Fear have they fainted, nor by Charges retarded, nor yet by any kind of Offer deſiſted; and as we have been moved to grant to them that which they have thus humbly and continually ſuted, we cannot but perſwad our ſelves but ye will ſatisfie the ſame; neither can we think that the Shepherd will refuſe his Flock; that the Father will reject the juſt Petition of his Son; leaſt of all, that the faithfull Servant of God will ſhut up his Eares at the Voice and Commandment of the Kirk, or yet deny his Labours to his own Country. The Time is proper now to reape with Blythneſſe that ye know before was ſowen in Teares, and enjoy the Fruit of your moſt weariſome and painfull Labours. It ſhall be no leſs pleaſant to you to ſee your own native Country at Liberty and Freedom, which ye left in mourning and ſobbing under the heavie Burden of moſt cruell Servitude, then comfortable to behold the Religion of *Jeſus Chriſt* throughout all the Realm flouriſhing, Vertue increaſing, vertuous Men in Reputation; and ſo finally embrace theſe Dayes, which howſoever hath been be your ſelf moſt piouſly deſired, yet could ye never look to ob-

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"tain the ſame. Now, at laſt to conclude, unleſs ye will be ane Enemie to your Country, ye will not refuſe theſe Requeiſts; unleſs ye will be ſtubborn and diſobedient, ye will not contemn the Commandment of the Kirk; unleſs ye will be careleſs and unthankfull, ye will not deſpiſe the humble, continuall and earneſt Sute of your Flock; and laſt we aſſure our ſelves, that ye are not ſo aſtricted and addicted to your own Particular, as that this generall and common Cauſe ſhould be in anywiſe be you neglected. Now ſhall ye ſee the Kaipſtone of that Work wherof ye laid the Foundation. Thus we cannot look for any other Anſwer then ye ſhall give be your ſelf, and that with all Expedition poſſible. Our State ye know is not ſo ſure but we ever ſtand upon our Watches; but that, we know, will not ſtay you, ſeing your Compt is ſo laid. Thus we commit you to the Protection of our *Lord Jeſus*. At *Edinburgh* in our Generall Aſſembly, and ſeventh Seſſion therof."

The only remaining Paper pertaining to this *Eccleſiaſtical* Part of our *Hiſtorical Collections*, is the following Letter taken from Mr. *Calderwood*'s large MS. and which is introduced by that Writer in theſe preciſe Words:

"The Miniſters in the mean time [*viz.* when the Queen was at *Hamilton*, after her Eſcape from *Lochlevin*] "celebrated publict Faſting, and prayed that the Lord would turn her Interpriſe to nought: Mr. *John Spotſwood* Superintendent of *Louthian* directeth this Admonition following to the Profeſſors within his Bounds.

Mr. John Spotſwood *Superintendent of* Louthian, *to all that profeſs, or that have profeſſed the Lord Jeſus, and have refuſed that* Roman *Antichriſt called the Pope, within the Dioceſs committed to his Charge, deſires Grace, Mercie and Peace from God the Father of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, together with the Spirit of righteous Judgment.*

"That fearfull Sentence pronounced be GOD Himſelf, unto his Prophet *Ezekiel*, againſt the Watchman that ſeeth the Sword coming, and doeth not blow the Trumpet and plainly warn the People, compelleth me to write unto you, beloved in the Lord, this my rude Letter, becauſe that my corporal Preſence and weak Voice cannot be extended to you all, in thir dangerous and moſt wicked Dayes: To you, I ſay, I am compelled to cry be my Pen, That the Sword of God's juſt Judgment is come, and hath devoured ſome, according to the forewarning of his Meſſengers, and (alace) I fear is yet drawn, and yet ready to devour moe; the firſt Part of this cannot be denyed, and the ſecond alſo hath great Probability; and yet I fear that every Man ſeeth not, or at leaſt will not confeſs the very Cauſe neither of the one nor yet of the other. We ſee a wicked Woman, whoſe Iniquity known and lawfully convict, deſerved more then ten Deaths, eſcaped from Priſon: This is the *firſt*. Negligence of the Keepers of it, is not to be excuſed; ſo may it weel occupy the *ſecond* Place before Men. Practices of deceitfull Men, together with her own Villanie, juſtly may occupy the *third* Rank in that wicked Fact. But none of all theſe ſhould have had place to work, if the Mouth of the Lord had been obeyed; for if ſhe had ſuffered, according as God's Law commandeth *Murtherers* and *Adulterers to die the Death*, the Wickedneſs taken forth from *Iſrael*, the Plague ſhould have ceaſed; which cannot but remain, ſo long as that innocent Blood traiterouſly ſhed is not puniſhed, according as God hath commanded; and ſo I fear not to affirm, that the Reſervation of that wicked Woman, againſt God, and againſt the Voices of his Servants, is the firſt and principall Cauſe externall which Man can ſee of the Plague and Murder lately begun; and yet when I confeſs it to be the firſt externall Cauſe, I mean not that it is the only and ſole Cauſe of this preſent and appearing Calamity; for albeit that the Devil himſelf had been looſed (as no doubt he was) in the Perſon of that moſt wicked Woman, yet could not he nor ſhe greatly have troubled this Commonwealth, unleſs that ſhe had been aſſiſted with the Preſence, Counſell and Force of ſuch as have profeſſed

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Having thus brought the Account of *Eccleſiaſtical* Affairs as far down as this *Firſt* Volume requires, I ſhall now ſhut up the ſame with a ſhort Reflexion concerning theſe Matters.

A Reflexion concerning theſe Church-Matters.

As to the general State of the Chriſtian Church for a good while before the Period of which we have been treating in theſe *Hiſtorical Collections*, it ſeems to be undeniable that ſeveral Things, unſupported by primitive Antiquity, had crept into both the Doctrine and Worſhip thereof: Some of which, we may neverthelesſ charitably believe, had been introduced with no bad Deſign; whilſt others, if they were not brought in, were at leaſt either kept up with ſiniſter Views, or maintained with too peeviſh an Obſtinacy. It will, I ſuppoſe, be almoſt univerſally agreed, that the Church is inveſted with a Power to appoint, reform, or aboliſh ſuch Things as pertain to the external Worſhip of GOD,

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(*a*) The Tenor of this Letter is indeed very pithy; but however, we may moſt juſtly obſerve, that whether the Queen was guilty or not guilty of the Crime laid againſt her, yet there neither was *then* (ſo far as we can ſee) nor has been to this Day, any proper Foundation to ſay that her Majeſty was *lawfully convict* thereof. By the Hiſtory of the Time, and the Acknowledgment of this Letter, it would ſeem the greateſt Number of the Kingdom thought the Magiſtracy not lawful.

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GOD, for the Benefit of the Faithful, according to the Expediency of Time, and other the like Circumſtances: But as the Church conſiſts of two Parts, the *Governors* and the *Governed*; Men will not ſo generally agree as to the Deportment of the *latter*, provided the *former* ſhould not think fit to comply with ſuch Appointments and Regulations as might come to be required from them. And the Difference will certainly prove ſtill the more wide, when the Queſtion ſhall come to touch the Things that pertain to Doctrine. For in either Caſe there are ſome Perſons who do maintain, that when the *Governors* incline not to make any Alteration, the *Governed* ought in Conſcience to ſubmit, and that no other lawful Means is left them but Application to Almighty GOD, that He would be pleaſed ſo to rule and diſpoſe the Hearts of the *Governors*, as to concur in the deſired Reformation: Nor do they ſeem to frame any Doubt, but that in ſuch an Event His Divine Majeſty would effectually interpoſe by Means beſt known and ſeen to Himſelf. But others do on the contrary as ſtrenuouſly maintain, that if the *Governors* ſhall refuſe to reform Abuſes of any ſort, the *Governed* may freely put to their Hand, and reform what they ſhall judge to be amiſs. To reduce the *firſt* of theſe Sentiments to Practice, it would ſeem neceſſary that Men were moulded into another Temper and Spirit than is to be expected in our preſent degenerate Condition. And as to the *other* Sentiment, it will be alledged, that if a true Reformation of Abuſes was actually and in good earneſt brought about, tho' the Manner of bringing about the ſame was not ſo regular in all its Points, yet the Advantage of the Benefit thereby gained, may be judged a ſufficient Ballance for the breaking in upon a Duty, *viz.* Obedience to external Superiors, which could not be preſerved without encroaching, at the ſame time, upon another that was ſtill more material and binding, namely, Obedience to the Laws and Commandments of GOD; and no Doubt this Judgment will be of much greater Force, if the ſupreme Eccleſiaſtical Governors have by Degrees aſſumed to themſelves a Power and Superiority which of Right does not belong unto them. In fine, when we caſt our Eyes upon the State of the Chriſtian Church at the Commencement of the grand Breach, may we not charitably think, that had Men foreſeen what was to follow thereupon, the ſupreme *Governors* would for the ſake of Peace have made it their Choice to yield their Conſent to a total Abolition of all unwarrantable Doctrines; and the *Governed* to a benign Interpretation of ſuch Things as were leſs eſſential, and conſequently leſs dangerous, that ſo Unity and Concord might have been preſerved among all the Members of the Church *(a)*?

Next, as to the Situation of the Church within this Nation, 'tis to be obſerved, that by the Conſtitution thereof, for ſome time at leaſt preceding the Reformation of Religion, our Kings were by the Indults of the Popes inveſted with a Privilege of nominating to all the vacant Biſhopricks, Abbacies and Priories of any Note within the Kingdom. The Conſequence of which was, that our Princes did, at the Solicitation of their Favourites and Courtiers, for the moſt part nominate to the Biſhopricks Perſons that were unworthy of bearing that ſacred Character; and to the Abbacies and Priories, Perſons not only of no Education, nor in any Orders of the Church, but Children oftimes and Boys under the Denomination of Abbots and Priors-Commendators, that by this fraudulent and ſacrilegious ſort of dealing, the Rents and Benefices of the Church might accreſce to and become the Patrimony of private Families. Nay we are even certain, that Perſons in no Eccleſiaſtical Orders, and very Boys too, were by the Preſentation of our Kings, and the Proviſion of the Popes, ſet over the Epiſcopal Sees themſelves *(b)*. This then being the bad Uſe our Princes made of their Privilege, the natural Reſult of this was, that by far too many of theſe Prelates being neither bred up in Letters, nor having in them any virtuous Diſpoſitions, did not only live irregularly themſelves, but through Neglect of their Charge did likewiſe introduce by Degrees ſuch a Deluge of Ignorance and Vice among the Clergy and all Ranks of Men, that the State of the Church ſeemed to call loudly

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(a) See this beautiful Reflexion finely ſet forth by the Lord *Herbert*, in his Life of King *Henry* VIII.

(b) Such was the Caſe of *Robert Stewart* Bp. of *Cathneſs*, Brother to *Matthew* Earl of *Lenox*. *Epiſt. Reg. Scot. Vol.* 2. *p.* 222.

1568. for a Reformation of both; inſomuch that an eaſy Compliance in moſt People, with a propoſed Reformation, might have juſtly again been reckoned the Conſequence of the corrupt State of the Church in this Nation at that Time. And had none but pious and prudent Men ſet about that Work, and had they put their Hands to the real Abuſes *only*, we in this Kingdom might have obtained a Reformation preferable perhaps to that of any other Country: And how greatly had both that Age and Poſterity applauded their Conduct, and been obliged to their Labours! But to our grievous Misfortune, Things went too much otherwiſe. And becauſe the Ignorance and Viciouſneſs of a great many of the then Prieſts was too viſible either to be denied or palliated, therefore the Leaders (or I might more juſtly ſay the leading Man) of the Reformation preſumed boldly to declare againſt the Order of *Prieſthood* altogether *(a)*, and to introduce in its Room a new faſhioned ſort of *Miniſtry (b)* unknown in the Chriſtian Church for all preceding Generations: A Model, by its own inward Conſtitution, the fruitful Source of innumerable Subdiviſions and Schiſms, in ſo far as it ſubjects the *Holy Order* to the Deſignation of the Multitude in the ſeveral Nations of Chriſtendom, and by which of conſequence the Clergy and Religion of all Countries have an equal Claim, and the Prieſts of the *Roman* Church are as truly the Miniſters of *Jeſus Chriſt* as any of the *Reformed*, by their having the unanimous Voice of the People on their Side. In a word, ſo intoxicated was the principal Director of our Reformation with the Extravagancies he had ſeen in foreign Parts, that (contrary to the good Advice given him) unleſs he got every thing plucked up that had been *before*, he could never ſuffer himſelf to be perſwaded but that *Popery* was ſtill regnant in the Land; and unleſs Prince and Peer, Prieſt and People, would accommodate themſelves to his *devout Imaginations* (as he owns ſome of his new-fangled Schemes were denominated) there was hardly any Safety for them at all. And thus by his *unruly* and *miſgoverned* Zeal, the goodly Polity which had ſo long continued, and ought ſtill to have ſubſiſted in the Church, was utterly defaced, and the Divine Worſhip was left naked and bare beyond any Example in Antiquity; and inſtead of that Beauty which might have been the Ornament of our Land, we relinquiſhed to our neighbouring Nation the Honour of claiming to themſelves the Glory of the Reformed Churches. Two Things however muſt be acknowledged to be preferable in our Reformation, namely, a ſtricter Diſcipline, and a more equal Diſtribution of Clergymens Stipends.

And now upon the whole, Since the beſt external Reformation either of Doctrine or Worſhip, is of no Avail without the internal Reformation of the Heart and Manners, we ought all to reckon it our indiſpenſable Duty to ſet about *this* in good earneſt. We have indeed great Reaſon to thank the Divine Providence that we are reſcued from much Blindneſs and Error; but moſt eſpecially ought we to labour to be making a right Uſe of the Light and Knowledge, and all the other excellent Means of Grace we enjoy; that ſo we may not be ſhut out of the heavenly Kingdom, while others who may be in greater Darkneſs, ſhall for their Uprightneſs and Sincerity, and for living up to their Light, be introduced into It by the *juſt Judge of all the Earth, who is no Reſpecter of Perſons; but in every Nation he that feareth Him, and worketh Righteouſneſs, is accepted with Him: To whom be Glory and Dominion for ever.* Amen.

(*a*) The wiſe and learned *Eraſmus* had cautioned *Luther* againſt this Miſmanagement; but his good Advice had not the juſt Effect. See the Letters between theſe two great Men.

(*b*) It has been ſaid oftner than once, that our Reformation was carried on by *Presbyters* only: A very fallacious Affirmation ſurely, ſince the Perſons here pointed at were any other thing as naturally as Presbyters, and were not indeed Presbyters at all. For tho' it be true that Mr. *Knox* and ſome others had formerly had the Ordination of *Prieſts*, that is, Presbyters; yet we know that he, and probably thoſe others too, acted at that Time without any Regard to their former ſacred Orders, and that they diſclaimed the ſame as being of no Worth nor Authority, inſomuch that Mr. *Erskine* of *Dun*, *William Harlaw* Taylor in *Canongate* of *Edinburgh*, *Paul Methven* Baker in *Dundee*, and many more no doubt, were we acquainted with the minute Circumſtances of theſe Times, came into the ſame Degree with them: And they all might have denominated themſelves Biſhops, Patriarchs, or Popes, as well as Presbyters, or any thing elſe they pleaſed, or whatever we may think fit to call them *now*; tho' indeed they were none of all theſe Orders, by any Title or Language known in the Chriſtian Church before that Time. And any Man may by the ſame Right aſſume to himſelf the Authority of Biſhop, Presbyter, or Deacon, at any time he and his Fellows ſhall find proper ſo to do.

FINIS.

APPENDIX,

Containing the

ORIGINAL PAPERS

AND

RECORDS,

WITH OTHER

DOCUMENTS,

Mentioned and Referr'd to in the

Foregoing History.

I. *The Form of the Indulgence granted by Pope* Leo X.

Seckendorſ, Hiſtor. *Lutheran.* p. 14.

MISEREATUR tui Dominus noſter Ieſus Chriſtus; per merita ſuæ ſanctiſſimæ paſſionis te abſolvat: & ego autoritate ejuſdem, & beatorum Petri & Pauli Apoſtolorum ejus, & ſanctiſſimi noſtri Papæ tibi conceſſa, & in hac parte mihi commiſſa, te abſolvo: primò ab omnibus cenſuris Eccleſiaſticis per te quomodolibet incurſis: deinde ab omnibus peccatis, delictis & exceſſibus tuis hactenus per te commiſſis quantumcunque enormibus, etiam ſedi Apoſtolicæ reſervatis, in quantum claves ſanctæ matris Eccleſiæ, ſe extendunt, remittendo tibi per plenariam indulgentiam omnem pœnam in Purgatorio pro præmiſſis tibi debitam, & reſtituo te ſanctis Sacramentis Eccleſiæ, & unitati fidelium, ac innocentiæ & puritati, in qua eras, quando baptizatus fuiſti; ita quod tibi decedenti clauſæ ſint portæ pœnarum, & ſint apertæ januæ paradiſi deliciarum: quod ſi non morieris, ſalva ſit iſta gratia quando aliàs fueris in mortis articulo. In nomine Patris, & Filii, & Spiritûs Sancti, Amen.

II. *The Sentence pronounced againſt Mr.* Patrick Hamilton.

Fox's Martyrol. Vol. 2. p. 227. Edit. *Lond.* 1631.

Chriſti nomine invocato: Wee *James*, by the Mercie of GOD, Archbiſhop of Saint *Andrews*, Primate of *Scotland*, with the Counſell, Decree and Authoritie of the moſt Reverent Fathers in GOD, and Lords, Abbats, Doctours of Theologie, Profeſſors of the holy Scripture, and Maſters of the Univerſitie, aſſiſting us for the Time, ſitting in Judgment within our Metropolitan Church of Saint *Andrews*, in the Cauſe of Heretical Pravitie, againſt Mr. *Patricke Hamelton* Abbat or Penſionary of *Ferme*, being ſummoned to appear before us, to anſwer to certain Articles, affirmed, taught and preached by him; and ſo appearing before us, and accuſed, the Merits of the Cauſe being ripely weighed, diſcuſſed and underſtood, by faithful Inquiſition made in Lent laſt paſt: We have found the ſame Mr. *Patrick* many Wayes infamed with Hereſie, diſputing, holding and maintaining diverſe Hereſies of *Martin Luther* and his Followers, repugnant to our Faith, and which are already condemned by general Councells, and moſt famous Univerſities. And hee being under the ſame Infamie, we decerning before him to be ſummoned and accuſed upon the Premiſſes, he, of evil Mind, (as may be preſumed) paſſed to other Parts forth of the Realme, ſuſpected and noted of Hereſie. And being lately returned, not being admitted, but of his owne Head, without Licence or Priviledge, hath preſumed to preach wicked Hereſie.

We have found alſo, that he hath affirmed, publiſhed and taught divers Opinions of *Luther*, and wicked Hereſies, after that hee was ſummoned to appeare before us and our Counſel: *That Man hath no free Will: That Man is in Sin ſo long as he liveth: That Children, incontinent after their Baptiſme, are Sinners: All Chriſtians, that be worthie to be called Chriſtians, do know that they are in Grace: No Man is juſtifyed by Works, but by Faith only: Good Works make not a good Man, but a good Man doth make good Works: That Faith, Hope and Charity are ſo knit, that he that hath the one, hath the reſt; and he that wanteth the one of them, wanteth the reſt, &c.* with diverſe other Hereſies, and deteſtable Opinions: And hath perſiſted

ſo obſtinate in the ſame, that by no Counſel nor Perſuaſion hee may be drawne therefrom to the Way of our right Faith.

All theſe Premiſſes being conſidered, we, having GOD and the Integrity of our Faith before our Eyes, and following the Counſel and Advice of the Profeſſors of the holy Scripture, Men of Law, and other aſſiſting us for the Time, doe pronounce, determine and declare the ſaid Mr. *Patricke Hamelton*, for his affirming, confeſſing and maintaining of the foreſaid Hereſies, and his Pertinacity (they being condemned already by the Church, general Councels and moſt famous Univerſities) to be an Hereticke, and to have ane evil Opinion of the Faith; and therefore to be condemned and puniſhed, likeas we condemne and define him to be puniſhed, by this our Sentence definitive, depriving and ſentencing him to be deprived of all Dignities, Honors, Orders, Offices and Benefices of the Church; and therefore doe judge and pronounce him to be delivered over unto the Secular Power, to be puniſhed, and his Goods to be confiſcate.

This our Sentence definitive was given and read at our Metropolitane Church of S. *Andrews*, the laſt Day of the Month of *February*, *anno* 1527, being preſent the moſt Reverend Fathers in Chriſt, and Lords, *Gawand* Biſhop of *Glaſgow*, *George* Biſhop of *Dunkelden*, *John* Biſhop of *Brechain*, *William* Biſhop of *Dunblane*, *Patrick* Prior of St. *Andrews*, *David* Abbat of *Abirbrothoke*, *George* Abbat of *Dunfermling*, *Alexander* Abbat of *Cambuskenneth*, *Henry* Abbat of *Lendors*, *John* Prior of *Pittenweem*, the Deane and Subdeane of *Glaſgow*, Mr. *Hugh Spens*, *Thomas Ramſay*, *Allane Meldrum*, &c. in the Preſence of the Clergy and the People.

III. *Friar* Seton's *Letter to the King.*

Knox's Hiſt. Edit. 8*vo* p. 48.

MOſt Gracious and Soveraigne Lord, under the Lord and King of all, of whom only thy Highnes and Majeſty haſt Power and Authority, to exerciſe Juſtice within this thy Realme, under GOD, who is King and Lord of all Realmes; and thy Grace, and all mortal Kings, are but only Servants unto that only immortal Prince CHRIST JESUS, &c. It is not, I wot, unknown to thy gracious Highnes, how that thy Grace's ſometime Servant and Orator (and ever ſhall be to my Lives End) is departed out of thy Realme, unto the next adjacent of *England*. Nevertheleſs I believe the Cauſe of my departing is unknowne to thy gracious Majeſty: Which only is, becauſe the Biſhops and Churchmen of thy Realme have had heretofore ſuch Authoritie upon thy Subjects, that apparently they were rather King, and thou the Subject; which unjuſt Regiment is of it ſelf falſe, and contrarie to holy Scripture, and GOD's Law; then thou art their King and Maſter, and they thy Subjects, which is very true, and teſtifyed expreſly by the Word of GOD: And alſo, becauſe they will give no Man, of any Degree or State, (whom they often call Heretikes) Audience, Time nor Place to ſpeak, and have Defence, which is againſt all Law, both the old Law (called the Law of *Moſes*), and the new Law of the Goſpel. So that if I might have had Audience, and Place to ſpeak, and have ſhewed my juſt Defence, conformable to the Law of GOD, I ſhould never have fled to any other Realme, ſuppoſe it ſhould have coſt me my Life. But becauſe I believed that I ſhould have no Audience, nor Place to anſwer, (they are ſo great with thy Grace) I departed, not doubting, but moved of GOD, unto a better Time, that GOD illuminate thy Grace, even to give every Man Audience (as thou ſhouldſt, and mayſt, and is bound by the Law of GOD) who are accuſed to the Death. And to certify thy Highnes that theſe are no vain Words, but of Deed and Effect, here I offer me to thy Grace, to come in thy Realme again, ſo that thy Grace will give me Audience, and hear what I have for me of the Law of GOD: And cauſe any Biſhop or Abbot,

Abbot, Friar or Secular, which is moſt convenient (ſome of them cannot reade their Mattins who are made Judges of Hereſie) to impugne me by the Law of GOD; and if my Part be found wrong, thy Grace being preſent and Judge, I refuſe no Pain worthy or condigne for my Fault. And if that I convict them by the Law of GOD, and that they have nothing to lay to my Charge, but the Law of Man and their oun Inventions, to uphold their oun Glory and prideful Life, and dayly ſcourging of thy poor Subjects; I report me to thy Grace as Judge, whether he hath the Victory that holds him at the Law of GOD, which cannot fail nor be falſe, or they that holds them at the Law of Man, which is right oft plain contrary, and againſt the Law of GOD; and therefore of neceſſity falſe, and full of Leaſings: For all Things that is contrary to the Veritie, (which is Chriſt and his Law) is of neceſſity a Leaſing. And to witneſs that this comes of all my Heart, I ſhall remain in *Barwicke* while I get thy Grace's Anſwer; and ſhall without fail return, having thy Hand Writ, that I may have Audience, and Place to ſpeak. No more I deſire of thee, whereof if I had been ſure, I ſhould never have departed: And that thou mayſt know the Truth thereof, if Fear of the Juſtnes of my Cauſe, or Dread of Perſecution for the ſame, had moved me to depart, I could not ſo pleaſantly revert; only Diſtruſt was the Cauſe of my departing. Pardon me to ſay that which lyes to thy Grace's Charge: Thou art bound by the Law of GOD (ſuppoſe they falſelie lie, ſaying, It pertaineth not to thy Grace to intermeddle with ſuch Matters) to cauſe every Man, in any Caſe accuſed of his Life, to have his juſt Defence, and his Accuſers, conform to their own Law. They blind thy Grace's Eyes, that knows nothing of thy Law: But if I prove not this out of their own Law, I offer me to the Death. Thy Grace therefore by Experience may dayly learn, (ſeeing they neither fear the King of Heaven, as their Lives teſtify, neither the natural Prince, as their uſurped Power in their own Actions ſhews) why thy Highnes ſhould lie no longer blinded. Thou maiſt conſider, that they pretend nothing elſe, but only the Maintenance and upholding of their barbed Mules, augmenting of their inſatiable Avarice, and continual overthrowing and ſwallowing up thy poor Subjects; neither preaching nor teaching out of the Law of GOD (as they ſhould) to the rude ignorant People; but contend who may be moſt high, moſt rich, and neareſt thy Grace, to put the temporal Lords and Lieges out of thy Counſel and Favour, who ſhould be, and are moſt tender Servants to thy Grace, in all Time of Need, to the Defence of thee and thy Croun: And where they deſire thy Grace to put out thy temporal Lords and Lieges, becauſe they deſpiſe their vitious Life, what elſe intend they, but only thy Death and Deſtruction? as thou mayſt eaſily perceive, ſuppoſe they colour their falſe Intent and Mind with the Purſuit of Hereſie; for when thy Barons are put down, what art thou but the King of Bane? and then of neceſſity muſt be guided by them: And there (no doubt) where a blind Man is Guide, muſt be a Fall in the Myre. Therefore let thy Grace take Boldnes and Authoritie, which thou haſt of GOD, and ſuffer not their cruell Perſecution to proceed, without Audience given to him that is accuſed, and juſt Place of Defence. And then, no doubt, thou ſhalt have thy Subjects Hearts, and all that they can or may do in Time of Need; Tranquillitie, Juſtice and Policie in thy Realme; and finally the Kingdom of the Heavens. Pleaſeth you to give this or the Copy to the Clergy and Churchmen, and keep the Principal; and thy Grace ſhall have Experience, If I go againſt one Word that I have ſpoken. I ſhall dayly make my heartly Devotion for thy Grace, and for the Proſperity and Welfare of thy Body and Soul. I doubt not but thy gracious Highnes will give Anſwer of theſe Preſents, unto the Preſenter of this unto thy Highnes. At *Barwicke*, by thy Highnes Servant and Orator,

Alexander Seton.

IV. *The Act or Proceſs againſt Sir* John Borthwicke.

Fox's Martyrol. Vol. 2. p. 605, &c.

SIR *John Borthwicke* Knight, commonly called Captaine *Borthwicke*, being accuſed, ſuſpected, ſlandered, and convict by Witneſſes, without all doubt, of greater Eſtimation then hee himſelfe, in the Yeare of our LORD 1540, the eight and twentieth Day of *May*, in Cloyſter of St. *Andrewes*, in the Preſence of the Moſt Reverend Fathers, *Gawine* Archbiſhop of *Glaſgow*, Chancellour of *Scotland*, *William* Biſhop of *Aberdeen*, *Henry* of *Candida Caſa*, *John* Biſhop of *Brechin*, and *William* of *Dunbar* Biſhop of ——— ; *Andrew* of *Melroſs*, *George* of *Dunfermling*, *John* of *Paiſly*, *John* of *Lundores*, *Robert* of *Kelſo*, and *William* of *Culroſs*, Abbots ; ——— *Mancolalyne* of *Whithern*, and *John* of *Pittenweem*, Priors ; Mr. *Alexander Balfour* Vicar of *Kilman*, Rector of *Law*, Official of St. *Andrews* ; *John Winton* Subprior, *John Annand* and *Thomas Cunningham* Cannons of St. *Andrews*, and Mr. *John Mayor* and *Peter Capelland* Batchelours of Divinitie, and Doctors ; *Martine Balfour* Batchelour of Divinitie, and Fellow Priour of the Friers *Auguſtines* of the ſame City ; *John Tulidaffe* Warden of the Friars Minors, and *John Paterſon* of the ſame Convent : And alſo in the Preſence of the Moſt Noble, Mighty and Honourable Lords, *George* of *Huntly*, *James* of *Arran*, *William Mariſchal*, *William* of *Montroſe*, Earles ; *Malcom* Lord of *Fleming* Chamberlaine of *Scotland*, *John* Lord of *Lindſey*, *John* Lord of *Erskine*, *George* Lord of *Seton*, *James Hamilton* of *Finwart*, *Walter* Lord of Saint *John*, Mr. *James Fowlis* of *Colington*, Clerk to the King's Regiſter ; with divers other Lords, Barons and honeſt Perſons, being called and deſired together for Witneſſes, that he did hold, publiſh and openly teach theſe Errours following.

ARTICLE I.

THAT our holy Father the Pope, as Chriſt's Vicar, hath not, neither can exerciſe greater Authoritie over Chriſtians here on Earth, than any other Biſhop or Prelate.

ARTICLE II.

THAT Indulgences and Pardons granted by our ſupreme Head the Pope, are of no Force, Strength or Effect ; but tend only to the Abuſe of the People, and the deceiving of their Souls.

ARTICLE III.

THAT the Pope is an open Uſer of Simony, daily ſelling the Gifts of the Spiritualties : And that it is lawfull for all Biſhops to be coupled and joyned in Matrimonie.

ARTICLE IV.

THAT all thoſe Hereſies, commonly called the Hereſies of *England*, or at the leaſt the greater or moſt Part of them, are to be now preſently underſtood and knoun by the *Engliſh* Men, to be of themſelves good and juſt, and to be obſerved of all faithfull Chriſtians, as moſt true, and conformable to the Law of GOD ; and that he had perſuaded many Perſons to embrace the ſaid Hereſies.

ARTICLE V.

THAT the *Scottiſh* Nation, and their Clergy, be altogether blinded ; whom he did alſo ſay and affirme, that they had not the true Catholique Faith. And this hee did openly teach; and preached alſo, that his Faith was much better, and more excellent, than the Faith of all the Clergy in the Realme of *Scotland*.

ARTICLE VI.

AGREEABLIE to the ancient Errours of *John Wickliffe* and *John Hus* Arch-Heretiques, condemned in the Council of *Conſtance*, hee hath affirmed and preached, That the Clergy ought not to poſſeſſe or have any temporall Poſſeſſions, neither to have any Juriſdiction or Authority in Temporalties, even over their owne Subjects; but that all theſe Things ought to be taken from them, as it is at this preſent in *England*.

ARTICLE VII.

FALSLY, and againſt the Honour, State and Reverence of the Sacred Majeſtie of the King of *Scots*, he hath ſaid, holden and affirmed, That our Moſt Noble King of *Scots*, Defender of the Chriſtian Faith, would appropriate unto himſelfe, all the Poſſeſſions, Lands and Rents of the Church, given and granted by his Predeceſſors, and alſo by himſelfe, and convert them unto his owne private Uſe. And for this End and Purpoſe, as hee hath many Times written to him, ſo hath hee with his whole Endeavour perſuaded our ſaid noble Lord and King thereunto.

ARTICLE VIII.

HE willed and deſired, and oft-times with his whole Heart prayed, that the Church of *Scotland* might come and be brought to the ſame Point and State, and to like Ruine as the Church of *England* was alreadie come unto.

ARTICLE IX.

HE hath openly holden, ſaid and affirmed, preached and taught, That the Lawes of the Church, that is to ſay, the ſacred Canons, approved and allowed by the holy, Catholique and Apoſtolique Church, are of no Force, Strength or Effect; alledging therefore and affirming, that they are made and invented contrarie to the Law of GOD.

ARTICLE X.

DIVERS and many Waies he hath ſaid, holden, and alſo affirmed, and openly taught, That there is no Religion to be obſerved and kept, but ſimply to be aboliſhed and deſtroyed, as it is now in *England*: And, deſpiſing all Religion, affirming, that it is but abuſing of the People, he hath taught, That their Habits and Veſtures are deformed, and very monſtrous, having in them no manner of Utilitie or Holines; inducing and alluring, as much as in him lay, all the Adherents of his Opinion, that all Religion in the Kingdome of *Scotland*, ſhould bee ſubverted and utterly taken away, to the great Offence of the Catholique Church, and the diminiſhing and Detriment of the Chriſtian Religion.

It is manifeſt, that the ſaid *John Borthwicke* was ſo obſtinate in all the foreſaid Errours and Hereſies, and ſo mantained and taught them with ſuch an indurate Heart and Mind, that he would not by any means be perſuaded from them, by his Friends and divers other Perſons which did dearly love and favour him; but choſe rather obſtinately to perſevere in his ſaid Errours.

Of all which the Premiſſes, and many other Errours, by him holden, ſpoken, publiſhed, affirmed, preached and taught, the common Fame and Report is, That the ſaid Sir *John Borthwicke* is holden, reputed and accounted of very many as an Heretique, and principal Heretique, which holdeth evil Opinions of the Catholique Faith.

Where wee *David*, by the Title of S. *Stephen* in Mount *Cœlio*, Prelate and Cardinal of the holy Church of *Rome*, Archbiſhop of S. *Andrews*, Primate of the whole Kingdome of *Scotland*, and borne Legate of the Apoſtolique See, ſitting after the manner of Judges in our Tribunal Seate, the moſt holy Goſpels of GOD being laid before us, that our Judgement might proceed from the Face of GOD, and our Eyes might behold and look upon Equity and Juſtice, having only GOD, and the Veritie and Truth of the Catholique Faith before our Eyes, his holy Name being firſt called upon, having, as is before ſaid, hereupon holden a Counſel of wiſe Men, as well Divines as Lawyers, we pronounce, declare, decree, determine and give Sentence, that the ſaid Sir *John Borthwicke*, called Captaine *Borthwicke*, being ſuſpected, infamed and accuſed of the Errours and Hereſies before ſaid, and wicked Doctrines manifoldly condemned, as is aforeſaid; and by lawfull Proofs againſt him in every of the Premiſſes had, being convict and lawfully cited and called, not appearing, but as a fugitive Runne-away, and abſent, even as though he were preſent, to be an Heretique, and is and hath been convict as an Heretique, and as a convict Heretique and Hereſiarch to be puniſhed and chaſtened with due Puniſhment, and afterward to be delivered and left unto the Secular Power. Moreover, we confiſcate and make forfeite, and by theſe preſents declare and decree to be confiſcated and made forfeite, all and ſingular his Goods, Moveables and Unmoveables, howſoever and by whatſoever Title they be gotten, and in what Place or Part ſoever they be, and all his Offices whatſoever he hath hitherto had; reſerving notwithſtanding the Dowry, and ſuch Part and Portion of his Goods, as by the Law, Cuſtom and Right of this Realme, unto Perſons confiſcate ought to appertain. Alſo we decree, that the Picture of the ſaid *John Borthwicke* being formed, made and painted to his Likeneſs, be carried through this our City, to our Cathedral Church, and afterward to the Market Croſs of the ſame City, and there, in Token of Malediction and Curſe, and to the Terrour and Example of others, and for a perpetual Remembrance of his Obſtinacie and Condemnation, to be burned. Likewiſe we declare and decree, that notwithſtanding, if the ſaid *John Borthwicke* be hereafter apprehended and taken, he ſhall ſuffer ſuch like Puniſhment due by Order of Law unto Heretiques, without any Hope of Grace or Mercy to be obtained in that Behalfe. Alſo we plainly admoniſh and warne, by the Tenor of theſe Preſents, all and ſingular faithfull Chriſtians, both Men and Women, of what Dignity, State, Degree, Order, Condition or Preheminence ſoever they be, or with whatſoever Dignitie or Honour, Eccleſiaſtical or Temporall, they be honoured, that from this Day forward they doe not receive or harbour the ſaid Sir *John Borthwicke*, commonly called Captaine *Borthwicke*, being accuſed, convict and declared an Heretique, and Arch-heretique, into their Houſes, Hoſpitals, Caſtles, Cities, Towns, Villages, or other Cottages whatſoever they be, or by any manner of Means admit him thereunto, either by helping him with Meate, Drink or Victuals, or any other Thing whatſoever it bee, they do ſhew unto him any manner of Humanity, Help, Comfort or Solace, under the Pain and Penalty of greater and further Excommunication, Confiſcation and Forfeitures; and if it happen that they be found culpable or faultie in the Premiſſes, that they ſhall be accuſed therefore, as the Favourers, Receivers, Defenders, Maintainers and Abetters of Heretiques; and ſhall be puniſhed therefore according to the Order of Law, and with ſuch Pain and Puniſhment as ſhall be due unto Men in ſuch Behalfe.

V. *Orders of Parliament.*

16. *November*, 1524.

Records of Parliament.

THe Lordis diviſit, on the ſecrete Counſale with the Queinis Grace, to direct all Materis, and that nathing be done without thair Aviſs thairto, *viz.* my Lord of Saint *Andrews*, my Lord of *Abirdene*; my Lord of *Arane*, my Lord of *Ergile*.

Same Day.

Our Soverane Lord, with Aviſs of his deireſt Moder the Queinis Grace, and the Lordis thre Eſtatis of his Realme, underſtandand that *Jhone* Duke of *Albany*, than Tutor and Governour to our ſaid Soverane Lord the Kingis Grace, at his laſt departing furth of this Realme, promittit to haif returnit to the ſamen at the firſt Day of *September* laſt bypaſt for dew Executioun of his Office, and Adminiſtratioun of Juſtice to our Soverane Lordis Liegis enduring the Time of his ſaid Office, with Supportatioun of the King of *France*, for Defence of this Realme, as efferit, and was promiſit; quhilk he hes not kepit, bot abſents him agane the Tenor of his ſaid Promitt and Office of Tutory, abuſand and negleckand the ſamen, to the gret Hurt and Skaith of our ſaid Soverane Lord his Liegis and Subditis: Quherfore, the ſaids thre Eſtatis has decernit his ſaid Office of Tutory and Governance to be expirit, and he ſecludit thairfra; and has ſtatute and ordanit, That our ſaid Soverane Lord ſall uſe and exerceſs his awin Autoritie, and haif the full Reule and Governance of his Realme, Liegis and Subditis, in time tocum, be Aviſs of his ſaid deireſt Moder the Queinis Grace, and Lordis of his Counſale; and that honeſt Writings in this Matter be deviſit and ſend to the King of *France* and the ſaid Duke, to the Excuſe of our ſaid Soverane Lord his Lordis, and thair Accuſatioun.

Same Day.

Item, Becauſe the Queinis Grace, be naturale Luſe, Affectioun and Inclinatioun, is maiſt tender, ſure and traiſt, for the Gude and Weil of our Soverane Lord her deireſt Sonis Perſoun; it is ſtatute and ordanit, That ſhe ſall haif the keping and Reule of his maiſt noble Perſone, with wyſe vertuous Men, of gud Inclinatioun and Converſatioun, that may and will inſtruct him in Vertewis, Bountie and gud Manneris, to be choſin be Aviſs of the Quenis Grace, and Lordis of Counſale; and that all Officiaris of his maiſt noble Perſone Houſhald, with otheris his Officiaris, be choſin ſufficient, abill and convenient Men thairto, be Aviſs of the Queinis Grace and Lordis of Counſale, ſche beand Principale.

Same Day.

It is deviſit and ordanit, That the Archbiſchop and Biſchop of Saint *Andrews* and *Abirdene*, the Erlis of *Arane* and *Ergile*, be Lordis of our Soverane Lordis ſecret Counſale, to deviſs and conclude the Matteris betwix Realm and Realm, the ſtriking of Cunze, ſetting of Juſtice-Airis, and all utheris gret Matteris belangand the commonn Wele of our Soverane Lord and his Realm, be Aviſs of the Quenis Grace, ſche beand Principale.

25. *February*, 1524-5.

The quhilk Day, the Lordis of Articklis has choſin and ordanit, That thir Lordis under-writtin, that is to ſay, my Lord of Saint *Andrews*, my Lord of *Glaſgow*, my Lord of *Abirdene* and my Lord of *Dunblaine*, for the Spiritualitie; and my Lords Erle of *Anguſs*, Erle of *Arane*, Erle of *Ergile* and Erle of *Levinax*, for the Temporalitie; ſall be Lordis of the ſecrete Counſale, to ſteir, execute and put furth the Kingis Autoritie, in all Materis concerning the Honour and Wele of our Soverane Lordis Perſone, the Commonwele of his Realme and Liegis, and Materis betwix Realme and Realme, and in all o-

ther Materis, as heirefter followis in particular, the Queinis Grace being Principale, and ane of the ſamen, as od Perſone; and that nathing be done without thair Aviſs thairto, according to the ſaidis Articklis and Statutis thairupon, the Queinis Grace being Principale, and ane of the ſamen as od Perſone, as ſaid is.

25. *February*, 1524-5.

It is diviſit, ſtatut and ordanit, be the thre Eſtatis in this preſent Parliament, That the Kingis Grace maiſt noble Perſone be remufit furth of the Caſtell of *Edinburgh*, to the Abbay, for reſonable Cauſis moving the ſaids thre Eſtatis; quhilks declaris, that this Conventioun and lying about the Caſtell at this Tyme, was and is for the Surtie of the Kingis Perſone, and commoun Wele of his Realm, and na Cryme ſall be imput to ony Perſone tharfor.

Same Day.

It is deviſit, ſtatut and ordanit, That there be choſin be the Counſale choſin be the thre Eſtatis, Lordis and Gentillmen as beis thought be them to vaik daly and nytlie, with the Kingis Grace alway, the Queinis Grace beand principale Kepar, and ſche to reſort and remane with him at hir Pleſure, and nought remufit therefra; providing that his Grace be nought tranſportit furth of the Realm, under the Pain of Cryme of Leſe Majeſtie to the Doaris, Aſſiſtaris and Conſentaris thereto; and that his Grace ſall be remufit fra Place to Place within the Realme, be Aviſs of the Queinis Grace, and Lordis choſin be the thre Eſtatis, or thair deput be them thereto, ſche beand ay Principale, as ſaid is.

17. *July*, 1525.

Thir ar the Lordis choſin to remane with the Kingis Grace quarterlie, as efter followis, that is to ſay, fra this Day furth quhill all *Hallowmeſs* nixt to come, the Archbiſchop of *Glaſgow* and Erle of *Anguſs*, and with them in Company the Biſchop of *Orknay*, the Erle of *Mortoun*, the Abbot of *Halirudhouſs*, the Lord *Setoun* and the Abbot of *Arbroth*.

The ſecund Quarter, that is to ſay, fra all *Hallowmeſs* to *Candilmeſs*, the Biſchop of *Abirdene*, the Erle of *Arane*, and with them the Biſchop of *Brechin*, the Erle of *Eglintoun*, the Abbot of *Paiſlay*, the Lord *Forbes*.

The thrid Quarter, that is to ſay, fra *Candilmeſs* to *Beltane*, the Archbiſchop of Saint *Andrews*, the Erle of *Ergile*, and with them the Biſchop of *Dunkeld*, the Abbot of *Cambuskynneth*, the Lord *Erskin*, the Lord *Flemyng*.

The ford and laſt Quarter, fra *Beltane* to *Lammeſs*, the Biſchop of *Dunblane*, the Erle of *Levinax*, and with them the Biſchop of *Cathneſs*, the Erle of *Glencairn*, the Erle of *Montroſs*, and the Abbot of *Scone*.

The hail Lordis refers the Exercitioun of the Kingis maiſt noble Perſon to the Diſcretioun of the Lordis being with him for the Tyme.

VI. *Act annulling the Treaty of Peace and Marriage betwixt* Mary *Queen of* Scotland, *and* Henry VIII. *King of* England, *and* Edward *Prince of* Wales.

Records of Parliament.

THe quhilk Day, anentis the Artikle proponit, tuiching the Pece and Contract of Merrage laitlie tane and maid, betuix the Ambaſſatouris of our Sovirane Lady the Quenis Grace, and the Commiſſaris of the King of *Ingland*, betuix our ſaid Sovirane Lady and *Edward* Prince of *Ingland*, Sone and apperand Air of the King of *Ingland*, gif the ſamyn ſuld be obſervit and keipit, or nocht: My Lord Governour and thre Eſtatis of Parliament fyndis, that the ſaid Peice was takin, concludit and endit, in the Begynning of the Moneth of *Julii* laſt bypaſt, betuix the ſaidis Ambaſſatouris and Commiſſaris of bayth the Realmes, and the Selis to have bene interchengit betuix that and the firſt Day of *September* nixt thairefter *excluſivè*: And thane the ſaid Peace was proclamit

mit baith in *Ingland* and *Scotland*; and throw Pretence thairof, the Merchandis of *Scotland* put thair Schippis and Guidis to the See, and lang befor the ſaid firſt Day of *September*, thai war takin be *Inglis-men*, and haldin thameſelfis, thair Schippis and Guidis, as zit unreſtorit, bot demanit as Inimeis, notwithſtanding the ſaid Pece, and divers Meſſage ſend for delivering of thame; quharthrow the ſaid King of *Ingland* hes violate and brokin the ſaid Pece: And thairfor, and becaus the ſaid Contract of Merrage was grantit for the ſaid Peice to have bene had, obſervit and keipit betuix the tua Realmes, quhilk was nocht keipit, bot brokin and violet be the ſaid King of *Ingland*, as ſaid is; and als, becaus my Lord Governour ſend bayth the Contractis of Pece and Merrage, ratifiit, apprevit and ſuorne be him, and ſelit with oure Sovirane Ladeis gret Sele, according to the Indentis, befor the ſaid firſt Day of *September*, and cauſit the ſamyn to be deliverit to the ſaid King of *Ingland*; quha was requirit, be the Ambaſſatouris ſend be my Lord Governour, to have deliverit the ſaidis Contractis, in ſiclik Manneir ratifyit, apprevit and ſuorn be him; and he refuſit to do the ſamyn. My Lord Governour and thre Eſtatis in Parliament forſaid has declarit, and declaris the ſaidis Contractis to be expirit in thameſelfis, and nocht to be kepit in Tyme cuming, for the Part of *Scotland*, be Law, Equite and juſt Reſoun.

VII. *Act empowering Cardinal* Beton, &c. *to treat with the Ambaſſadors of* France.

Records of Parliament.

THe quhilk Day, in Preſence of ane rycht noble Prince, *James* Erle of *Arrane*, Lord *Hamiltoun*, *&c.* Tutor to our Soverane Lady and Governour of hir Realme, and thre Eſtatis of the ſamin, ſittand in Parliament, comperit *Jacques de la Broſſe* Knycht, and Maiſter *James Meſnaige* Counſalour of Parliament of *Rowan*, Ambaſſatouris to the maiſt Criſtine King of *France*; and thaire at lenth ſchew and declarit the Caus of thair Meſſage and cuming in this Realme, quhilk was principaly, to conſent for the Part of the ſaid King of *France*, and to deſyre for the Part of *Scotland*, the auld ancient Ligis, Contractis and Confederationis of Amyte and Kyndnes paſt, at all Tymes befor, betuix the Kingis of *Scotland* and of *France*, thair Realmes and Subjectis, ſen the firſt Begyning of the ſamyn, paſt Memour of Man, to be ratifyit, apprevit and confermit, and of new to be contractit and renewit; and ſicklik, to permitt and geif, for the Part of the ſaid King of *France*, Ayd and Supple to our Soverane Lady the Quenis Grace, and Noblis of this Realme, for the Defence of the ſamyn, and Liberte thairof, aganis the King of *Ingland*, quha actualy invadis the ſamyn: My Lord Governour and Lordis, thre Eſtatis of the Realme ſittand in Parliament, eftir that thai war reply avſit with the Deſyris of the ſaidis Ambaſſatouris, and efter the Sycht of all Contractis paſt betuix the Kingis of *France* and *Scotland* ſen King *Robert the Bruce*, hes thocht veary expedient, and with ane Conſent and Aſſent hes declarit and ordanit the ſaidis Contractis to be ratifyit, apprevit and confermit, and to be of new contractit and renewit; and in ſpeciale, the Contractis made betuix umquhile our Soverane Ladyis Fader, quhem God aſſolze, hir Guidſyr and Grantſyr, with the Kingis of *France*, and of all uther Contractis ſen the Deceis of umquhile King *Robert the Bruce*, firſt King of *Scotland* of that Naime, and *Charlis* King of *France* and *Naver*; and ordanis Letteris to be directit hereupoun in dew and ample Form, in our Soverane Ladyis Name, with Conſent of hir ſaid Tutour and Governour, and thre Eſtatis of hir Realme, under hir Grace greit Sele; the King of *France* doand in ſemblable Maneir for his Part. My Lord Governour, with Aviſe of the thre Eſtatis of Parliament, deputis and gevis Power to my Lord Cardinal, the Erlis of *Ergile*, *Murray*, Lord of *Sanct Jhone*, and Sir *Adam Ottirburn* of *Reidhall* Knycht, or ony five, four, thre or tua of thame, to commoun and conclude with the ſaidis Ambaſſatouris, anentis the maiking of the ſaidis Letteris of Approbatioun, Ratificatioun and Confirmatioun, and contracting of new, and Novation of all the ſaidis Contractis.

VIII. *Letter from* James *Earl of* Arran, *Governor of* Scotland, *to* Henry VIII. *King of* England.

MS. Lawyers Library.

RIcht excellent, richt hie and mychty Prince, pleſit your Grace, That eſtre divers and mony Brekkis, quhilkis hes had Place in this Realme ſen the Deceis of our maiſt noble Prince and Maiſter, quhom God abſolve; finaly, the Mater is ſa dreſſit, Thankis be to God, that all Stryfe and Diſſenſioun, all Querrellis and Controverſiis, and Movaris of Debaite amangis the noble Men of this Realme, ar brocht to perfyte Concorde and Conformite; ſua that we now being all of ane Minde, are aggreit and determit, in all Behalves, to put in Executioun ſic Thingis as appertenis trew and faithful Subgects of this Realme, to do, not onlie for Defence thairof, gif it ſall be invadit; but alſua to keip the ſamyn fra Beſynes, gif reaſonable and honeſt Wayis may be had: For Procuratioun quharof, we have thocht neceſſare to ſend unto your Grace this Berar, and to deſire ane Saufconduct unto our ryt traiſt and welbelovit Counſalours, *Robert* Biſchop of *Orknay*, *Walter* Lord Sanct *Johns*, Schir *John Campbel* of *Calder*, and Schir *Adam Octurburne*, Knichtis, or to ony thre or twa of thame quhome we intend, be the Adviſe of the haile Nobleſſe of this Realme, to direct unto your Grace, for Declaratioun of ſic Thingis as ryndis hichtlie to the commone Weale of baith thir Realmes, traiſting that it wil be your Gracis Pleaſour to condiſcend and grant unto the ſamyn the rather, that ſic Treatis as beis aſſentit to be the Eſtatis and haile Nobleſſe of this Realme without Repugnance, may na wiſe eſtirwartis be alterit nor ga abak for oure Parte; quharapone gif it pleaſe zoure Grace ſua to do, it ſall follow, that mekle Beſines being removit, Quietnes and Reſte may be inducit, to the Pleaſour of God, Encreſment of Juſtice and all Verteu. And thus, richt excellent, richt hie and michti Prince, we pray God Almyty to have zou in his Tuitioun. Gevin at *Edinburgh*, the 19. Day of *Jan.* M. D. XLIII. Zeris.

Zour Gracis humble Couſin, with leful Service.

IX. *Letter of* Henry *King of* France *to the Eſtates of* Scotland.

MS. Lawyers Library.

HEnry par la Grace de Dieu Roy de France, à nos tres chers & tres amez Couſins & grands amis les Princes de trois Eſtats du Royaume d' Eſcoſſe, ſalut. On ſcait aſſez la grande parfaite & inviolée amitié qui a eſté de tout temps entre les deux Royaumes de France & d' Eſcoſſe, & les dignes notables & memorables bons effects & demonſtrations que les Roys nos Anceſtres & Adminiſtrateurs de ces deux couronnes ont faictes & exercées reciproquement & à l' endroict les uns des autres, pour teſmoin & ſigne apparent de l' integrité de leur ditte amitié tant liée, & enracinée & aſſeurée que chaſcun a touſjours tenu & reputé leurs affaires communes & une meſme choſe: Ce que de noſtre part nous avions depuis noſtre advenement à noſtre Couronne ſainctement obſervé, & auſſy trouvé qu'il a eſté fait le ſemblable du coſté de la choſe qui nous a meu à deſirer pour la fortification & corroboration d' icelle, ne perdre l' occaſion que ſe preſenteroit comme il faut penſer par la grace de Dieu, du mariage que nous ſembloit grandement ſortable de noſtre tres cher & tres amé fils le Dauphin, & de noſtre tres chere & tres amée ſoeur & fille la Dame Reyne d' Eſcoſſe voſtre Sovueraine, dont les ——— propos ont eſté tellement mis en avant que du commun accord & conſentement de noſtre tres chere & tres amée

ſoeur

ſoeur la Reyne Douairiere Regente d' Eſcoſſe ſa mere & de vous, la ditte Dame jeune Reyne à eſté apportée par deca pour le dit effect, ou elle à prins telle nouriture aupres de noſtre tres chere & tres ſainte Compagne la Reyne, qui avec ce que la nature luy avoit donné pour le ſang & grand lieu dont elle eſt ſortie a tant aſſemblée de vertues & rares qualitez, qu'il nous a grandement deſpleu que l'âge de noſtre dit fils n'a permis que pluſtoſt, s'en aſſeurant l'effect capable de contracter & promettre ce qui eſt ſur ce neceſſaire, & que nous avons deliberé ſuivant les dits premiers propos, ſi noſtre ditte bonne ſoeur ſa mere & vous l'avez agreable, dont nous la prions & * * * * * * * tres affectueuſement faire & ſolemnizer comme il appartient les fiancailles par paroles de preſent de noſtre dit fils & de la ditte jeune Reyne voſtre Souveraine, le jour des Roys, ſixieme jour de Janvier prochain en noſtre ville de Paris, & que nous deſirons que vous & ceux de Principaux de vous que vous voudrez choiſir ſoyez preſens & aſſiſtiez à la ditte ſolemnité. Nous avons bien voulu par ces preſentes en advertir, prier & admoneſter vouloir eſtre contens deputer & faire election d'aucuns de vous, pour audict jour vous trouver en noſtre ditte ville de Paris, pour le dit effect avec pouvoir neceſſaire pour traicter, paſſer, conſentir & accorder les conventions, points & articles en tel cas accouſtumez, eſtant aſſeurez d'etre les tres biens venus, & que de la conſommation d'iceluy mariage qui ſe fera a l'aide de Dieu peu de temps apres, & ſelon la capacité de l'âge de noſtre dit fils, vous & tout le dit Royaume d'Eſcoſſe vous recevrez à l'advenir tant d'heur, de bien, conſolation & bon traitement, que vous en aurez & les voſtres à perpetuité tres digne contentement : & eſtans ces dits deux Royaumes ainſy unis & attachez plus eſtroitement enſemble comme ils ſeront par ce ditte alliance, en redondra le bien, ſeureté & protection mutuelle telle qu'ils en ſeront à jamais en plus grand repos, & hors de tout danger de ceux qui voudroient quelque choſe entreprendre au prejudice d'iceux. Donné à Saint Germain en Laye le trentieſme jour d'Octobre l'an de grace mil cinque ceus cinquante ſept, & de noſtre Regne le unzieme.

HENRY.

Par le Roy, de L'AUBESPINE.

X. *Approbation*, &c. *of the* Scottiſh *Commiſſioners*, &c.

Records of Parliament.

THe quhilk Day, eftir the preſenting of the maiſt Criſtin King of *France*, and the King Dolphine, and the Quenis Grace oure Soverane Lady, ſeverale Writtingis, direct unto the thre Eſtatis of this Realme, of the Daittis reſpective the 25. and 26. of *Junii*, the Zeir of God one Thouſand five Hundred and fiftie aucht Zeris, ane maiſt reverend and venerable Fatheris in God, *James* Archbiſchope of *Glaſgow*, *James* Commendatare of Sanct *Androiſs*, *George* Lorde *Seytoun*, and *Johnne Erskin* of *Dun*, foure of the Commiſſionaris directit, with umquhile ane reverend in God, *Robert* Biſchope of *Orknay*, nobill and mychtie Lordis, *George* Erle of *Rothes*, *Gilbert* Erle of *Caſſillis*, and *James* Lord *Flemyng*, be the thre Eſtatis of this Realme, to paſs to oure Soverane Lady, to knaw hir Hieneſs Pleaſure anentis hir Mariage, to be contractit, endit and ſolempnizat with the Dolphine of *France*, according to the Deſyir of the maiſt Criſtin King of *France* ſpeciale Lettres and Writtingis direct unto the forſaidis thre Eſtatis of this Realme, for Accompleiſment of the ſaid Mariage : Lykeas the ſaid Writting, of the Dait at Sanct *Germanis in Lay* the twentie nynth *(a)* of *October*, the Zeir of God one Thouſand five Hundred and fiftie ſevin Zeris, preſentit in the Parliament haldin at *Edinburgh* the 14. Day of *December*, the Zeir of God forſaid, mair cleirly proportis ; and the ſaidis hale Commiſſionaris to follow the Inſtructionis gevin unto thame to our Soverane Lady, for hir Hieneſs Declaratioun, gude Mynd and Will, towart the Mariage of hir Grace with the ſaid Dolphin : And hir Grace being content thair-

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(a) This is a Miſtake for the 30th Day, as appeareth by the above Letter it ſelf.

thairwith, to ſchaw unto hir Hieneſs thair Commiſſion, Inſtructionis and Informationis thai had unto the ſaid maiſt Criſtin King, for contracting and compleitting of the ſaid Mariage: And heving hir Grace of Mynd and affectit to the compleitting of the ſaid Marriage, to deſyir hir Hieneſs, with Aviſs of hir Curatouris befoir the Mariage, and eſtir the Mariage be the Aviſs of my Lord Dolphine hir Spous, and the ſaid maiſt Criſtin King, his lauchfull Adminiſtrators, and his Curatouris gif he ony hes, to ratify and appreif the Act made at *Haddintoun* of the Dait the ſevin Day of *July*, the Zeir of God one Thouſand five Hundred and fourty aucht Zeiris: Ane uthir Act of Parliament made at *Edinburg* the fourteen Day of *December*, the Zeir of God one Thouſand five Hundred and fiftie ſevin Zeiris: And Commiſſionis ſend with the Commiſſionaris foreſadis, for Accompleiſment of the ſaid Mariage, as done for hir Hieneſs Wele and Honor; and of new to contract, aggre and obleiſs hir ſelf and hir Succeſſouris, that ſche, hir Airis and Succeſſouris, ſall obſerve and keip the Fredomes, Liberteis and Privilegeis of this Realme, and Lawis of the ſamyn, ſicklike and in the ſamyn Maner as hes bene keipit and obſervit in all Kingis Tymes of *Scotland* of before. And thaireſter to deſyre oure Soverane Ladie, with Conſent of the Daulphin hir Spous, to make ane Commiſſioun of Regentrie, in the maiſt ample Forme, unto hir deireſt Moder the Quenis Grace now Regent of this Realme, induring the Abſence of thame and thair Succeſſioun. And conſequentlie, oure Soverane Ladie being contentit and appleſit of the ſaid Mariage, gaif uthir Articlis following to be uſit be the ſaidis Commiſſionaris in the Contract making of the foirſaid Mariage; that is to ſay, to ſchaw unto the maiſt Criſtin King the Declaratioun of the thrie Eſtaitis of this Realme, and thair gude Will evir remanand as thai begouth anent the ſaid Mariage; and how thai in Parliament foirſaid gaif thair Commiſſioun to the ſaidis Commiſſionaris, to conſent to the completing of the ſaid Mariage, be the Wordis of the preſent; and to aggrie, in thair Name of new, to the firſt Conſent and Act maid in the Parliament haldin at *Haddingtoun* the 7th Day of *July*, the Zeir of God foirſaid; and to ratifie and appreif, conſent and of new aggrie to the ſaid Act maid at *Haddingtoun*, and Contentis thairof, concernyng thair Parte: And thairfore to deſyir and contract the Premiſſis, and the Contentis of the ſaid Act, in ſa far as concerns the Kingis Parte, to be ratifeit and apprevit, and of new contractit, aggreit and conſentit unto reciproquilie, be his Majeſtie and my Lord Daulphin his Sone, for thame and thair Succeſſouris; and to provyde, in cace of Deceiſs of our Soverane Ladie without Airis of hir awin Bodie, than the richtius Blude of the Croun of *Scotland*, to ſucceid without ony Impediment; bot to be aydit, fortifyit and ſupportit be the Kingis Majeſtie and his Succeſſouris; and all the auld Ligis, in that Cace, to ſtand in Effect as thai wer before the completing of the ſaid Mariage, and obſervit betuix the twa Realmis. And mairattour, to deſyir certane Dowery to be gevin to oure Soverane Lady, with the Avantage, and to be conſtitute, namyt and aſſignit in ſpeciall Places within the Realme of *France* maiſt convenient, quhairintill oure Souerane Lady ſalbe repute and haldin ſeiſit, now as than, and than as now, to be breukit be hir Hieneſs, but ony Interpellatioun or Denuntiatioun: And als, to knaw and deſyre quhat ſalbe gevin to my Lord Daulphine for his Leving, and quhat ſalbe gevin to oure Soverane Lady to hir Leving of *France*, during the Time he is Dolphine, and quhat eſtir his Deceiſs, he deceiſſand King of *France*, in caiſs ſche leve eſtir him; and Securitie to be maid heirupoun accordinglie. And alſua, in caiſs oure Soverane Ladie leif eſtir my Lord Dolphine, hir Hienes to have fre Optioun and Choiſe to remane, or returne gife ſche pleſſis in this Realme, and to marye gife ſche pleſſis be the Avyſe of hir Eſtaitis, and to brouke and joiſs hir Dowerye and Avantage quhair ſche paſſis or remanis. And laſt, gife hir Hieneſs has Succeſſioun of hir Perſoun Airis maill, that that Air or Airis maill brouk baith the Realmes of *France* and *Scotland*, with Denominatioun of baith thair Stylis, and bering of thair Armes: And gife of hir or hiris mediatlie or immediatlie Airis bot female, quhilkis be the

the Lawis of *France* are ſecludit to ſucceid to the Croun thairof, bot Men, and aucht ſucceid to the Croun of *Scotland* be the Lawis of the ſamyn, to deſyir certane Inheritage of the King of *France*, to remane with the ſaid Dochter Quene of *Scotland*, according to the Cuſtume of Dochteris within the ſaid Realme, like as in the Commiſſionis, Articlis and Inſtructionis, gevin unto the Commiſſionaris abovementianate, at mair Lenth is contenit. Quhilkis foure Commiſſionaris being directit with thair Colleges foreſaidis, and now reportand thair Commiſſionis, the ſaid umquhile reverend Fader being deceiſſit, and the Erls of *Rothes*, *Caſſillis*, and the Lord *Flemyng*, zit remanand in the Partis of *France*, ſchew and preſentit in Preſens of the thrie Eſtaitis of this rynnand Parliament, thair foirſaid Commiſſionis, ſpeciall Articlis and Inſtructionis, gevin unto thame be the thrie Eſtaitis in the laſt rynnand Parliament of the Dait foirſaid; and according thairto, producit the Anſweris and Securiteis of thair ſaidis Commiſſionis, Articlis and Inſtructionis gevin unto thame, dewlie and perfytlie endit, be the ſaid maiſt Criſtin King, oure Soverane Lady and King Dolphine, *reſpective*. The quhilkis Anſweris and Securiteis, for fulfilling, and keiping and obſerving thairof, ar decernit and ordanit, be the Quenis Grace and thrie Eſtaitis of Parliament, to be regiſtrat in the Bukis of Parliament, *ad perpetuam rei memoriam*. And thairfore the ſaid *James* Archibiſchope of *Glaſgow*, *James* Commendatare of Sanct *Androis*, *George* Lord *Seytoun*, and *Johnne Erskin* of *Dun*, foure of the Commiſſionaris foirſaidis, for thame ſelfis, and in Name and Behalf of thair ſaidis Colleigis, deſyrit and deſyris the Quenis Grace and Regent of this Realme, and thrie Eſtaitis thairof, to declare, be Act in this preſent rynnand Parliament, giſe thai dewlie and detfullie hes performit thair Commiſſionis, Articlis and Inſtructionis gevin unto thame, berand, as ſaid is, eftir the Forme and Tennour of the ſamyn in all Poyntis; and ſua being fundin, thai and thair Colleiges before reheirſit to be exonerit and diſchargit thairof. Quhilkis Commiſſionis, Articlis and Inſtructionis, with the Anſweris and Securiteis thairof, reportit be the ſaidis Commiſſionaris, berand as is particularlie above exponnit, being harde, ſene, red, underſtand, and thairwith maturlie and degeſtlie awyſit; the Quenis Grace Dowriare and Regent foirſaid, and thre Eſtaitis of Parliament, findis and declaris the ſaidis Commiſſionaris abovewrittin, and thair Colleigis, hes dewlie and detfullie compleitit and performyt the haill Contentis of thair Commiſſionis, Articlis and Inſtructionis gevin unto thame; and hes reſſavit detfull and dew Anſweris, and ſufficient Securiteis, for fulfilling, keiping and obſerving thairof; and hes ſatiſfyit thair ſaid Commiſſionis, Articlis and Inſtructionis foirſaidis, in all Poyntis eftir the Forme and Tennour of the ſamyn: And thairfore hes exonerit and diſchargeit, and exoneris and diſchargeis the ſaidis Commiſſionaris, and every of thame, hevand detfullie and dewlie done thair Offices in that Parte, for now and evir.

XI. *Contract of Marriage*, &c.

Records of Parliament.

TRes hault, tres excellent & tres puiſſant Prince, Henry par la grace de Dieu Roy de France, tres haulte, tres excellente & tres puiſſante Princeſſe Catherine par la meſme grace Royne de France. Et tres hault, & tres excellent Prince Francois Daulphin de Viennois leur filz aiſné d'une part, & tres haulte & tres excellente Princeſſe Marie auſſy par la grace de Dieu Royne d'Eſcoſſe; haulte & puiſſante Dame Anthoinette de Bourbon, Ducheſſe Douairiere de Guiſe ayeulle maternelle de la ditte Dame Royne d'Eſcoſſe, tant en ſon nom que comme Procuratrice de tres haulte & tres excellente Princeſſe Dame Marie de Lorraine a preſent Royne Douairiere Regente au Royaume d'Eſcoſſe ſa fille; & les reverendiſſime & reverends Peres en Dieu Jacques Archeveſque de Glaſgow, Robert Eveſque des Orchades, nobles & puiſſans Seigneurs George Comte de Rotheſſe, Gilbert Comte de Caſſelles, Jacques Prieur Com-

mendataire du Prieuré Conventual de St. André, Jacques Seigneur de Flemyng, George Lord de Seton, & Jean Erskin Sieur de Dun, pour & au nom des Eſtats du Royaume d'Eſcoſſe d'aultre part, ont eſté preſens en leur perſonnes, diſant les dits Seigneurs & Dame Roy & Royne, que les confederations & amitiez de tout temps eſtablies & continuées entre les Royaumes de France & d'Eſcoſſe, eſtoient notoires cognues à un chaſcun, & en eſtoient les preuves ſi manifeſtes, & les demonſtrations tant certaines qu'il n'eſt poſſible de plus, dont s'eſt accreue l'entiere & parfaicte benevolence que ſe ſont naturellement porté lez Roys des dits Royaumes de France & d'Eſcoſſe qui ont regné juſques a preſent, les quels ont touſjours eſtimé les affaires propres des ungs eſtre communes aux aultres, juſques à avoir des & depuis huict cens ans en ca, voulu ſuivre & courir une meſme fortune, non ſeulement en temps de paix, mais auſſy aux plus grands perils & hazards de la guerre. Pour l'entretenement & accroiſſement de laquelle amitié, deffunct de bonne & louable memoire le Roy Francois dernier decedé (que Dieu abſolve) auroit donné en mariage ſa fille aiſnée, à feu de bonne memoire Jacques cinquiem Roy d'Eſcoſſe; & eſtant le mariage diſſolu par la mort de ſa ditte fille voulant renouveller ceſte alliance, & à touſjour continuer leur commune & parfaicte amitié, luy auroit depuis donné en mariage la ſuſdite Dame Marie de Lorraine a preſent Royne Douairiere & Regente en Eſcoſſe, Duquel mariage ſeroit iſſue la Royne du dict Royaume d'Eſcoſſe a preſent regnant : & advenu le deces du dict Roy Jacques, le Roy continuant & ſuccedant en la devotion du feu Roy Francois ſon pere auroit prins en ſa protection ledit Royaume d'Eſcoſſe lors invahy, infeſté & aſſailly par les Anglois anciens & communs ennemis de l'un & de l'aultre Royaume, & pour empeſcher que la ditte Dame Royne d'Eſcoſſe eſtante lors delaiſſée ez premiers ans de ſon Enfance ne tombaſt en leur mains & puiſſance, elle auroit eſté du conſentement de la ditte Reyne Douairiere ſa mere, & des Eſtats dudit Royaume d'Eſcoſſe ammenée en ſon enfance en ce Royaume, en intention & propos d'en faire mariage (au jugement d'un chaſcun grandement ſortable) avec mon dit Seigneur le Dauphin leur fils aiſné; depuis lequel temps la ditte Dame Reyne d'Eſcoſſe auroit prins telle nouriture aupres de la Reyne, & avec l'âge ſeroit tellement accreue en bonnes moeurs, louables & recommendables vertus, que les dits Seigneur & Dame Roy & Reyne voyant à preſent mondit Seigneur le Dauphin & elle avoir atteint l'âge competant & capable, auroient eſté plus que deuant meuz & incitez à advancer la perfection & conſommation de leur mariage, à laquelle fin ſeroient venuz & paſſez en ce Royaume les Seigneurs deſſus nommez commis & deputtez des Princes & gens de trois Eſtats dudict Royaume d'Eſcoſſe, & fondez de pouvoir & procurationſu ffiſant quant à ce. Dont les copies ſeront inſerées en la fin de ces preſentes, Leſquels auroient receu engrand honneur le bon plaiſir deſdits Seigneur & Dame Roy & Reyne requis, conſenty & accordé icelluy Mariage ſuivant le Traitté cy deuant fait a Hadington le ſeptieme Juillet mil, cinq ecus, quarante huict. Lequel a eſté par les partyes reſpectivement approuvé & ratifié; & apres amplement conferé ſelon leurs charges & inſtructions avec la ditte Dame Reyne d'Eſcoſſe leur Souveraine, & entendu ſon vouloir & intention, enſemble l'advis de la ditte Dame Ducheſſe Douairiere de Guiſe, avec laquel ils ſe ſeroient de puis aſſemblez en preſence de tres hault & tres excellent Prince Antoine par la grace de Dieu Roy de Navarro, de Meſſeigneurs les Cardinaux de Lorraine, de Sens Garde des Sceaux de France, de Chaſtillon & de Guiſe, Monſeigneur le Duc de Guiſe, Monſieur le Mareſchal de Briſac, du Sieur du Mortier, des Archeveſque de Vienne & Eveſque d'Orleans, & du Sieur d'Avanſon Conſeillers au conſeil Privé de ſa Majeſté; & par elle commis & deputtez pour traitter dudit mariage, pour l'accompliſſement duquel ont eſté concluds & arreſtez les traictés, promeſſes & pactions qui s'enſuivent.

C'eſt ſcavoir que mondit Seigneur le Daulphin prendra la Reyne d'Eſcoſſe pour Eſpouſe, & par luy de mariage. Et la Reyne d'Eſcoſſe prendra a mary & Eſpoux mondit Seigneur le Daulphin ſolemnellement en face de Sainte Egliſe dimanche prochain Vingt quatrieſme jour de ce preſent mois d'Avril, & ſeront

ſeront uns & communs comme Prince & Princeſſe de leur qualité doivent & ont accouſtomé d'eſtre en tous biens & choſes eſquelles communaulté peut eſtre & eſcheoir par les loix & ſtatuts de France. En faveur du quel mariage les dits Seigneur & Dame Roy & Reyne, & mondit Seigneur le Dauphin de l'auctorité du dit Seigneur Roy, ont conſtitué à la ditte Reyne d'Eſcoſſe douaire de Soixante mil livres Tournois, au cas que mondit Seigneur le Daulphin vienne à la Couronne & predecedaſt eſtant Roy de France, ou autre tel & plus grand douaire que ſe trouvera avoir eſté baillé à la Reyne de France, au choix & election d'icelle Dame Reyne d'Eſcoſſe: & au cas quil predecedaſt eſtant Daulphin trente mil livres Tournois, le tout de rente & revenu par chaſcun an en aſſiette commune & convenable, lequel douaire ont dés à preſent aſſis & aſſigné, en & ſur la Duché, Comté, terres & ſeigneuries de Touraine & Poictou, & de proche en proche pour jouyr par la ditte Dame Reyne d'Eſcoſſe, par ſes mains ou de ſes Gens & Officiers ſitoſt que douaire aura lieu, ſans autre interpellation & denonciation dont à ceſt fin dés à preſent comme des lors, & des lors comme des à preſent elle ſera & eſt par ſes preſentes ſaiſie ſelon toutes voyes l'evaluation qu'en ſera faitte le douaire eſcheant, à la charge de la retranche, ſi plus lors vallent les dittes terres, & de l'augmentation de proche en proche ſi moins elles vallent; & ce avec tous droits de preſentation, nomination & collation reſpectivement, des benefices, offices & aultres proficts, revenus & emoluments dependans des terres & ſeigneuries de Touraine & Poictou, & aultres terres qui lui ſeront baillées de proche en proche, tout ainſy & en la forme & maniere qu'en a dernierement jouy à pareil tiltre la feu Reyne Leonor Douairiere de France, & a le Roy promis qu'il entertiendra bien & honnorablement mondit Seigneur le Dauphin, & la ditte Dame Reyne d'Eſcoſſe, de ſorte que la Reyne Douairiere Regente & les Seigneurs des Eſtats d'Eſcoſſe auront occaſion de contentement, dont les Deputez des Eſtats deſſus nommez ſe ſont contentez par le commandement de la ditte Reyne d'Eſcoſſe leur Souveraine.

Et a eſté accordé qu'au cas que la ditte Reyne d'Eſcoſſe ſurvive mondit Seigneur le Dauphin, elle pourra demeurer en France, ou retourner en ſon Royaume avec ces ſerviteurs & Officiers à ſon choix & option, & ſe marier comme elle verra bon eſtre par l'advis de ſes Eſtats d'Eſcoſſe, & s'emportera ſes deniers, vaiſſelle, bagues, joyaux, habillemens, meubles pretieux, biens & autres choſes que les Reynes de France doivent & ont eſté accouſtomé d'avoir aprés le treſpas des Roys de France leurs maris, & jouyra de ſes droicts & aſſignaux ſoit qu'il y ayt enfans ou non.

Plus a eſté accordé qu'au cas que du mariage procede hoir, ou hoirs maſles, l'aiſné ou qui repreſentera l'aiſné, aveque le Royaume de France ſuccedera au Royaume d'Eſcoſſe, & prendra les armes des deux Royaumes liez enſemble & ſoubs meſme Couronne; & ſi d'icelluy mariage n'y a que fille ou filles, l'aiſnée ou qui repreſentera l'aiſnée ſuccedera audit Royaume d'Eſcoſſe, & ſera mariée tant par l'advis du Roy de France qui ſera lors, que des trois Eſtats du dict Royaume d'Eſcoſſe; & neantmonis, leſdits Seigneur & Dame Roy & Reyne, & mondit Seigneur le Daulphin ont voulu & promis, tant pour eux que pour leurs Succeſſeurs que la fille que ſera ou repreſentera l'aiſnée ayt en autre en dot & mariage la ſomme de quatre cens mil ecus ſoleil, & chaſcune des puiſnées trois cens mil ecus ſoleil, & ce pour tous droits ſucceſſifs qu'elles pourroient pretendre ez biens paternels & ceux de leur ayeul ou ayeulle: moyennant leſquelles choſes & chaſcunes d'icelles, les Seigneurs deputtez cy deſſus nommez ont promis & ſe ſont obligez de faire & preſter du nom des Eſtats d'Eſcoſſe incontinent aprés le mariage ſolemniſé, le ſerment de fidelité à mondit Seigneur le Daulphin à cauſe de la ditte Royne ſa Compagne & Conſort, leur Souveraine durant & conſtant leur mariage, & en ce reſpect, les ſervir, obeyr & honnorer, enſemble l'hoir, iſſu & procreé du mariage auquel adviendra le Royaume d'Eſcoſſe, tout ainſy comme ils & leurs predeceſſeurs ont loyallement ſervy & honoré les nobles progeniteurs & anteceſſeurs de la ditte Reyne d'Eſcoſſe.

Et ſi a eſté accordé par le Roy & par la ditte Dame Royne d'Eſcoſſe, que mondit Seigneur le Dauphin portera le nom & tiltre de Roy d'Eſcoſſe, & portera ſes armes eſcartellées avec celle d'Eſcoſſe, & advenant qu'il fuſt Roy portera les tiltres & armes des deux Royaumes liez ſoubs meſme Couronne. Toutes leſquelles choſes & chaſcune d'icelles les Comparans & chaſcun d'eux ez noms que deſſus, ont promis & juré en leur foy reſpectivement & chaſcun endroit ſoy, tenir, obſerver & accomplir ſelon leur forme & tenur ſans y contrevenir aucunement, ſoubs l'obligation & hypotheque de tous & chaſcun leurs biens preſens & à venir : & pour l'execution de ces preſentes en attendant la ſolemniſation du mariage en face de ſainte Egliſe, mondit Seigneur le Dauphin de ſa pure & franche volonté, du gré vouloir & conſentement des dits Seigneur & Dame Roy & Royne ſes pere & mere, & deuement auctoriſé dudit Seigneur Roy a dés preſent prins, & prend par parolles de preſent la Reyne d'Eſcoſſe à femme, Eſpouſe & compaigne legitime, & par ſemblable la ditte Reyne d'Eſcoſſe de ſa pure & franche volonté, & par l'advis de la ditte Dame Ducheſſe Douairiere de Guiſe, & des deputtez de ſes Eſtats ez noms que deſſus à ce preſens & aſſiſtans, a prins & prend par parolles de preſent mondit Seigneur le Dauphin pour ſon Seigneur, Mary & Eſpoux legitime, & ont toutes les partyes accordé ces preſentes (qui ſeront expediées doubles) etre miſes ez treſors des Chartres de chaſcun des Royaumes, apres avoir eſté regiſtrées ez regiſtres de la Cour de Parlement & Chambre de Comptes de Paris, & au Conſeil du Senat d'Eſcoſſe: & pour plus grande approbation les ont ſignées doubles de leurs mains, & ont voulu & accordé reſpectivement icelles eſtre receuées, paſſées & expediées, & delivrées à chaſcune des parties par nous ſubſignez Notaires & Secretaires de la Couronne de France ſignants en eſtats & commandemens : à ce preſens & aſſiſtans tres haults & tres puiſſans Princes, Meſſeigneurs Charles Maximilian Duc d'Orleans, Alexander Edouard Duc d'Angouleſme fils du Roy, tres haultes & tres excellentes Princeſſes Meſdames Elizabeth & Claude filles du Roy, Madame Marguerite ſoeur du Roy, Ducheſſe de Berry, & tres haults & tres puiſſans Prince & Princeſſe Anthoine & Jeanne par la grace de Dieu Roy & Reyne de Navarre; Meſſieurs les reverendiſſimes Cardinaux de Lorrainne & de Bourbon, de Sens Garde des ſceaux de France, de Chaſtillon & de Guiſe : tres hault & tres puiſſant Prince Monſeigneur Charles Duc de Lorraine & de Bar, Meſſieurs les Princes de Condé, Ducs de Guiſe, de Nemours, de Nevers, d'Aumalle, & Comte d'Arran : Meſdames la Ducheſſe de Touerville, Princeſſe de Condé, de St. Paul, de Guiſe, de Nevers, d'Aumalle & de Valentinois ; & autres Ducs Seigneurs, Chevalliers de l'ordre, & gens du Conſeil privé du Roy : Mr. Anthoine Minard Preſident en la cour de Parlement à Paris, Curateur de la ditte Dame, Mr. Yves de Rublay Garde des ſceaux de la ditte Dame, & autres de ſon Conſeil. Faict à Paris le dixneufieme jour d'Avril 1558.

Commiſſion by the Eſtates of Scotland *to certain of their Number to go into* France, *there to negotiate the Marriage of the young Queen* Mary *with the Dauphin.*

Records of Parliament.

UNiverſis & ſingulis præſentes inſpecturis, nos Prælati, Proceres & Communitates totius regni Scotiæ ſtatûs, Salutem. Vobis notum eſſe volumus & atteſtamur, nos præſentium vigore & ſerie facere, conſtituere & ſolenniter ordinare reverendiſſimum & reverendos in Chriſto Patres & Dominos Jacobum Archiepiſcopum Glaſguenſem, Davidem Epiſcopum Roſſenſem, ſereniſſimæ Dominæ noſtræ Reginæ Secretarium primarium, Robertum Epiſcopum Orchadenſem, nobiles & potentes Dominos Georgium Comitem à Rotheys, Dominum Leſly, Gilbertum Comitem à Caſſillis, Dominum Kennedy dictæ ſereniſſimæ Dominæ noſtræ Theſaurarium, Jacobum Commendatarium Sancti Andreæ, Jacobum Dominum de Flemyng, Georgium Dominum de Seytoun, & Joannem Erskin de Dune, noſtros legitimos irrevocabiles Procuratores, Commiſſionarios & Mandatarios ſpeciales & generales, cum poteſtate iiſdem noſtris Commiſſionariis & eorum quibuſvis ſex, quinque aut quatuor conjunctim, pro nobis & noſtro nomine,

mine, cum Chriſtianiſſimo & potentiſſimo principe, Henrico Galliarum rege, & ſereniſſimo Delphino ejus filio primogenito, aut cum aliis quibuſcunque illorum auctoritate legitimâ & poteſtate ad hæc ſuffultis, diebus & locis congruis in oppido Pariſiorum, aut alibi ubivis inter regnum Galliæ, de & ſuper univerſis rebus, punctis, articulis, modis & circumſtantiis, quæ ſponſalia, nuptias & matrimonium inter illuſtriſſimam & ſereniſſimam Dominam noſtram Mariam Reginam Scotorum, & ſereniſſimum Delphinum Franciæ præfatum, contrahendum, ineundum, celebrandum & conſummandum, quovis modo concernere poterunt, aut eò de jure videbuntur ſpectare, conveniendi & diffiniendi : nec non ſuper eiſdem ſponſalibus, nuptiis & matrimonio acceſſoriis, dependentiis & appendicibus earundem, omnibuſque ſolemnitatibus, circumſtantiis & modis, qui in hujuſmodi fieri ſolent, aut conſueverunt, aliiſque rebus omnibus & ſingulis, quæ rempublicam regni Scotiæ, leges, jura, libertates, immunitates & privilegia ejuſdem concernunt, aut quoquo modo tangunt : nec non ſuper antiqua inter hæc regna neceſſitudine, fœdere, amore, benevolentia, conjunctionibus & amicitiis, tractandi, conſentiendi, concludendi & conſummandi ; & generaliter univerſa alia & ſingula rempublicam regni Scotiæ, leges, jura, privilegia, libertates & immunitates ejuſdem concernentia, & tangentia, agendi, exercendi & procurandi : Firmum ratum & gratum perpetuò habituri quicquid per Commiſſionarios noſtros hujuſmodi, aut eorum ſex, quinque aut quatuor conjunctim actum, ſeu geſtum fuerit in præmiſſis, ſub pignore & hypotheca bonorum noſtrorum omnium, mobilium & immobilium, præſentium & futurorum. In cujus rei fidem, has literas noſtras commiſſionis chirographis ſex præcipuorum unius cujuſque Ordinis ſignatas, ſigillis eorundem vice & nomine noſtrorum omnium fecimus corroborari in oppido Edinburgi, die decimo quarto menſis Decembris, anno Domini milleſimo quingenteſimo quinquageſimo ſeptimo. JAMES HAMMILTOUN. JOANNES Archiepiſcopus Sancti *Andreæ*. GEORGE Erll of *Huntly*. ARCHIBALD Erll of *Argill*. R. *Dunkell*. PATRICIUS *Moravienſis* Epiſcopus. WILELMUS Epiſcopus *Aberdonenſis*. ANDREAS *Candidæ Caſæ* Epiſcopus. GEORGE Erll of *Erroll*. JAMES Erll of *Bothwell*. DAVID Erll of *Crawfurd*. W. Epiſcopus *Dumblanenſis*. ROBERT FORREST Provoſt of *Sterling*. JAMES HALIBURTON Provoſt of *Dunde*. THOMAS MENZIIS Provoſt, [he was Provoſt of *Aberdeen*.] JAMES DANIELSTON Provoſt *Lynlytgow*. JACQUES MAKGILL Regiſtrarius. GUTHRIE Scriba curiæ Burgi de *Edinbourg*. ELDAR Scriba de *Pert*.

The Queen's Commiſſion to the ſame Perſons to act for her in the intended Marriage.

Records of Parliament.

MAria, Dei gratiâ, Regina Scotorum : Univerſis & ſingulis præſentes noſtras literas viſuris, lecturis & audituris, Salutem. Quandoquidem cum pupillarem adhuc ætatem ageremus in parlamento, ſeu conceſſu trium Ordinum regni noſtri, habito Hadintonæ, ſeptimo Julii, anno Domini milleſimo quingenteſimo quadrageſimo octavo ; comparens quondam honorabilis vir Andreas Dominus Montallembert & Deſſy, ac navalium Galliæ præfectus locum tenens generalis exercitus Chriſtianiſſimi Regis Galliarum, noſtri patris in regno noſtro militantis, ejuſque Commiſſionarius ſpecialis expoſuit & declaravit, Chriſtianiſſimum pro ſingulari quadam affectione & amore, quo ipſe erga rempublicam regni noſtri & nos afficiebatur, ſubſidium militum non modicum tunc miſiſſe, majus etiamnum brevi poſtea miſſurum ſi opus eſſet, ut nobis ad reprimendum noſtros antiquos & veteres hoſtes opportunum videretur. Et deinde idem Deſſy nomine, mandato & vice dicti Chriſtianiſſimi (quo vivo) ut perfectius & pignus inſolubile æternæ amicitiæ & fœderationis regnorum veriſimilius permaneret, ac ut honori perpetuo & commodo utriuſque populi conſuleretur, petiit nuptias noſtras ſereniſſimo Delphino Franciæ, utque nos illi quam primum per ætatem liceret, matrimonio jungeremur, poſtulavit : & quia petitione hujuſmodi ſic in præſentia noſtræ clariſſimæ matris Dotariæ regni, & domini Doyſel Oratoris Chriſtianiſſimi, ea tempeſtate in Scotia agentis facta, illuſtris Princeps & conſanguineus noſter Jacobus Comes Arraniæ, noſter & regni Tutor, cum conſenſu trium Ordinum ſeu Statuum dicti noſtri regni annuerint ; & ut eadem ſuum effectum ſortiretur quum primum nos ad ætatem maturam perveniſſemus, conſenſerunt eodem ſub modo & forma, quo in acto ejuſdem Parlamenti, ſuper hoc edito plenius enarratur : & inſuper quia iidem tres Ordines noſtri regni per literas Chriſtianiſſimi, haud ita dudum certiores facti, intellexerunt Delphinum Franciæ eam jam ætatem attigiſſe, qua matrimonium hujuſmodi conſummare de jure poſſet ; & ob id Chriſtianiſſimum deſiderare, ut quidam præcipui viri noſtrorum ordinum deſignentur, qui ſponſalibus, nuptiis & matrimonio noſtris in hujuſmodi intereſſe debeant, authoritate ligitimâ & poteſtate conjuncti, ad noſtro nomine tractandum, conſentiendum & concludendum ſuper punctis, articulis, modis & conditionibus in hujuſmodi requiſitis & conſuetis : Nos igitur præſentium tenore & ſerie facimus, creamus & ordinamus nobiliſſimam, illuſtriſſimam & potentiſſimam Anthoniam à Borbonio, Duciſſam à Guyſia aviam noſtram chariſſimam, reverendiſſimum & reverendos in Chriſto Patres, Jacobum Archiepiſcopum Glaſguenſem, Davidem Epiſcopum Roſſenſem Secretarium noſtrum primarium, Robertum Epiſcopum Orchadenſem, dilectos conſanguineos noſtros Georgium Comitem à Rothes, Dominum Leſley, Gilbertum Comitem à Caſſillis, Dominum Kennedy Theſaurarium noſtrum, Jacobum Commendatarium Prioratûs Sancti Andreæ, Jacobum Dominum Flemyng, Georgium Dominum de Seytoun, & Joannem Erſkinum de Dun ; cum poteſtate iiſdem viris commiſſariis, & eorum quibuſvis ſex, quinque aut quatuor conjunctim, pro nobis & noſtro nomine, cum Chriſtianiſſimo Patre noſtro Galliarum rege, & ſereniſſimo Delphino ejus filio primogenito, & aliis quibuſcunque illorum, auctoritate legitimâ & poteſtate ſufficienti, diebus & locis congruis in oppido Pariſiorum, aut alibi ubivis intra regnum Galliæ, de & ſuper univerſis rebus, punctis, articulis, modis & circumſtantiis, quæ ſponſalia, nuptias & matrimonium inter nos & Delphinum Franciæ contrahendum, ineundum, celebrandum & conſummandum quovis modo concernere poterunt, aut eo de jure videbuntur ſpectare, conveniendi & diſſerendi : Nec non ſuper iiſdem ſponſalibus, nuptiis & matrimonio acceſſoriis, dependentiis & appendicibus eorundem, omnibus ſolemnitatibus, circumſtantiis & modis, qui in hujuſmodi fieri conſueverunt, aliiſque rebus omnibus & ſingulis, quæ rempublicam regni noſtri, leges, jura, libertates, immunitates & privilegia ejuſdem concernunt, aut quoquomodo tangunt : Nec non ſuper antiqua inter hæc regna neceſſitudine, fœdere, amore, benevolentia, conjunctionibus & amicitiis tractandi, conſentiendi, concludendi & conſummandi ; & generaliter univerſa alia, & ſingula faciendi, gerendi, exercendi & utendi, quæ in præmiſſis, & circa ea neceſſaria fuerint, ſeu quomodolibet opportuna. Ratum & gratum habentes & habituras totum id, & quicquid dicti noſtri Commiſſionarii, & eorum quicunque ſex, quinque aut quatuor conjunctim, pro nobis & nomine noſtro, in præmiſſis ritè duxerint faciendum. In cujus rei fidem & teſtimonium, præſentibus manu noſtrâ ſubſcriptis magnum ſigillum noſtrum apponi fecimus, apud caſtrum Fontis Bleandi, die decima ſexta menſis Martii, anno Domini milleſimo quingenteſimo quinquageſimo ſeptimo.

XII. *Oath of Fidelity by the* Scottiſh *Commiſſioners, in Name of the Eſtates of* Scotland, *to the Dauphin of* France *as King of* Scotland, &c.

MS. Lawyers Library.

A Tous ceulx, qui ces preſentes lettres verront ſcavoir faiſons, que nous ſubſignez Ambaſſadeurs, Commis & Deputtez des trois Eſtats du Royaume d'Eſcoſſe, pour les conventions, pactions & accords du mariage à preſent contracté, celebré & ſolemniſé entre tres illuſtre & tres excellent Prince, Roy d'Eſcoſſe Dauphin de France d'une part, & tres haute & tres excellente Princeſſe la Reyne d'Eſcoſſe, Dauphine de France d'autre part, avons fait & pre-

ſté faiſons & preſtons pour & ez noms des dits Eſtats d'Eſcoſſe, le ſerment de fidelité ſur les Saintes Evangiles audit Seigneur Roy Dauphin, à cauſe de la ditte Dame Reyne Dauphine noſtre Souveraine ſon Eſpouſe & Compaigne, & en ce reſpect promettons & obligeons ez dits noms le ſervir, obeyr & honnorer, durant & conſtant ledit mariage, enſemble l'hoir iſſu & procreé d'iceluy mariage auquel adviendra le Royaume d'Eſcoſſe, tout ainſy comme nous & nos Predeceſſeurs ont loyauement ſervy & honnoré les nobles progeniteurs & anteceſſeurs de la ditte Dame Reyne d'Eſcoſſe noſtre Souveraine. Et pour atteſtation, & plus grande approbation de ces preſentes, nous les avons ſignez de nos ſignes manuels, & ſcellées de nos ſceaux, ce jour d'huy vingt huictieſme jour d'Avril, mil cinq cens cinquante huict, Eſtans au Chaſteau du Louvre, en la chambre de la ditte Dame Reyne Dauphine à Paris. En la preſence de noſſeigneurs le Cardinal de Lorraine, le Cardinal de Sens garde de ſceaux de France, le Seigneur Duc de Guiſe, le Sieur d'Urfé, & pluſieurs autres Seigneurs, Dames & Damoiſelles. JA. Archiepiſ. Glaſguenſis. RO. Orchadenſis Epiſcop. JA. Commend S^{ti}. Andreæ. FLEYMING. SETON. J. ERSKYN.

Nota, By reaſon that the following Letters, *&c.* conſiſt promiſcuouſly of Matters relating to the Numbers 13 ———— 21 of the Appendix; therefore it was thought expedient to inſert them here all together.

XIII. XIV. XV. XVI. XVII. XVIII. XIX. XX. XXI. *A Letter from Sir* Henry Percy *concerning the Affairs of* Scotland.

AFter my right humble Commendations, this ſhall be to let you underſtand, that I have conferr'd with the Duke of *Chattelerault*, otherwiſe called the Governor of *Scotland*; whom I do find one much deſirous of the Amity and Friendſhip of *England*, with a great Number of the Nobility of *Scotland*, as his Friends and others.

Cotton Library, and Lawyers Library.

Firſt, I did break with him, what Injury he was like to receive for his Title of the Crown, by the Marriage with *France*: Who anſwered, That he could take no Damage ſo long as the Title were not preſent in his Hand; but that if it ſhou'd ſo chance the Right to fall unto him, he doubted not but his Friends wou'd with their Lives and Goods defend his Title, againſt the *French* King, if he wou'd attempt it; and truſted to have the Queen our Miſtris's Favour in the ſame.

Secondarily, I declared unto him, That by means of the Forts and Strengths that they had ſuffered the *French* to poſſeſs, they were not able to make Reſiſtance againſt them, but lived under their Thraldom; ſo that if they minded any Diſpleaſures to the *French* for the ſaving of their Inheritances, being under the Governance of their Strengths they durſt not attempt any thing to them prejudicial: So that I cou'd not ſee, if the Queen our Miſtris were minded to aſſiſt them, that it wou'd be any thing beneficial to them. To this he anſwered,

That as for the Forts they had in their Hands, it was not greatly material, firſt, conſidering they were not able to maintain theſe Places without Victual, Munition and other Neceſſaries, which cou'd not be had but by their Aſſiſtance: Therefore, to have the Strengths and Forts of a Realm, and not a Country to maintain them withal, they wou'd in ſhort time be more weary of the keeping of theſe Places, than they annoy'd theſe maintaining there: So that they doubted not but that they wou'd be glad to have a Safe Conduct to depart; and principally, if that the Queen of *England* wou'd aſſiſt the Nobility of *Scotland*, there was not that Fort in their Hands but in ſhort time they wou'd be glad to render it, or at leaſt wiſe by Force to leave it.

Thirdly, I declared unto him, That I cou'd not underſtand by what means it were poſſible that the Queen our Miſtris wou'd or cou'd aſſiſt them of *Scot-*

land, conſidering the Wars that lately were levied by them, and the Maintainance of the *French* our Queen's Enemies, who be daily Annoyers unto our Realm, and likely to oppreſs and put you to ruin.

To the which he anſwered, I confeſs very well theſe Wars betwixt us and your Realm were begun by our Queen Dowager of *Scotland*, and ſome Nobility who wou'd ſeem for to follow the Queen's Mind therein, partly truſting for to have Recompence for the ſame; and ſome others, for mere Flattery, provok'd her to that Folly: But if you will call to Remembrance what little Attempts have been offer'd by us the Chief of *Scotland*; as for Example, at our laſt Army, which ſhou'd have been for the winning of *Wark*, you underſtood and knew it very well, altho' the Queen in the Pain of our Allegiance had commanded us to come to the Frontiers, which we cou'd not of Duty have denied; and then coming hither unto the Frontier, it was propon'd to us, that we ſhou'd attempt the winning of *Wark*, and the Invaſion of *England*; which at that Time we knew very well you were not provided nor furniſhed for us: Yet anſwered we the whole Nobility, That to defend our Country we were there, and wou'd ſpend our Lives; but for the attempting of any thing in *England*, or Invaſion of the Country, we wou'd not do, not underſtanding by whom, or for what Cauſe the Wars were begun. Wherefore our Queen diſpers'd her Camp in great Choler, and partly againſt her Honour. Therefore, may you ſee what Minds we have of our ſelves to do you of *England* any Annoyance: And ſince that Time, you know we have not attempted any thing towards your Realm.

Fourthly, I ſaid, My Lord, as I have not Authority to debate or reſolve of thoſe weighty Affairs; yet for the good Zeal I bear unto my Country, and wiſh the Unity and Peace amongſt Chriſtians, in my Opinion, it were a goodly Matter to have aſſured Friendſhip, in what Subjection our Realm was in, by our late Marriage with the King of *Spain*, and what Inconveniences did follow, as by the intangling us in Wars and other like Things, and in like Caſe your Realm, which at this preſent is not void of the like Incumbrance, as now ours clearly is: Methinks in mine Opinion it were a goodly Matter, if it cou'd be ſo brought to paſs, that you might be clearly out of the Subjection of *France*, and to leave, as you have done heretofore, as a Realm of your ſelves.

To the which he anſwered, As for the Incumbrance that you had by your Marriage, and now preſently we have; it is a Thing we wou'd gladly were amended; and yet it is not in our Power, until ſuch Time as God hath ſent the ſame Fortune unto us as hath light upon you; altho' we wou'd much rejoice if God wou'd ſend us the ſame Happ: But as for the Chriſtian Amity you wou'd were betwixt our Realms, you may be aſſured that you be no more deſirous to have an Unity, Peace and Quietneſs betwixt theſe Realms, than we be. Therefore, if it can be deviſed by what means to ſett a Tranquillity betwixt our two Realms, I and all my Friends ſhall be as much bent thereunto as if I were a Subject of *England*.

Fiftly, I ſaid, My Lord, ſeeing God hath ſent a true and Chriſtian Religion amongſt you, as now the ſame I doubt not but ſhall take effect with us, how cou'd it be better for the Maintainance of God's Word, to join with us of *England*, and we with you in ſuch Sort, that if the *French* King, who is of the contrary, wou'd attempt any thing prejudicial to our Realm, and go about to bring your Realm in ſuch Subjection that of your ſelves you cou'd neither command nor direct, that then we ſhou'd be ſo confetter'd together, that his Folk were not able to attain to any thing that unto us ſhou'd not ſeem well? The which he anſwered.

Sir *Henry Percy*, this is the firſt time that I have ſpoken with you, but it is not the firſt Conference that hath been betwixt us by Meſſage; and, both for the Houſe you are come of, and the Credit that all Men have of you, I will ſpeak my Fancy plainly unto you. You ſhall perceive, that if I ſhou'd attempt any thing againſt our Queen of *Scotland*, now being Heir, it were not poſſible

that

that I ſhou'd prevail, altho' I have many Friends; and moreover it ſhou'd be a great Hinderance to my * * *. Wherefore I will promiſe you, as partly I have done heretofore, my Friendſhip in theſe things; firſt, I wou'd by no means, for my Part, that there ſhall any War continue betwixt you and us: Secondly, If the *French* King will enforce us to make any Invaſion upon you, it ſhall not be done to his Contentation: Thirdly, If there be any Attempts mov'd either to *Barwick* or your Realm, of any great Importance, it ſhall be unto you certified; and if you invade us, the *French* King having any Power in *Scotland*, we ſhall be glad to do our Endeavour that you may have Advantage of them: And laſtly, If the means can be found that there might be an Abſtinence taken betwixt us and you, the *French* King ſhall not be able to break the ſame, if you will ſo continue it: Therefore, as I know it hath been mov'd unto you the taking of an Abſtinence, I wou'd wiſh the ſame might take effect; and as I have profeſs'd Friendſhip to you, you ſhall be aſſur'd of the Continuance thereof unto the uttermoſt of my Power, and more than I will ſpeak, if Occaſion ſhall ſerve.

And thus he willed me moſt earneſtly, if I had Credit, (as he ſuppoſed I had) that his lawful Friendſhip ſhou'd be unto the Realm of *England* known, both in the Advancement of the Honour of the Realm, the Maintainance of the Word of God, which he ſuppoſeth ſhall be by the Queen's Majeſty ſett forth; alſo he requireth me, for the Safeguard of his Honour, that his Friendſhip and Good-will might not be known to any more than one; the which I thought I wou'd impart to you, moſt humbly deſiring you to conſider his State and Honour, and my poor Honeſty, which lieth only in the ſecret Uſage of this Matter. I doubt not but you will let the Queen's Majeſty underſtand the Contents of this, the which I wou'd have done my ſelf, if it had not been the lack of uniform writing that is in me only, who have never written to any ſo high and mighty Princeſs. And as for my Eſpials, which be ſundry, you ſhall underſtand that I have had great Conference with them of late, the whole Sum whereof is to the Effect of an Abſtinence: So that it is too tedious for me to make you underſtand the whole Sum, but as well as I can you ſhall perceive by this Letter ſent unto you and Sir *William Cecil.* Thus I daily wiſh the Increaſe of your Worſhip. From the Caſtle of *Norham*, the 22d of *January* 1558.

Memorial of certain Points meet for the reſtoring of the Realm of Scotland *to the ancient Weale, written by my Lord Treaſurer* (i. e. Cecil) *with his own Hand.* 5. Auguſt, 1559.

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IMprimis, It is to be noted, that the beſt worldly Felicity that *Scotland* can have, is either to continue in a perpetual Peace with the Kingdom of *England*, or to be made one Monarchy with *England*, as they both make but one Iſle divided from the reſt of the World.

If the firſt be ſought, that is, to be in perpetual Peace with *England*; then muſt it neceſſarily be provided, that *Scotland* be not ſo ſubject to the Appointments of *France* as it is preſently; which being an ancient Enemy to *England*, ſeeketh always to make *Scotland* an Inſtrument to exerciſe thereby their Malice upon *England*, and to make a Footſtool thereof to look over *England* as they may.

Therefore, when *Scotland* ſhall come to the Hands of a mere *Scotſman* in Blood, then may there be Hope of ſome ſuch Accord; but as long as it is at the Command of the *French*, there is no Hope to have Accord long betwixt theſe two Realms.

Therefore, ſeeing it is at the *French* King's Commandment, by reaſon of his Wife, it is to be conſidered for the Weale of *Scotland*, that until ſhe have Children, and during her Abſence out of the Realm, the next Heirs to the Crown, being the Houſe of the *Hamiltons*, ſhou'd have Regard thereto, and to ſee that neither the Crown be impair'd nor waſted: And, on the other ſide, the

the Nobility and Commonalty ought to foreſee that the Laws and old Cuſtoms of the Realm be not alter'd, neither that the Country be impoveriſh'd by Taxes, Impreſt, or new Impoſts after the Manner of *France*; for Proviſion whereof, both by the Law of God and Man, the *French* King and his Wife may be mov'd to reform their Miſgovernance of the Realm.

And for this Purpoſe, it were good that the Nobility and Commons join'd with the next Heir of the Crown, to ſeek due Reformation of ſuch great Abuſes as tend to the Ruin of their Country, which muſt be done before the *French* grow too ſtrong and inſolent.

Firſt, That it may be provided, by Conſent of the three Eſtates of the Land, that the Land may be free from all Idolatry, like as *England* is; for Juſtification whereof, if any free general Council may be had where the Pope of *Rome* has not the Seat of Judgment, they may offer to ſhew their Cauſe to be moſt agreeable to *Chriſt*'s Religion.

Next, To provide that *Scotland* might be governed, in all Rules and Offices, by the ancient Blood of the Realm, without either Captains, Lieutenants or Soldiers, as all other Princes govern their Countries; and eſpecially that the Forts might be in the Hands of mere *Scotſmen*.

Thirdly, That they might never be occaſion'd to enter into Wars againſt *England*, except *England* ſhou'd give the Cauſe to *Scotland*.

Fourthly, That no moe Noblemen of *Scotland* ſhou'd receive Penſion of *France*, except it were whilſt he did Service in *France*; for otherwiſe thereby the *French* wou'd ſhortly corrupt many to betray their own Country.

Fifthly, That no Office, Abbey, Living or Commodity, to be given to any but mere *Scotſmen*, by the Aſſent of the three Eſtates of the Realm.

Sixthly, That there be a Council in *Scotland*, appointed in the Queen's Abſence to govern the whole Realm, and in thoſe Cauſes not to be directed by the *French*.

Seventhly, That it be by the ſaid three Eſtates appointed how the Revenue of the Crown ſhall be expended, how much the Queen ſhall have for her Portion and Eſtate during her Abſence, how many ſhall be limited to the Governance and Defence of the Realm, and how many ſhall be yearly appointed to be kept in the Treaſury.

In theſe and ſuch like Points, if the *French* King and the Queen be found unwilling, and will withſtand this Proviſion for the Weale of the Land; then hath the three Eſtates of the Realm Authority forthwith to intimate to the ſaid King and Queen their humble Requeſts; and if the ſame be not effectually granted, then humbly they may commit the Governance thereof to the next Heir of the Crown, binding the ſame alſo to obſerve the Laws and ancient Rights of the Realm.

Finally, If the Queen ſhall be unwilling to this, as it is likely ſhe will, in reſpect of the greedy and tyrannous Affliction of *France*; then is it apparent that Almighty God is pleaſed to transfer from her the Rule of the Kingdom for the Weale of it: And in this Time great Circumſpection is to be uſed, to avoid the Deceits and Trumperies of the *French*.

And then may the Realm of *Scotland* conſider, being once made free, what means may be deviſed through God's Goodneſs to accord the two Realms, to endure for time to come at the Pleaſure of Almighty God, in whoſe Hands the Hearts of all Princes be.

A ſhort Diſcuſſion of the weighty Matter of Scotland. Auguſt, 1559.

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QUeſtion, Whether it be meet that *England* ſhould help the Nobility and Proteſtants of *Scotland* to expell the *French*; or no?

That no.

1. It is againſt God's Law, to aid any Subjects againſt their natural Princes or their Miniſters.

2. It is dangerous to do it: For if the Aid ſhall be no other than may be kept in Secrecy, it can't be great, and ſo conſequently it ſhall not ſuffice; if it ſhall be open, it will procure Wars, and the End thereof is uncertain.

3. It may be doubted, that when Aid ſhall be given, and Money ſpent, the *French* may compound with the *Scots*, and pardon that Error, to join both in Force againſt *England*; which is more eaſy to be believed, becauſe they had rather make a ſhameful Compoſition with *Scotland*, than ſuffer it to be rejoined and united with the Crown of *England*.

4. It may be doubted, that to ſtay the Progreſs of Religion againſt the See of *Rome*, the Emperor, the King Catholique, the Pope and Potentates in *Italy*, the Duke of *Savoy*, will rather conſpire with the *French* King, than to ſuffer theſe two Monarchies to be joined in one manner of Religion; and in this Part may be doubted, that many, as well *Scots* as *Engliſh*, that can like very well to have theſe two Kingdoms perfectly knit in Amity, will not allow them to be knit in a like Religion.

That yea.

1. It is agreeable both to the Law of God and Nature, that every Prince and publick State ſhou'd defend it ſelf, not only from Perils preſently ſeen, but from Dangers that be probably ſeen to come ſhortly after.

2. Nature and Reaſon teacheth every Perſon, politick or other, to uſe the ſame Manner of Defence that the Adverſary uſeth in Offence.

Upon theſe two Principles agreed, will evidently follow, that *England* both may and ought to aid *Scotland* to keep out the *French*.

The Crown of *England* hath a juſt and unfeigned Title, of longer Continuance than the Friendſhip betwixt *Scotland* and *France*, unto the Superiority of *Scotland*; and for the Right thereof, it is as good, and in ſome Reſpect better, than the Right of the *French* Queen to the Realm of *Scotland*, as hereafter ſhall appear. To prove the Antiquity and Continuance of the Right of this Superiority, remain good, ancient and abundant Stories; and which is the beſt Proof, the authentick and manifeſt Writings under the Seals of *Scotland*, declaring from Age to Age, from King to King, from Parliament to Parliament, the Homages done to the Kings of *England* by the Kings of *Scots*; coming ſometimes to *York*, ſometime to *London*, ſometime to *Lincoln*, ſometime to *Canterbury*. By which Title of Superiority, the Crown of *England* hath upon Differences decided the Controverſies, and appointed the Crown of *Scotland* as to it was thought fit. And by this Title and Dignity doth the *French* Queen, as Queen of *Scots*, owe Homage to the Crown of *England*; and ſo conſequently ought the Crown of *England* to defend the Liberties, the Laws, the Baronage and People of *Scotland*, from Oppreſſion, and that in Honour and Conſcience, no leſs than the Emperor ought to defend the State of *Milan* or the Kingdom of *Bohemia*, being Vaſſals to the Empire: And therefore, if it may appear that the *French* King, by Pretence of the Marriage of an Heir of *Scotland*, will alter the Laws, Liberties and Cuſtoms of *Scotland*, and will ſubvert the lawful Heirs of the *Scottiſh* Blood to the Crown, and deprive the Barons and States of the Realm of their Inheritance, whereby the *French* Nation and Blood may poſſeſs that Land; then the Crown of *England* is bound in Honour and Conſcience to defend and protect the Realm of *Scotland* againſt the *French*. And ſo doth the firſt Queſtion alter in the moſt principal Point; for then is not the Caſe betwixt Subjects and a natural Prince, but betwixt a ſuperior King and a Realm of the one Part, and an inferior King alone joining with Strangers on the other Part.

But beſide this former Reaſon, which reſteth but upon a Right and Honour; it followeth to conſider how *England* ought, even for the Protection of it ſelf from perpetual Ruin and Subverſion, ſee, and that with good Speed, that the *French* be not ſuffered, by Pretence of this particular Diſorder, to bring their Armies into *Scotland*. And in this Part, both God and Nature doth not only allow, but alſo move the Realm of *England* to look to this in Time; for in theſe Caſes, when it concerneth Kingdoms, *haud putarem* cometh too late.

To prove this, That *England* is in evident Danger if Providence be not uſed, are to be conſidered theſe things following.

Firſt, The Diſpoſition of the *French* to conquer, and be Maſters of *England*, I think is unknown neither to *Engliſhmen*, nor to any of the Chriſtian Nations that knoweth one Nation from another. No Man is ſo ſimple, that hath read or remembred any Stories, to think that that Nation hath any Conſcience in keeping or breaking of Peace with *England*.

Next to this, It is too evident that they mean it, and of Neceſſity they muſt both mean it and follow it.

At the making of this laſt Peace, it was manifeſt how they laboured to have had the *Burgundians* conclude a Peace without *England*; and how inſolent Reaſons they uſed in that Point, ſhew'd what Ground they meant to work. They cou'd moſt falſely ſay at that Time, That they knew not how to conclude a Peace with the Queen's Majeſty, nor to whom they ſhou'd deliver *Calais*, but to the Dolphin's Wife, whom they took for Queen of *England*.

Before that, in the Time of Queen *Mary*, what Practices had they in many Places, both abroad and here in *England*, to deprive the Queen's Majeſty's Title that now is, and to ſet forth their own? inſomuch as, if God had not conferred this Crown to the Queen's Majeſty with a notable Concord of all States of the Realm, it was well ſeen in *France* how they meant to have ſet abroad their Device. And too many things there be to prove their burning Deſire to further this their Doings at *Rome*, in procuring the laſt Pope's Bull to declare the Queen's Majeſty illegitimate; their Practices in *Almain* to ſet forth *Eckin*'s Works againſt the Queen's Mother; their Uſurpation of the Arms of *England*, firſt, in their open Juſts when the King was killed, and then conſequently uſing the ſame in Plate, and to deſpite the Queen's Majeſty's Servants in the ſame Plate wherein her Ambaſſadors were ſerved, now alſo ſent into *Scotland*; the Conſultation alſo had upon the King's Death, how this *French* King ſhou'd be proclaimed King of *England*; which was ſtayed by the Wiſdom of the Conſtable.

Yet nevertheleſs followed the ingraving of the ſame Stile in the Great Seal ſent into *Scotland*, and in the Treaty confirmed with the King Catholique: This that they forbare to do by Proclamation, they do by Paintings, Gravings, Writings and Workings; ſo as it appeareth manifeſt what they would, and what they covet. Beſide this, how lightly they eſteem the Queen's Majeſty appeareth by their keeping of their Treaty, being bound and demanded to ſend a fourth Hoſtage, they have neglected it; and how diſhonourably one of them hath paſs'd here with the killing of one of the Queen's Majeſty's Subjects, doth appear too plain; and yet they have ſeemed cunningly to be Complainers, that is, to bite and to whin like Dogs or *Frenchmen*.

What good Diſpoſition the *French* Queen herſelf is of, doth well appear by her own diſdainful Speech to diverſe Perſons, and amongſt others to ſome of the Queen's Majeſty's own * Gentlewomen being in *France*.

* *Eliſabeth Sands.*

Hitherto may appear ſufficient Arguments of the earneſt Minds of the *French* towards this Kingdom; which how maliciouſly it hath been ſet, former Years have always declared, when they made no Pretence to this Crown; and now how this their Malice is augmented and taken root, by their falſe pretended Title, may eaſily appear to be ſuch as the ſame will never be ſtayed in them as long as the *French* Queen liveth, or as long as any Iſſue ſhall come of her Body: So that this Quarrel now begun, is undoubtedly like to be a perpetual Incumbrance of this Kingdom.

And to manifeſt that it ſhall now in this Time be put moſt in ure, it is to be conſidered at this preſent, the Cardinal of *Lorrain* and the whole Houſe of *Guiſe* have the chief Governance, who only depend upon the Queen their Neice, and have nothing ſo much at heart as to advance her Titles; wherein they have long flattered themſelves, that to augment the Crown of *France* with *England* by the ſame Woman their Couſin, by whom they have gotten *Scotland*, ſhall be an immortal Fame to their Houſe, and an Eſtabliſhment of the ſame.

Beſide this, at this preſent the *French* King hath no Quarrel towards any other Parts, being in Peace with the King Catholique, and having married his Siſter to him, who alſo is too ſtrong for him; and having alſo married with the Duke of *Savoy*, and delivered to him his five Towns, whereby alſo the entring of the *French* King into *Italy* is utterly cut off: And therefore now reſteth no Place for the *French* to bend Wars upon, but upon *Scotland* and *England* or *Ireland*; in which Point, is to be alſo remembred the Practices which they preſently entertain by means of *George Paris*, who is very lately gone into *France* with Intelligence from certain Lords of *Ireland*, wherein the Dowager of *Scotland* is a Party, and from her the ſaid *Paris* went laſt into *France*.

It followeth, to conſider how near theſe Dangers be at hand, and whether they be ſo far off as the ſame may be deferred without preſent Remedy.

True it is and likely, that as long as the Nobility of *Scotland* ſhall be of greater Power than the *French*, ſo long will the *French* forbear the open Invaſion of *England*; but as ſoon as *Scotland* ſhall either yield of it ſelf, or be compelled for lack of Power and Ability to yield to the *French*, forthwith will the *French* employ both their own Strength and the Power of *Scotland* againſt *England*.

And to underſtand how long it is likely for the *Scots* to keep the upper hand, is eaſily judged, if it be remembred that the *Scots* of themſelves, when they had a King of their own to aid them, never came into the Field with more than fifteen Days Victual, neither could abide longer together, but were forced to return and change their Numbers: So as the Way to overcome them, is to prolong Time, and not to fight with them, but ſtand at Defence; and therefore, without Relief of Money to pay them Wages, they can't endure long in the Field or in Strength. So that it is moſt evident, that without ſome Relief it will be no long Time ere the *Scots* ſhall be forced to leave off, whoſe End of Neceſſity muſt be the Beginning of *England*; and ſo the ſooner the one endeth, the ſooner the other ſhall begin.

Then followeth another, tho' no difficult Queſtion, Whether it be meeter or more profitable for *England* to continue the *Scots* in their Strength and Defence, than to leave them, and be at the Charges of our own Defence? In Continuance of the *Scots*, our People is ſpared, and our Country in Peace; only ſome Treaſure is to be ſpent: In our Defence, our People muſt be ſpent, our Country ſpoiled and waſted; and as to Expence of Treaſure, ten Times more to be ſpent that Way than the other. The eaſieſt Way to ſtand upon Defence, muſt be, to put into *Barwick* (which now holdeth but 2000) 3 or 4000 more; and if it ſhou'd come to Siege, 10000 will ſcantly ſuffice.

Beſide this, the whole three Borders muſt be planted with Garriſons, which will not be done under 4 or 5000 Men; and if the Enemy ſhall approach with an Army, which of Neceſſity he will do, having it tranſported into *Scotland*, and ſo employ it to ſome Profit; then muſt alſo an Army of like Force be levied, and kept there, if not to invade, yet to defend. And what the Charges thereof will be, if it laſt but three Months, is ſoon conjectured to be ſuch as it will weary both the Realm and the Crown. Furthermore, how at this preſent *England* ſhall be able to furniſh an Army, is pitiful to underſtand; how void it is of ſuch Generals as either the old Dukes of *Norfolk*, *Suffolk*, and the laſt Duke of *Northumberland*, is ſoon perceived; how much People is of late Years waſted by Death, is well underſtood. Again, what manner of Army the *French* mean to have, is already underſtood; the Rhingrave is appointed already to levy 5000 *Almains*; what the Duke of *Saxe* ſhall do, is unknown: And for Tranſportation of them, Means is already made with the King of *Denmark*, whoſe Friendſhip is ſought with ſuch a Bait as therewith he will ſoon be taken, that is, with Releaſe of the Title that *Lorrain* pretendeth to *Denmark*. It may be ſaid, that *England* may alſo have *Almains*: 'Tis true, but ſome Chance may happen that they ſhall come too late; and whenſoever they come, they be unreaſonably chargeful. The *French* have a great Advantage at this preſent; for they pretend outwardly to keep Peace with us, and yet they, under the Pretence of this Matter of *Scotland*, do daily levy, preſt and ſend Soldiers into *Scotland*: And *England*, upon colour of Peace, doth not ſo much as talk how to be defended; and if it forbear until the *French* be in the Field, then is it eaſily perceived how late it will be to ſend for Succours out of *Almain*.

Theſe things being but Words, of Peace, of War, of levying of Men, of arming, of victualling, of Money, of Munition and ſuch like, move but as Words may; but when Time ſhall come, (which Almighty God prolong) then will it move and ſtir all good *Engliſh* Bloods, ſome to Fear, ſome to Anger, ſome to be at their Wits End *(a)*.

Sir William Cecil *was the Author of this Diſcuſſion, (as he calls it) and it is all written in his own Hand.*

At the Beginning of this Paper, there is a ſhort Note in Sir Robert Cotton*'s Hand, as follows.*

"*Notwithſtanding that this Month of* Auguſt 1559, *the Treaty of* Upſatlington, *between the Queen of* England, *and* Mary *and* Francis *of* Scotland, *was made and confirmed (b); yet did ſhe, as appears by this Conſultation in the Hand of Sir* William Cecil *her Secretary, continue her Purpoſe of Aid and Support to the Faction in* Scotland *by* Murray."

A Letter from Sir Ralph Sadler *and Sir* James Croft *to the Council of* England.

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YOur Letters of the 20th we received the 25th of this preſent, and have the ſame Day received Letters in Cypher from *Randolph*, which we have decyphered, and herewith ſend you the Copy thereof; praying you to let us underſtand the Queen's Majeſty's Pleaſure as ſhortly as may be, what we ſhall anſwer touching their Requeſt of more Aid of Money, wherein it ſeemeth we ſhall be much preſſed: For other Occurrences we underſtand by the Meſſenger that brought the ſaid Letters, that, likeas we wrote to you, there have been divers Skirmiſhes betwixt the Proteſtants and the *French*, which daily do continue, with alſo Night Alarms, and divers hurt and ſlain on both Sides; but *Kircaldy* hath no ſuch Hurt as we wrote of, the Bruit whereof did ariſe of another *Scotſman*, that was indeed hurt in the ſame ſort as we did write; and before that, in the ſame Skirmiſh, *Kircaldy* ſlew a *Frenchman*, whereby the Proteſtants had the firſt Blood, which they do take for good Luck. The Earl of *Huntly* remains at home in his Country like a wylie Fox, but his Son (as they ſay) is coming to the Proteſtants with 400 Horſemen; and *James Macconnel*, whom the Regent heretofore ſtirred againſt the Earl of *Argile*, is alſo coming to them with 700 Footmen. The Earl of *Morton* lyes at his Houſe of *Dalkeith*, within four Miles of *Edinburgh*, and ſometimes repaireth thither, of whom the Proteſtants make a certain Account to be theirs. We intend, be-

cauſe

(*a*) There is a very wide Difference betwixt this *Diſcuſſion*, as contained in Mr. *Crawford* of *Drumſoy*'s Collections MS. Lawyers Library, taken by that Gentleman from the Originals in the *Cotton* Library, and that Copy of it as publiſhed by Biſhop *Burnet*, *Hiſt. Reform.* Vol. 3, p. 283, Append. Numb. 54. Whence this Diſagreement ſhould ariſe, I cannot divine; but perhaps I may afterwards be enabled to ſatisfy my Readers herein.

(*b*) This Peace was made in the Month of *May*, and confirmed in *Auguſt*. *Fœdera Angliæ*.

cauſe we will underſtand their Doings more certainly, to ſend Mr. *Drury* ſecretly to *Edinburgh* to ſome truſty Man, by whoſe means he ſhall ſee what they do; and have given him Inſtructions to view *Leith*, and as he ſhall ſee occaſion, to give Advice to our ſecret Friends how they may at beſt Advantage aſſault the Town, wherein we ſuppoſe him to have good underſtanding. We have preſently written to *Randolph* (a), requiring him to declare to the Lords of the Congregation what Aid is now coming out of *France Dampmartin*; and ſo have we not letted ſundry Times heretofore, by ſuch means as we cou'd, and alſo by ſpecial Letters to *Randolph*, to admoniſh them of ſuch Power as from time to time we underſtood was coming againſt them; firſt, with the Marquis *d'Elbeuf*, and next, with the Duke *d'Aumail*; and adviſed them to conſider what Hurt they might receive by their Slackneſs and protracting of Time: And if they wou'd have followed our Advice, they ſhou'd not have ſuffered *Leith* to be fortified; but ere this Time ſhou'd have well accompliſhed their Enterprize: Which nevertheleſs, as it ſeemeth, they have much deglected, or elſe have had ſuch Impediments as they could no ſooner aſſemble their Power.

Where it appeareth in your ſaid Letters of the 20th of this preſent, that ſome good diſpos'd People of this Town have given knowledge to the Regent, that I Sir *James Croft* ſhou'd help to conduct the Earl of *Arran* out of this Town, whereof we perceive the *French* Ambaſſador there hath complain'd; I have thought good to let you underſtand, that for Truth neither did the ſaid Earl come within this Town, nor yet did I ſet one Foot out of Doors with him to conduct him towards his Country: And as it chanced, about the ſame time did the Duke his Father ſend to me a Meſſenger, requiring that I would ſhew favour to his Son; and if he ſhou'd happen to arrive here, that I wou'd advertiſe him thereof, to the intent he might provide for his ſafe Conveyance into *Scotland*. Whereunto, becauſe I wou'd the better colour the Matter, I anſwered, That I neither knew nor heard of the coming of his Son, nor yet if he did come wou'd I have to do with him; and therefore required him not to truſt me in that Behalf: Which Anſwer nevertheleſs the Earl of *Arran* was privy unto. But touching his Conveyance, the Truth is, that I cauſed him to be ſecretly put out of the Caſtle over the Water, in the Night, where a Gentleman by our Appointment received him, and rode with him over the waſte Ground, and under the Hills of *Cheviot*, into *Teviodale*; and there delivered him about one or two a-clock in the Morning to a *Scots* Gentleman, a dear Friend of the ſaid Earl, who from thence conveyed him to *Hamilton*. The Matter, we dare ſay, was ſo ſecretly handled, that hitherto none of the ſaid two Gentlemen are either known or ſuſpected to have had the doing of the ſame; nor yet can any of them all, which be moſt ſuſpicious of the Matter, tell certainly which Way nor how the ſaid Earl came into *Scotland*. Marry! we have one Man vehemently ſuſpected, and it may be that he hath given the ſaid Regent ſuch Knowledge as he hath of this Matter; and that is, *Thomas Clavering* Farmer of the *Demenes* of *Norham*, dwelling in the Caſtle there: For this we know, that he hath been very inquiſitive, as ſecretly as he could, and yet not ſo ſecretly but that we do underſtand it, of the ſaid Earl's paſſing this Way; inſomuch as he got Knowledge of his paſſing through *Anwick*. Some think he is a good Spy for the Regent; wherewith we can't charge him, and yet we write it not without ſome Cauſe of Suſpicion: And beſide that, we cannot praiſe his Honeſty in other Things. But whether he be a Spy, or not, it were not amiſs that he dwelt further from the Border, and an honeſt Man in his Place at *Norham*. From *Barwick*, the 25 of *October*, 1559, at Midnight.

Your aſſured poor Friends,

R. SADLER.
JAMES CROFT.

(a) By this and other Evidents here inſerted 'tis manifeſt that Mr. *Randolph* had come ſecretly into *Scotland*, and lurked among the Congregationers as a Spy and Miniſter from Queen *Eliſabeth* of *England*. This I had omitted to take notice of in the Body of the Hiſtory.

Orders [ſent, as appears, from *England*] *for the Maintenance and governing of the Garriſons of Horſemen and Footmen.* 4. November, 1559.

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FIrſt, A general Contribution and Benevolence of all Noblemen, Gentlemen, Burghs and Towns, and a Taxation upon the Kirk-lands, and alſo the whole Profits of ſuch Kirkmen as be againſt the Congregation, to be levied.

Item, Of this a perfect Book to be made, and ſeveral Men to be appointed in every Country for the Collection of the ſame, out of which certain Money to be allotted for the Charges of the Collectors.

Item, That ſome be ſpecially appointed to have the Receipt of all the Treaſure, and to make payment over to the Garriſons, or otherwiſe for Munition and other Neceſſaries for the common Action, as ſhall be appointed by Warrant, ſigned by the Lords having Governance, or three of them at the leaſt, whereof the Duke, the Earl of *Arran* or the Prior of St. *Andrew*'s, to be one.

Item, It is thought meet that *Knox* be a Counſaile with the Receipts and Payments, and to ſee that the ſame may be employed to the common Action, and not otherwiſe to any private Uſe.

Item, That the Treaſure be kept ſecret, and that all ſuch Money as they ſhall ſpend in this common Action may ſeem to grow, and be levied only by the Means above ſaid.

Minutes of a Letter from Sir Ralph Sadler *to Mr.* Randolph. 4. Novem. 1559.

Ibid.

ONe thouſand Pounds ſent for the preſent Relief of the Lords of the Congregation from Sir *Ralph Sadler* and Sir *James Croft:* A new Commiſſion from the Court of *England* to ſupport the Lords with more Money according as they ſhall ſee their Succeſs; they deſire *Randolph* to give them his Opinion of the Matter, leſt they ſhou'd employ the Queen's Money in vain; and ſecretly to acquaint the Lords that more Money was ſent for their Aid, but withal that they make few privy unto it; and to tell them that there is more Aid of *French* coming to *Leith*, adviſing them to make haſte in the Recovery of *Leith* before they come.

Another. 5. Novem. 1559.

He is ſorry for the Misfortune of the Laird of *Ormiſton:* To prevent the Knowledge that the Money was ſent from hence, the Lords of the Congregation muſt ſay that it belonged either to themſelves or *Ormiſton.* It ſeems the Earl of *Bothwel* lay in wait of purpoſe.

A Letter from Sir Ralph Sadler *and Sir* James Croft, *to Mr. Secretary* Cecil.

SIR,

Ibid.

LIkeas in our laſt Letters ſent by Mr. *Drury*, we did advertiſe that we had preſumed to deliver 1000 Pounds to the Laird of *Ormiſton*, for the Relief of the great Neceſſity and Lack of the Proteſtants; ſo ſhall you now perceive, by ſuch Letters as we have received from *Balnaves* and *Randolph*, (which we ſend you herewith) what Miſhap hath chanced to the ſaid *Ormiſton*, to our no little Grief and Diſpleaſure. Surely we durſt as well have committed our Lives as the Money to his Hands, and wou'd have thought the ſame to be in no Danger, as he himſelf did warrant us moſt aſſuredly. But you may ſee that ſuch Miſhap doth chance when it is leaſt look'd for; which we aſſure you doth much inquiet and trouble us, and yet there is no Fault in us; truſting that the Queen's Majeſty will rather impute the ſame to ſuch Miſhap as many times doth chance in Things moſt aſſured, than to any lack of Good-will and Diligence in us to do our Duties.

We cannot perceive that the Proteſtants are of Power to beſiege *Leith*, and therefore we judge that they will remain in Garriſon at *Edinburgh*, ſo long as they be able to entertain any Number of Men; which they cannot continue for any long Time, unleſs they may have Support and Aid of Money at the Queen's Majeſty's Hands. On the other ſide, we hear that the *French* alſo be in ſome Diſtreſs, both for want of Fewel and other things, and alſo for that their Victual (as they ſay) doth conſume: So that it is thought, that unleſs they may have Aid ſhortly out of *France*, they likewiſe cannot abide long in *Leith*. And thus they be in ſome Extremity on both Sides; what the End will be, God knows.

The Proteſtants will ſend to us for more Money out of hand; which we think the rather, becauſe we wrote to *Randolph* before we underſtood of *Ormiſton*'s Miſhap, that the ſame was here ready for them: But now, becauſe of this evil Chance, we wou'd gladly know the Queen's Majeſty's Pleaſure before we did adventure the reſt; and yet we be in doubt, whether it be good or not, for this ſorry Miſchance, ſo to diſcourage them, as now to leave them deſtitute of Help when they have moſt Need: And therefore, if they ſhall preſs us ſore therein before we have Anſwer again from you, we ſee not how we can deny it unto them, if it may be ſafely and ſecretly conveyed. Whereunto we wou'd have ſuch Regard as appertaineth: For we do conſider, that the more they be ſupported, the longer we ſhall continue and nouriſh their Faction, and alſo the greater ſhall the Enmity grow and encreaſe betwixt them and the *French*. And now that by reaſon of this Miſhap, it is to be feared that our Practice will be diſcovered, whereupon nevertheleſs you muſt ſet as good a Colour as you can, you may be ſure that if *France* liſt to break with you, they will take occaſion ſo to do as well for that is done already, as for any thing that we ſhall do more in the Matter; which, conſidering how many we have had to deal withal, cannot be kept ſo ſecret as we deſire, but muſt needs break out at one time or other, which we always feared. And therefore, if any Advantage may be taken now, or at the leaſt, if by the ſpending of a little Money, this Enmity thus begun betwixt the Proteſtants and the *French* may be continued, in our Opinions it is not to be neglected; for we think it had been better, never to have had to do with them, than now to leave them: Wherein we beſeech you to advertiſe us of the Queen's Majeſty's Pleaſure as ſoon as is poſſible.

Touching your Deſire to know what *Scots* be with the Queen Dowager, and how many *Frenchmen*; as far as we can learn, there be no *Scots* of any Name with her in *Leith*, but the Lord *Seton* and the Lord *Borthwick*, with the Inhabitants of the Town; for the reſt, as the Earl *Bothwel*, who is on her Side, and ſuch others as ſeem to favour her Party, do remain at home by her Conſent until ſhe ſhall require their Aid. It is ſaid that there be in *Leith* about 3000 *Scots* and *Frenchmen* in Wage. Thus we commit you to the Tuition of Almighty God. From *Barwick*, the 5th of *November*, 1559.

Your aſſured poor Friends,

R. SADLER.

JAMES CROFT.

A Letter from the Lords of Scotland *to Sir* Ralph Sadler.

SIR,

Cotton Library, and Lawyers Library.

AFter our maiſt harty Commendatioun, this is to ſignify unto zou, that thro the Loſe of the thouſand Pundis ſent with the Lard of *Ormiſton*, we ar brought to that Straytneſs, that we cannot keip our Men of Warre togydder; and gif thai ſall depart from us, we ar not hable to keip this Town, but moſt neydis depart; and ſo ſhall all our Enterpryiſs be fruſtrate: Heirfore, even as you tender the Weall of our Cauſe, and proſperous Succeſs of all our Proceedingis, we pray you with all poſſible Diligence ſend to us, with this Berar *James Baxter*, ane thouſand Pundis *Stirling* at the leiſt, and that be Sea, with certayn other thingis as he ſhall inſtruct you at lenthe; for we have ſent ane Boyt for that ſamyn Cauſe. And thus we commit you to the eternal Protection of God. From *Edinburgh*, in heaſt, the 6. of *November*, *anno* 1559, be your

Liuffing Freindis,

JAMES.
JAMES HAMILTON.
JAMES Saint *Andre*.

A Letter from Sir Ralph Sadler *and Sir* James Croft, *to Sir* William Cecil.

S I R,

Cotton Library, and Lawyers Library.

AFter our moſt hearty Commendations, your Letters of the 3d of this preſent we received the 7th of the ſame; and the Day before, we received ſuch Letters as we ſend you herewith from the Proteſtants: Whereunto we anſwered them, that we are ready to ſatisfy their Requeſt, if it may be ſurely and ſecretly accompliſhed; but becauſe the Meſſenger called *James Baxter* ſeemed to think it as dangerous by Sea as by Land, beſides that it wou'd be long in doing by the Sea, he is therefore returned to them to deviſe better for the Surety and Secrecy of the Matter. And now, upon the Receipt of your ſaid Letters, we have written to them again to comfort them with ſuch good Matter as in your ſaid Letters is contained; being of your Opinion, that it is moſt requiſite to encourage them to follow their Enterprize, ſpecially to heaſt the Recovery and taking of *Leith*, with ſuch Speed as the Matter indeed requireth.

Now, to anſwer to the Points of your ſaid Letters according to your Deſire; firſt, touching the Means and Ways how to aid them, we muſt needs agree with your Opinion there, that by Money and Counſel is the only Way, till Time and Occaſion ſhall percace enforce you to do more; and therefore becauſe we have now, upon your ſaid Advertiſement, promiſed them that they ſhall lack no Money, it may pleaſe you to take order that the ſame may be ſent hither with all Diligence; for long Delay of the ſending thereof, may be an Hindrance: And when it is here, in our Opinions it may ſtand the Queen's Majeſty in as good ſtead as if it were in her Highneſs's Coffers; for if the Matters ſo fall out as we ſhall not need to employ it to ſuch Purpoſe as it is ſent for, yet it ſhall be ready to be defrayed upon the Charges of the Fortifications and Garriſons here, or otherwiſe as ſhall pleaſe her Highneſs. How much will ſuffice, and how they make their Payments, there is mention made of the ſame in *Balnaves*'s Letters which we laſtly ſent unto you, whereby you may conjecture what will be a convenient Support; and if you ſend more than enough, the Overplus will ſerve for the Purpoſes aforeſaid. It muſt be in *French* Crowns; for if it be in any *Engliſh* Coin, when it ſhall come abroad in *Scotland* it will be the ſooner ſuſpected from whence they have it. We have here already 1200 Pounds of *Engliſh* Gold, which we dare not ſend them for the Cauſe aforeſaid, and here is no Shift to be made for the changing of the ſame. There is no Help to be had in thoſe Parts for ſo much Money as will ſerve this Town, and therefore it muſt needs come from thence: And right neceſſary it is that you ſend it ſurely; for *Overton* told us, that if he had not hired Men by the Way to ride the ſtronger, perceiving himſelf to be dogged by falſe Varlets, he had been robbed of that he brought.

Secondly, Touching your Device of ſending hither of Captains and Leaders, whereof indeed the Proteſtants have great lack; we think it not amiſs that four or five of theſe mentioned in your ſaid Letters be ſuffered to come ſecretly hither, to do as you have there deviſed, if at their coming we ſee no Cauſe that ſhall require the contrary.

Thirdly,

Thirdly, As we have always haſted them to prevent the Malice of their Enemies by the taking of *Leith*, ſo have we now again according to your Advice written unto them, that if they will forthwith raiſe a ſufficient Power, and adventure it, the Charges ſhall be born; and beſides that, have advertiſed them of the Danger that may follow if they forſlow the Time.

Fourthly, Touching the Earls of *Huntly* and *Morton*; the one is wylie, and the other is ſimple and fearful. *Huntly* is look'd for continually at *Edinburgh*, and, as it was told us to day, arrived there yeſternight; which we have not of Certainty: But whereſoever he be, we have the ſame Opinion of him that you have, that is, that he will uſe both Parties as may beſt ſerve his own Purpoſe, and howſoever the Game go, he will be ſure to ſave one. As for *Morton*; albeit he hath by his Hand-writing bound himſelf to take part with the Proteſtants, yet he lieth aloof; ſome think he doth it, partly fearing which Party ſhall prevail, and partly in reſpect of the great Benefit that he hath heretofore received at the Dowager's Hands, by whoſe means he obtained the Earldom of *Angus*, tho' another hath a better Title to the ſame; and yet we think him to favour the Proteſtants more than the other Party. And touching the Lord *Erskine*; tho' he ſeem to be neuter, and keep the Caſtle indifferent as his ſpecial Charge; yet did he declare himſelf on the Proteſtants Party at the laſt Alarm given to *Edinburgh*, when the Lords were out of the Town, as you have heard, and ſithence hath he been in Treaty and Council with them ſundry Times, as we be informed; but ſurely, as you write, it is to be feared that Practices have done them much Hurt, whereof they have been ſufficiently warn'd.

Finally, Touching the Doubt ariſen there, if we ſhou'd aid the Proteſtants, and help them to be delivered of the *French*, what Aſſurance might be had of them towards this Realm, wherein you require us to write our Opinion; we think aſſuredly that we need not to make any great Doubt of that Matter: For knowing themſelves to be utterly out of Credit with *France*, we need not to fear their Revolt thither, if the lack of our Aid enforce them not; and therefore of force they muſt adhere to us, and ſeek the Amity of *England*, or elſe they can't be able to endure the Malice of *France*. And ſurely we think, that if the Queen's Majeſty wou'd manifeſt herſelf on their Side, and take plain Part with them, her Highneſs cou'd not require that Aſſurance of them, being in their Power to accompliſh, that they wou'd refuſe. Thus we commit you to the Tuition of Almighty God. From *Barwick*, the 8th of *November*, 1559.

Your aſſured poor Friends,

R. SADLER.

JAMES CROFT.

Part of a Poſtſcript to this Letter.

Wherefore, under Correction, we think it not amiſs to provide for their Relief and Maintenance, and that Money be ſent hither for that Purpoſe; which tho' it be here ready, need not to be employed that Way, but as you ſhall ſee Cauſe neceſſarily requiring the ſame; for tho' they be thus retired, we ſee not but that they may reinforce themſelves and begin again; or at the leaſt, we think them ſo ſtrong in their Countries, that if they have any Help or Maintenance, they may remain as long as they liſt at Pike with the *French*; and the longer the Enmity may be continued betwixt them, the leſs Opportunity ſhall the *French* have to look towards us. This is but our poor Opinion, which we refer to better Conſideration.

A Letter in Cypher from Mr. Randolph, *to Sir* Ralph Sadler *and Sir* James Croft, *decyphered.*

Cotton Library, and Lawyers Library.

I Have found ſo much Uncertainty in Mens Doings, that I am uncertain what to write, nor know not how to report that that within theſe five Days I have heard and ſeen. I have found the worſt Succeſs in a Matter that I hop'd ſo well of, that ever I ſhall ſee. Since the taking of the Money, and the coming of the *Frenchmen* to the Gates of *Edinburgh*, I have found the moſt part of our Nobles and others ſuch, as I know not whom worthily to commend. The Number of Men hath ſo decayed ſince that Time, that the reſt were forced to leave the Town. Upon *Monday* laſt alſo our Men had a very hot Skirmiſh: There were ſlain, hurt and taken of both Sides thirty or forty, one Captain of ours ſlain, and no Man elſe of any Name; notwithſtanding the Multitude were ſo diſcouraged, and ſhew'd ſuch open Tokens thereof, that the beſt Counſel they could find, was, to leave the Town with Speed, and to go to ſome Place the whole Council together, where they might quietly take new Advice in their Affairs. They concluded the ſaid *Monday* at four of the Clock, to depart that Night at Midnight towards *Stirling*; where preſently we are. Againſt this Purpoſe of theirs were only the Earl of *Arran*, the Lord *James* and the Lord *Maxwel*, who offered to remain in the Town, if they might have but a thouſand Men, and to be aſſured of the Caſtle; whereof they now ſtood in doubt again, becauſe the Earl of *Morton* and the Lord *Erskine* had conſulted together to end the Matter by Compoſition. Wherefore the Lords of the Congregation thought it better to depart, than truſt to their Gentleneſs being now both together in the Caſtle, and ſpecially the Earl of *Morton*, who being of the Congregation, and promiſing daily to come unto them, ſtole ſecretly into the Caſtle; whither he came the Day before we departed, and was there when we went away. One *Blackadder* your Neighbour is thought to have wrought much Miſchief in this Cauſe, and betray'd *Ormiſton*: True it is that he hath been the Dowager's Friend, and perſuadeth the Lord *Erskine* againſt the Lords of the Congregation. Some there be that ſuſpect the Lord *Ruthven*, who is one of this Congregation and Council, a great Friend to the Earls of *Huntly* and *Morton*. The Lords of the Congregation have remained here at *Stirling* two Days conſulting of their Affairs, having determined rather to die than thus to leave their Enterprize; but only for a Time to retire themſelves, and in the mean Seaſon to annoy the Dowager or her Friends as they may. The greateſt Thing that grieveth them, as they ſay, is the Fear that they have that the Queen's Majeſty will have an ill Opinion of their Doings; but they truſt her Majeſty will favourably weigh their Caſe, and accept ſuch Offers of Service as ſhortly ſhall be preſented unto her by the Lard of *Liddington*, who hath received his Diſpatch: And I truſt we ſhall be with you within eight Days at the furtheſt, not very certain yet what Way we ſhall take, being not very ſure neither by Sea nor Land. I ſee not how again I can write unto your Honours before my Departure, having at this Time where I am, much ado to find a convenient Meſſenger. I receiv'd on *Monday* laſt, within one Hour, both your Letters and Inſtructions; I made as many Partakers of them as I thought might ſtand with your Pleaſures, and the Matter did chiefly concern: They have promiſed hereafter greater Silence, and more Circumſpection in their Doings, truſting not to lack of your good Advices, as hitherto they have had. What they ſhall determine here, yet I know not throughly, but intend to bring certain Knowledge thereof at my coming. To write at large, your Honours know it is not poſſible in this kind of writing; I had not alſo at all Times, as I would, convenient Means to ſend; which had been very neceſſary in this Time: Notwithſtanding, I truſt it ſhall appear, that neither have I been idle, nor omitted any Occaſion where I might do any Service. Upon *Thurſday* laſt, the Earl of *Arran* receiv'd a Cartel of Defiance from the Earl of *Bothwel*, requiring of him the Combat;

Combat; the Copy whereof, and Anſwer to the ſame, I will bring with me. The ſame Day the Lords of the Congregation ſent to take the Biſhop of *Dunblane*, being an open Adverſary to their Proceedings, and intend to make him pay well becauſe he is rich. This preſent Day the 11th of *November*, we depart from *Stirling* towards St. *Andrew*'s, where we ſhall take Ship, either to arrive at *Barwick* or *Holy Iſland*, where I truſt we ſhall be very ſhortly. The Dowager comes not to *Edinburgh* before to morrow. The Earl of *Morton* is returned to his Houſe, and hath not ſpoken with the Queen. The Lord *Erskine* is determin'd to keep the Caſtle from her. The Lord Commendator of *Holy-rood-houſe* hath been with the Dowager, and ſhamefully ſubmitted himſelf. I hear of no Man elſe that hath been with her. From *Stirling*, the 11th of *November*, 1559.

A Letter from the Council of England *to Sir* Ralph Sadler *and Sir* James Croft.

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AFter our hearty Commendations, we ſee that Time maketh ſuch Alterations, as it ſeemeth moſt neceſſary to foreſee Things to come before they ſhall happen; and therefore we be preſently occupied in daily Conſultations, what ſhall be meet for the Queen's Majeſty to do concerning this Matter of the *French* Proceedings to the apparent Conqueſt of *Scotland*: And altho' we be not come to a perfect Reſolution, yet upon your laſt Advertiſement, given by the Poſtſcript of your Letter of the 8th of this Month, mentioning the retire of the Proteſtants from *Edinburgh* to *Lithgow*, we be forced to diſpatch forthwith this Bearer Mr. *Randal*, a Gentleman of Truſt and Knowledge, unto you; by whom alſo the Queen's Majeſty ſendeth a Sum of Money, to be uſed as Occaſion ſhall require. And further, we here think that moſt needful, that he be ſecretly ſent into *Scotland* to the Proteſtants, to comfort them, and to encourage them not to ſhrink in anywiſe; but as he ſhall find the Occaſion, to give them Counſel how to proceed, and how to order themſelves; and likewiſe to animate them with an Aſſurance, that if they ſhall in any honourable Sort require Aid of the Queen's Majeſty, they ſhall not lack that that in Reaſon may be granted: For Demonſtration whereof he may alſo inform them, that the Queen's Majeſty is in Preparation of a Navy to the Seas, and meaneth to cauſe more Power of Men of War to be levied in the North Part of the Realm, and to be ſent to *Barwick* and the Frontiers. And further, alſo her Majeſty meaneth to addreſs the Duke of *Norfolk*, to be Lieutenant General of the North Parts; ſo as he may thereby aſſure them, that if it may appear that they will do their Parts like wiſe and ſtout Men, their Enemy ſhall ſhortly ſee ſuch Power of *England* in a Readineſs, as both ſhall abate their Pride, and increaſe the Hearts of the ſaid *Scots*. Our meaning is further, that Mr. *Randal* ſhall endeavour himſelf to underſtand all the Strengths of the *Scots*, and alſo their Lacks, the ſtate of the *French* both for their Power and their Lacks; ſo as we being thereupon ſpeedily advertiſed from you, with ſome Part of your Opinions, may better conſider what is further neceſſary to be expedited.

Theſe things we here think neceſſary, and yet do we remit the Execution of them, either for the whole or part, or for adding thereto any other Device, as to your Directions there ſhall ſeem moſt expedient: For indeed Alterations and Changes of Things that may hap there, may give to you there other Occaſion of Proceedings than preſently we can here determine.

We think convenient that you give Order to *Abbington*, to uſe all the Speed that he can to make a great Maſs of Victuals, and to omit no Hour therein. At *Weſtminſter*, the 13th of *November*, 1559.

WINCHESTER.
CLYNTON.
KNOLLIS.
SACKVILE.
NORTHAMPTON.
HOWARD.
CECIL.
MASON.
ARUNDEL.
PARRY.
CAVE.
WOTTON.
PEMBROKE.
ROGERS.
PETRE.

The Order ſent with the Biſhop of Amiens *and* la Broſſe, *from the King and Queen of* France *and* Scotland, *for quieting the Troubles in* Scotland.

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FRanciſcus & Maria, Dei gratiâ, Rex & Regina Franciæ, Scotiæ, Angliæ & Hiberniæ, Dilectiſſimæ Dominæ noſtræ & Matri Reginæ viduæ Scotiam Regenti, Salutem. Cum allatum eſt de eo motu, quem quidam factioſi in noſtro regno Scotiæ malâ mente nuper concitaverunt, enitentes ſub ſpecie Religionis trahere in partes ſubditos noſtros, ut poſtea, alienatis eorum animis (quemadmodum actionum ſuarum eventu comprobarunt) noſtram illic autoritatem funditùs delerent, eamque ſibi vendicarent: Nos præter curam & ſolicitudinem quam huic ſedando malo præſens adhibueras, miſimus iſthuc duos graves & ſpectatos viros, Broſſium noſtri ordinis Equitem, & Peleveum Epiſcopum Ambianenſem, qui intereſſent Comitiis & Conventibus ejus regni indictis, ut ibi amicè his de negotiis tranſigeretur, quæ occaſionem rerum novarum præbere videbantur. Atque hæc prima fuit via conciliandæ concordiæ, quam tentare conſtitueramus, adducti eâ opinione, quam pridem conceperamus, de voluntate, fide, obſervantia, erga nos Scotorum omnium ſubditorum noſtrorum, magnorum, mediorum, infimorum, propter infinita ingentiaque beneficia, perpetuò à nobis noſtriſque majoribus in eam gentem collata, dum illorum libertatem, bona, fortunas, liberos, conjuges, omni ope tuentur, ne in hoſtium poteſtatem miſerabiliter venirent: Verùm enimvero longè aliter ea res cecidit, atque opinabamur. Nam poſteaque Legati noſtri eò venerunt, tantum abeſt, ut quicquam de ſuo officio ſuâque ſalute admoneri paſſi ſint, ut ſcelus ſceleri, impietatem impietati, contumaciam contumaciæ addentes, everterint delubra & templa, diruerint utriuſque ſexûs Cœnobia, exactis per ſummam crudelitatem miniſtris, monetæ noſtræ ſigna & caracteres rapuerint, palacia regiaſque ædes invaſerint, aliiſque plurimis patratis facinoribus, divinam & humanam Majeſtatem violantes, arma ceperint; præterea Duces auctoreſque hujus conjurationis, coactis magnis copiis Edinburgum occeperunt, teque inde decedere compulerunt, cum reliquis Scotis & Francis noſtras partes ſecutis: Nec hoc feciſſe contenti, haud intermittunt quotidie armis laceſſere Francos, quos ibi in præſidiis alimus, quorum tamen plurimi innumera vitæ diſcrimina pro illorum incolumitate antea ſubierunt. Sed tantorum meritorum obliti, noſtros palam armis aggrediuntur, nihil eorum prætermittentes, quæ bello inter legitimos hoſtes concitato patrari ſolent, ut tandem quibuſcunque modis poſſint, noſtram evertant autoritatem, & ſummam regni Scotiæ in ſe transferant. Quorum audaciæ & temeritati quamprimum occurrendum ſtatuimus, cum omnibus his viribus quas nobis Divina Providentia largita eſt: ſed quoniam armis uti ſeriùs clementia noſtra nos monet, non ante apertâ vi agendum duximus quàm propoſueramus reliqua remedia, pacandi hujus tumultûs, ut ſciz. poſſimus ſecernere illos, qui in noſtra fide & obedientia manere, ſeque à conjuratorum contubernio abducere magnopere cupiunt, ac ſunt propterea gratiâ favoreque proſequendi. Idcirco mandamus & oramus, ut noſtro nomine, noſtrâque autoritate cures, palam edici, præconioque promulgari, & programmatis ſtatui in portis urbium, templorum valvis, ac cæteris locis publicis convenientibus; nempe quotquot ſubditi noſtri in regno Scotiæ, nuper injuſſu noſtro ſeſe congregârunt & armârunt, quo & nos ditione noſtrâ, & te tuo regimine privarent, aut ex finibus Scotiæ Francos milites exigerent, maximè ex præſidiis oppidiſque munitioribus, in quibus ſunt conſtituti & collocati; denique ut autoritatem noſtram regiam tollerent, ſibique attribuerent, hi, depoſitis armis, ſeſe pacati in domos ſuas recipiant, ſine ulla injuria cæterorum, & ſine maleficio, & tibi de cætero obediant, penes quam regni noſtri Scotiæ faſces eſſe voluimus, ac volumus, idque intra   Quo tempore præterito, ſi obſtinatiùs perſtiterint in ſua rebellione & inobedientia, habeantur rei læſæ Majeſtatis; eamque ob cauſam, cujuſcunque gradûs & dignitatis fuerint, pronunciavimus, nunc & impoſterum, rebelles, reoſque majeſtatis, quæſtionem in eos ut nefarios homines conſtitui, animadverſionemque capitalem jubemus, prædia beneficiaria gentilitiaque

tilitiaque fiſco committi, ob perfidiam, eique acquiri & adjungi in perpetuum decernimus; reliqua illorum bona, mobilia & immobilia publicari; liberos cæteroſque poſteros haberi infames, ac incapaces omnium honorum & dignitatum: Liberavimus inſuper univerſos rebellium ſubditos jurejurando & fide quibus adigebantur: poſtremò ſancimus requirendos & comprehendendos ubicunque inventi fuerint, vel intra vel extra ſacra, captoſque arctiore cuſtodia teneri, fortique ſatellitio ſtipatos ad te deduci mandamus, ut in illos capitaliter, quemadmodum dictum eſt, animadvertatur. Sin comprehendi nequeant, permittimus more hoſtili graſſari in illos, ut in noſtros regnique Scotiæ publicos hoſtes. Quod verò attinet ad Eccleſiaſticos, ſi hi quoque intra conſtitutum tempus promulgata mandata neglexerint, nos ſimiliter permittimus ſubditis, magiſtratibus vel privatis, ut illos comprehendant, comprehenſoſque diligenter adſervent, ut poſtea à quibus par erit judicibus res quæratur, quorum pariter ſubditos liberavimus jurejurando & fide, quibus ob prædia devinciebantur. Edicimus eodem pacto, ne fructus eorum ullos aut redditus penſitent: quin etiam in omnia illorum bona mobilia & immobilia manum injici, eaque publicè noſtro nomine ut Superiori poſſideri jubemus. Amplius edicto vetamus, ne ulli Scoti aut Franci (niſi inter reos violatæ majeſtatis referri velint, eiſdemque quibus ſupra pœnis ac ſuppliciis affici) commeatu juvent conſpirantes in noſtram autoritatem, neve arma ad eos, ſclopetos, bombardas, pulverem, cæteraſque bello ducendo commoditates, importent: quod ſi qui poſt noſtræ ſanctionis promulgationem adverſus eam deliquerint, in eos, eiſdem quibus ſupra modis, animadverti volumus, ut ſint exemplo cæteris, ne ſimilia in poſterum contra debitam nobis fidem & obedientiam audeant. In quorum omnium teſtimonium ſubſignavimus præſentes literas propriis manibus, quibus etiam ſigillum noſtrum apponi duximus. Datum Bleſis Novembris, anno Domini 1559, & regnorum noſtrorum, viz. Franciſci primo, & Mariæ *(a)*.

A Letter from Sir Ralph Sadler *and Sir* James Croft, *to Secretary* Cecil.

SIR,

Cotton Library, Cal. B. 10. an Original.

IT may like you to underſtand, that on *Thurſday* laſt arrived at *Holy-Iſland* the Laird of *Lethington* and *Thomas Barnavie*; and when the Night came, I Sir *James Croft* received them unto the Caſtle here ſecretly. They brought us Letters from the Earl of *Arran*, the Lord *James* Commendator of St. *Andrews*, and Mr. *Balnaves*, which we ſend you herewith: And yeſterday we had Conference together at good length, and do perceive that the Lords of the Congregation do ſtand faſt, and be as earneſtly, or rather more earneſtly bent and determined to follow their Enterprizes, and to ſeek Revenge upon the *French*, than ever they were. And from them the ſaid Laird of *Lethington* is now ſpecially diſpatched to the Queen's Majeſty with Letters and Inſtructions, to ſeek and ſue for Aid at her Highneſs's Hands, without the which we ſee not (as we have always ſaid) that they be able to atchieve their Deſires. We have practiſed with him, having beſides his Inſtructions ſpecial Credence committed unto him to frame their Suit to the Queen's Majeſty, in ſuch Form, and according to ſuch Articles as you ſent unto us, which we had written out for him, as though the ſame had been deviſed by us to ſhow our good Will and great Deſire to further their Cauſe; the Subſtance whereof he liked very well, and wiſhed he had been ſo well inſtructed before his coming from the ſaid Lords, to the Intent he might have brought the ſame under their Hands, which, he ſaith, is to be obtained at all times: And now at his being here, he hath written unto the ſaid Lords, and alſo both advertiſed them of ſuch other comfortable Matters as he hath received here at our Hands, according to your late Advertiſement. This Morning before Day he and *Barnavie* are departed hence towards

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(*a*) Tho' the preceeding Order be not referred to, yet I thought it not improper to be inſerted here, as being no where elſe to be found in Print.

you, intending to make all the Speed they can; and if you think it meet to have them beſtowed any where about the Court ſecretly, it were not amiſs that you ſent ſome Man to meet them at *Ware* or *Waltham-Croſs*, to convey them to the Place which you ſhall think meet for that Purpoſe. We have forborn to ſend Mr. Captain *Randall* to the ſaid Lords at this Time, for that we ſee no Cauſe thereof, conſidering that they intend not, nor yet can (as far as we perceive) prepare themſelves to the Fields very ſhortly in this dead time of the Winter. But as we have learn'd by the ſaid Laird of *Lethington* and *Barnavie*, they have divided themſelves, and do ly at *Glaſgow* and St. *Andrew's*, to keep themſelves in Strength, to ſtay thoſe Countries, and by all ſuch good Means and Practices as they can uſe to make moe Friends, as well of the Nobility as others, to take part with them in this their common Cauſe; and ſo they have reſolved to repoſe and reſt a while, until the Return of the ſaid Laird of *Lethington* from the Queen's Majeſty, intending nevertheleſs, as he ſaith, if they ſee any Advantage to be taken againſt their Enemies in the mean Seaſon, not to pretermit the ſame. The reſt we refer to the Declaration of the ſaid Laird and *Barnavie*, by whom you ſhall underſtand all Things touching this Affair more perfectly, and at more length than we can expreſs in Writing. The Number of the *French* now in *Scotland* exceeded not 2500; ſo that if there come no greater Power out of *France*, the Matter will be the more eaſy; but if there ſhall be ſent more Aid and Power out of *France*, the ſame muſt be impeach'd by your Navy there, or elſe it will be the more difficult: And therefore it behoveth that you hearken well and have good Spies upon their Doings in *France*, to the Intent you may the better meet with the ſame, as the Caſe ſhall require; which in our poor Opinions is not to be neglected. Thus we commit you unto the Tuition of Almighty God. From *Barwick* the 25th of *November* 1559.

Tour aſſured poor Friends,

R. SADLER.
JAMES CROFT.

Knox's *Letter to Mr.* Railton, 23*d* October 1559.

Calig. B. 9. F. 38. an Original.

YOur Lettres long looked for receaved I in *Edinburgh* this 23d of *October*. It is moſt aſſured that ſuch a Jewel [the Great Seal] as your other Writings due ſpecifie, is laitle cumed to our Realme, but it is keapt mervalus ſecrear, and the rather becaus theſe cold Blaſtes of Winter be able to cauſe the Beuty of ſuche *Maij* Flouers faid. Thus much my Eis ſaw and my Handes touched. A trym Staff for the Quen then Regent, ſent from the Perſons whom befor ye did ſpecifye, in which war all Things which ye expreſs gorguiſlie ingraived on Silver and dowble gilt. This Staff was ſend in the Moneht of *Maij* in the ſam Schip in which I cam to *Scotland*, and was ſchawen unto me in great Secreacye. The Nomber and Names of my neady Brethren I did ſignifye to ſuch as be in your Cumpany, and unto the Man above. [Secretary *Cecil*, I ſuppoſe.] The Nomber is now agmented, and thare Povertie alſo in ſuch ſort, that yf Releaf be not provided ſpedely, I fear that mo then I murn when we may not ſo weall amend it. What wold ſuffice every in particular, I cannot weall aſſure you; but ſuch I know thare Neceſſitie to be, that ſom that daly fed forty and mo in Houſhold, is not now able to fead tuo. God confort thame, for thare Battall is ſtrong. The Alteration that be hear is this: The Quen Regent, with publick Conſent o the Lords and Barrons aſſembled, is deprived of all Authoritie and Regiment amongs us. She, her *Frenchmen* and Aſſiſtans ar by open Proclamation declared and denunced Ennemies and Traiters to this Common-wealht, for that being thriſce required and charged to deſiſt from Fortification *Leyth*, ſche and thei do obſtinatlie procead in thare wicked Interpriſe. This was don this *Monnday* before Noun. Thare ſhalbe appointed to occupye the Authoritie a great Counſall;

ſall; the Preſedent and cheaf Head wharof ſhalbe my Lord Duck. The Authoritie of the *Frenche* King and Quen is yet receaved, and wilbe in wourd (*a*) till thei deny our moſt juſt Requeaſtes, which ye ſhall, God willing, ſchortlie herafter onderſtand, together with our hole proceading from the begyneing of this Matter, which we ar to ſett furth in maner of Hiſtorie (*b*). The Battell is begun ſcharpe yneuht, God geve the Iſſew to his Glory and our Confort. Sche hath yit ſmall Advantaig; for the Deaht of tu of our Soldiours, and for the hurting of thre Gentilmen, ſche hath loſt two Capitains, and hath ſor wounded many of her cheaf Soldiours, to the nomber of twenty upon one Day. Thei brag, and the Quen eſpecially, that ye will leave us in the myddeſt of this Truble; and this ſche hath of her laſt Poſt which cam by you. My Battell to this Day hath bein verrey bitter, but yf ye fruſtrat my Expectation, and the Promiſſes that I have made in your Name, I regard not how few my dolorus Days ſhalbe. What God hath wrought by me in this Mater, I will not now recyte: But this I may ſay, that ſuch Offerrs ar refuſed; that mo do judge us Fooles than do praiſce our Conſtancye. We ar determined to aſſay the utermoſt; but firſt we muſt have 3000 mo Soldiours. For yf we aſſault and be repulſed, then ſhall our Interpriſce be in great haſard: And our Commons ar not able to abyd together. Geve Advertiſment therfor to ſuch as favour us, that without Delay our Support be ſend aſweall by Money as by Men. Yf your Eis be ſingle, ye may not lett to ſuccour our preſent Neceſſitie, whatſoever Daunger appear tharof to enſew. I muſt farther requyr you to be a Suyttar to all ſuch as ye know to be unfeaned Favorars, and eſpetiallie to our Brethren of *London*, to have a Reſpect to our Neceſſitie. The *Frenche* Schippes keap the Watters heir, which is to us a great Noyance, and unto thame a great Releaf. Proviſion wold be had by tymes, which we cannot watch, be reaſſon that all our Schippes ar abſent, and, as we fear, ſtayed, ſo many as be in *Fraunce*. Watch the Advertiſment as ye think good, for I cannot write to any, eſpeciall for lack of Opportunitie; for in twenty four Hours I have not four free to naturall Reſt (*c*), and Eaſce of this wicked Carcaſs. Remember my laſt Requeſt for my Mother, and ſay to Mr. *George*, That I have nead of a good and an aſſured Horſe, for great Watch is laid for my Apprehenſion, and large Money promiſſed till any that ſhall kyll me; and yet wold I haſard to cum unto you, yf I war aſſured that I myght be permitted (*d*) to open my Mouht to call agene to *Chriſt Jeſus* thoſe unthankefull Children, who allate have appeared uterlie to have forgotten his loving Mercies which ſomtymes I ſuppoſed thei had embraſed. And this Part of my Care now poured in your Boſom, I ceaſe farther to truble you, being trubled myſelf in Body and in Spirit for the Trubles that be preſent and appear to grow. God geve End to his Glory and to our Confort. This 23d of *October* 1559, at Mydnicht.

Many Things I have to writ, which now Tym ſuffereht not; but after, yf ye mak haſt with this Meſſinger, ye ſhall undirſtand more——R——ryt——I write with——ſleaping Eis.——

Advertiſs me yf all Things cum to your Hands cloſs.

John Knox, *in his own Hand, under the Name of* John Sinclair, *of 25th* October 1559, *to Sir* James Croft *Captain of* Berwick.

SUch is our Eſtate, Rycht Worſchipfull, that unleſs preſent Support be provyded for us, you and wee will both lament: Wee firſt, I confeſs; but what ſhall enſue, Experience may teach you. It was once determined that

Calig. B. 10. F. 60. an Original.

(*a*) It affords much Pleaſure to know the ſecret Intentions of Men by the Communication of their private Letters.

(*b*) Here is a certain Indication that Mr. *John Knox* wrote a Hiſtory of theſe Times.

(*c*) Mr. *Knox* would not fail to improve this as a heavy Charge againſt a Clergyman, in employing himſelf ſo deeply in ſecular and military Concerns.

(*d*) To obſerve Mr. *Knox*'s Deportment in *Scotland*, one would think no Fear of Danger could have terrified him; but it ſeems the Caſe was not the ſame with him in *England*. The Reaſon perhaps was, he was ſure of Aſſiſtance in *Scotland* when he made his bold Adventures; but the *Engliſh* Queen *Elizabeth* was not to be ſo tamely tamper'd with.

Leith ſhould have been aſſaulted, and there the Matter ſtands in Debate; for ſome fear the Interpryſe, if wee be once repulſed; others purſuand to put all in the Hands of God. True it is, the Number of our Souldiers is few to ſo great an Interpryſe; and it were no ſmall Diſconfort to haſard our Nobility, Barons and Gentlemen, upon their Walles and wyle Souldiers. Proclamation is made by the Drum for liſting of mo Men of War; but partly for lack of Money, and partly becauſe Men have no Will to haſard, wee can mack no Number. And therefore as yee tender the Weell and Furtherance of this Cauſe, provyde that both Men and Money come unto us with all poſſible Expedition. It may appear that my Demand is unreaſonable; but when all Reaſons which may be layd in contrar of my Petition, ſhall be rightlie examined, our preſent Eſtate and Inconvenients which may enſue our Overthrow, ſhall ſwello and devour them all. If yee fear to offend *France*, in Hart it is allready at Defyance with you, and abideſt only the Opportunitie and Advantage. *If yee liſt to craft with thame, the ſending of a thouſand or mo Men to us can breake no League nor Point of Peace contracted betwixt you and* France: *For it is free for your Subjects to ſerve in Warr anie Prince or Nation for their Wages. And if yee fear that ſuch Excuſes will not prevaile, yee may declare thame Rebelles to your Realme, when yee ſhall be aſſured that thei be in our Companye (a).* Yee pay their Wages where thei ly preſentlye, and there thei be ydill; but heir thei would more profitte us, if wee might have thame within ſix Dayes, than 5000 will do within forty Dayes hereafter. My Reaſon is, that our Number ſhall daily diminiſh, that in Proceſs wee ſhall be compelled to diſſever and ſkaill, and then never look I (unles now wee obtain our Purpoſſe) to ſee ſo many Noblemen of this Realme aſſemble together for that Purpos. I ſpeake my Jugement freelie. Juge yee as God ſhall move your Hart. I wraite before for ſome Support to ſuch as without the ſame are not able to ſerve, but receaved of you no Anſwer. I can do no more but declare my Opinion, which I pray God be not found true in the End. The Laird of *Ormiſtoun* aſſiſteſt us not in this our Danger, the Cauſe I leave to your Jugement: I fear that mo ſhall ſhortlie follow, unles Remeady be procured. I ceaſe farther to trouble you, who do this write not without Trouble. From *Edinburgh* the 25th *October* 1559.

Yours to his Power,
JOHN SINCLAIR.

P. S. It is heir brutted (whither it proceed out of Craft, or if any ſuch thing be indeed, I know not) that *France* laboureſt with the higheſt to uterlie refuſe us, and in verry deid the Queen Dowager hath plainlie ſpoken, that ſhee knoweſt the Means heir to fruſtrate our Expectation of your Support, by Promiſe, ſaid ſhee, to deliver *Calice*. Heir our Simplicitie ſhall appear before God and Man. This I advertyſe, for ſuch Rumours diſcourage many. Anſwer thame. I opened the Letter myſelf for ſcribling theſe few Lynes. I am charged to tack the Paines by the Lords to viſett you, and farther above. Lett me have your Jugement in that Caſe.

Copie of Sir James Croft's *Lettere to* Knox, *anſwering to the above.*

Ibid. F. 72. I Have receyved your Letteres of the 25th. For Anſwer whereunto, albeit for myn own Parte I could be well contente to ſatisfie your hole Requeſt with as good Will as you ſeme to deſire it, yet can I not but ſomwhat marvaile, that you being a wiſe Man woll require of us ſuch preſent Ayde of Men, Money and Munycion, as you knowe we cannot miniſter unto you without open Shew and Manyfeſtacyon of ourſelfs to be as open Enemyes, where by Leage and Treatie we are bounde to be Friends; prayeing you to conſider how we may, without touch of Honour and Hurte of our Common-welth, being now in good Peax and Amytie, enter ſodenly into open Warre and Hoſtilitie, being no Cauſe of of Breche, no manyfeſt Injurye offered unto us; and how I being but a Servant and Miniſter here, may preſume to do that your Deſire, tending to a playne Breche of Amytie bytwen ſo gret Princes quhome it toucheth, I referre to your Diſcreſſion. For as to your Deviſes how to colour our Doinges in that Parte, you muſt thinke that the Worlde is not ſo blynde but that it woll ſone eſpie the ſame; and ſurely we cannot *bona fronte* ſo colour and excuſe the Matier, but that it wolbe expounded to a playne Brech of our Leage and Treatie, whereby the Honour of the Prince cannot be a litle touched *(a)*. Wherfore I pray you require of us what we may do with Honour and Safetie, and you ſhall not fynde us unwilling therto. And touching the Supporte of ſuch as you have often written for, I coulde finde the Meanes that they might have ſom Relief at their Friends Hands hear, if I knew how the ſame might be conveyed unto them in ſuch ſecret and cloſs maner as none others have notice of the ſame. But to be playne with you, ye are ſo open in all your Matiers there, as you make Men half affrayd to deale with you, which is more then Wiſedom and good Policie doth require. Fynally, where you write, that *France* laboureth to mak us utterly refuſe you, and that the Quene Dowagier ther heth playnely ſpoken that ſhe knoweth the Meanes how to fruſtrate your Expectation of our Supporte, by Delyverance of *Calice*; I dare boldly ſay that there is no ſuch Matier in queſtion: For you may be ſure that *Calice* cannot make us to neglect or refuſe the Eſtableſhment of this Ilond in perpetuell Unyte and Concorde, wiſhing to lyve no longer then I may ſee the ſame, and ſo to leave the Joye therof to our Poſteryte. For the reſt I referre you to ſuch Letteres as we have now wrytten by this Berer. From *Barwyck* the 27th of *October* 1559, *&c.*

(a) Obſerve here *Knox*'s political Caſuiſtry. If this be not more than to be wiſe as *Serpents*; and leſs than to be harmleſs as *Doves*.

Sir Ralph Sadler *and Sir* James Croft *to Sir* William Cecil.

Calig. B. 10. F. 74. an Original.

YEſternight we receyved Letteres in Cypher from *Randall*, with others from the Erle of *Arrayn*, at *Beaufort*, to the Quenes Majeſtie, to you and to us, and alſo certen other Writings which we ſende you here incloſed, prayeng you that uppon Conſideration of the ſame, we may be directed from thens with Spede, how we ſhall anſwer their Deſires in ſuch ſort as to your Wiſedomes there ſhalbe thought convenyent: For now you may ſee gret Likelihod what this Matier woll growe unto. We have in the meane Seaſon thought good to put them in ſom Hope of ſuch Reliefe as with Honour and Secreſie may be miniſtered unto them, and alſo have given them ſuch Advice as you ſhall perceyve by the Copie of our Letteres preſently written in Cypher to *Randall*, which you ſhall receyve herewith. But ſurely we thinke if they be not relieved and ſupported by the Quenes Majeſtie, their Povertee being ſuche as they alledge, they muſt of Force deſiſte and leave off their Interpriſe to their owne Confuſion. And if by her Highnes Ayde they may proſper and achieve the ſame, yet in the ende, as farre as we can ſee, her Highnes muſt either manyfeſt herſelf on that Syde, or ells they ſhall not be able to ſtryve and wraſtle with the Power of *Fraunce*. Wherein we be bold to ſay our poure Mynds, as Men which from the Bottom of our Herts do wyſhe and deſire the Eſtabliſhement of this Ilelande in perpetuell Unytee and Concorde; the lyke Oportunyte whereof that is nowe offered, we thinke we ſhall not lyve to ſee, if this be pretermitted: The Conſideracion whereof we referre to the Wiſedom and depe Judgement of thoſe to whom it chieſelie apperteyneth, which can more depely wey it, and decerne and ſee further in the ſame then our poure Witts can arreche. So we ende, commytting you to God who directith all to his Pleaſure. From *Berwyck* the 27th of *October* 1559.

Your aſſured pour Frends,
R. Sadler.
Jamys Croft.

(a) This is a ſevere, but juſt Reprimand on Mr. *Knox*'s double-fac'd Propoſition.

P. S. You ſhall receyve amongſt the reſt a Lettere from *Knox* to Mr. *Rayleton*, who before wrote to him to gette ſom Knowlege of the Greate Seale, which you lately willed us to inquyre of that ſhoulde be ſent out of *Fraunce* into *Scotlande:* And now you ſhall perceyve what the ſaide *Knox* writeth of the ſame, which as he termeth it in his ſaide Lettere, he calleth *a Jewell.* And by the Things ingraved *in the Staff* he writeth of, ſent to the Regent from her Sone and Doughter of *Fraunce*, he meaneth the Armes of *England*, *Fraunce* and *Scotland*.

Knox *to Mr.* Croſt, *29th* October 1559.

9776

Calig. B. 10. an Original.

YOur reaſſonable Anſwer to my onreaſſonable Requeaſt, Rycht Wurſhipfull, receaved I this 28th of *October*, and have imparted the Contents of the ſam to ſuch as partlie induced me befor to write. I was not altogetther ignorant, neather what mycht enſew your manifeſtation in ſupporting us, nether yit how far did your Commiſſion extend in ſuch Caſes; but conſiddering (as my ſlender Witt did ſerve for the tym) whether ther war the greatter Daunger, the Nobilitie heir to be defaitt (or yit fruſtrat of thare Interpriſe) or ye to abyd the haſard of the future and ſuſpected Incommoditeis: It appeared to me that the formar mycht juſtly devour the other. As tuoching the Leage and Treatie of Peax which now ye ſuppoſs to have with ſuche as ye term your Freinds, I unſeamedlie wiſhe that it war ſo ſuyr that you ſhould never have Occaſion to break any Joit contracted: But whether it may ſtand with Wiſdom to have ſuch Reſpect to that which ſom Men call Honour, that in the mean tym I ſhall ſee my Freind perriſſe both till his Diſtruction and myn, I reffer to the Judgement of the moſt honorable *(a)*. *Fraunce* was under Leage and Treatie of Peax with *England*, when it did manifeſtlie ſupport *Scotland* to both our Diſpleaſour; and yit I think that thei nether wold have confeſſed Breche of Treatie, nor Blemyſhe of Honour. But omitting to urge that Mater any farther, I beſeche God that we both reapent not the Drift of Tym when the Remeady ſhall not be ſo eaſy. Yf you underſtood the Daunger as I do, Luf ſhould compell you ſomwhat to excead the Bounds of your Commiſſion, yf you can fynd no Meanes ſecreatlie to convey ſuch Liberalite, as Freinds with you pleaſe to beſtow upon ſuch as otherwies cannot ſerve. I am leſs able att this preſent to compaſs ſuch a thing, then be you and many mo of your Acquentance now preſent with you: But this I will yit ſay, as of befor, that onleſs ſpeady Ordour be tacken in that Caſe, our Number will ſchortlie be ſo mean, that ſom will reapent that thei ſawe *Edinburgh* att this Voyage *(b)*. Beſides thoſe whom befor I did ſpeak, it will pleaſe you remember that the Maſter of *Maxwell* hath ſuſteaned great Damaige. *Ormeſton* is joyned with us, to the Comfort of many. Touching Secreaſie, which ye requeſt, I dar promeſs for ſom, and for my ſelf: But difficill it is, Sir, to bridill the Tonges of a multituid in Maters which muſt paſs by publick and common Suffrage; but Maters which concern particular Perſons ar not to my Knowledge verrey patent. I hope that God hath delivered me from the moſt part of thoſe civill Effaires; for now ar Men of better Judgement and greatter Experience occupied in thoſe Maters. Young *Ledingthon* Secretarie is delivered from the fearfull Thralldom of the *Frenchmen*, and is now with us in *Edinburgh*, who I truiſt ſhall releas me of the preſuppoſed Jorney. In few Words, Sir, yf ye joyn not with us in oppen Aſſiſtaunce, we will both repent when the Remeady ſhalbe more difficill. Ye have now the Man to whom ye may communicat all Things, to whom alſo I wold wiſhe ye had Reſpect. The Lord proſper all to his Glory, and to the Comfort of our Poſteritie. In great haſt from *Edinburgh* this 29th of *October* 1559.

Yours to Power,
JOHN SINCLEAR.

Mr.

(a) See how Mr. *Knox* ſtill preſſeth his under-hand Management.

(b) We are often aſſured by theſe Letters, that had Queen *Elizabeth* abſtained, the Queen Dowager had ſoon prevailed.

Mr. Henry Balnavis *to Mr.* Croft.

AFter moſt hearty Commendations, Rycht Worſchipfull, this is to certifie, *Ibid.* F. 80. that the Mater has evill chancit the Lord of *Ormeſtoun*, who by the Erle *Bothwell* was this laſt *Tuſday* at Nycht beſyde *Haddyngtoun* takin, hurt and ſpolziet of that he hadde. How ſone this Word came to the Lords, they upon *Weddinſday* raid to *Crechtoun*, four hundrecht Horſmen, thre hundrecht Futemen, and certan Peces of Ordinance, truſting to have found there the Erle *Bothwell*; but he was departit ſuddanly upon ane Horſs without Sadill, Bout or Spoures: And then the Lords tuke the Houſe, and put in the ſam fifty Hagbutars to keip it, and ſend the Capitan of the ſaid Hous to the Erle *Bothwell*, deſiring hym to reſtore the Money, and redreſs the Wrong done to the Lord of *Ormeſtoun*, or ellis thay wold ſpolze the ſaid Houſe, and diſtroy it. As zit thay have reſſavit no Anſwer of hym, bot this Day ar ryddyn agane to that End, if he ſatiſfie thame not, to performe the Thing thay promiſt him. Upoun *Weddinſday* laſt, the *Frenchemen* being adverteſt in *Leyth* of the ſmall Number left in this Town, iſchit furt and cam ſuddanly upoun certan Pecis of Ordinances lyand upoun the Hill betwen *Leyth* and *Edinburgh*, ſchoting at *Leyth*, and put the Futemen, whiche was but ane few or ſmall Number, fra the ſaid Ordinance, and tuke two of the ſam, one whiche was brokyn, and ane other, and chaſit the Futemen in with ſmall hurt; and ſo maid ſuche a Frey to the Town, that all was out of Order the Space of two Hours. Thar was ſlane of our Syde pure Men, Wemen and Bairns in the Sowborbs of the *Cannogait*, 10 or 12 Perſones, and of the *Frenchemen* as many or mo, as thamſelfs hes grantit; amangs the whiche thay want two Capitans, whiche thay underſtand to be takyn, but thay ar dead indeid. All this Miſchance happinnit through the takyn of the Lord of *Ormeſtoun*. As for his Hurt, he will not be any thing the worſs; but the Loſe of the Money greves us ſore, more for the diſcovering of the Mater, not the Want of the Money. Howbeit the ſam is ane great Dammage to us: For it ſhall not be poſſible to us till keip our Men togydder without Money; and that was the Cauſs of the laſt writteyn I ſend, our Neceſſite being ſo great. And zit if heaſty Remead be not providit for oure Support, it will be too true that I wrot; for we ſall ſuffer the preſent Dammage, and peraventure when you wald ſupport us, it ſhalbe too lait, without the heaſtier Expedition be maid now preſentlie, conſidering that whiche was ſent is loſt.

It now behuffit me to anſwer to ſome Points whiche ar laid to my Charge, as doing my Duety in the Thing committit to my Credit. The firſt, That I was too ſlaw in Adverteſment geving: I anſwerit that in my laſt Letter, That I gave ſufficient Adverteſement to provide Money in the Letter I ſent with *Alexander Whitlaw*, adverteſing how every thing was appointit to be done as it is ſuccedit indeid; and therfore deſirit the Money to be in reddynes about the laſt Day of *October*, or ſoner: And this Adverteſment was geven be me ſax Wicks before the tyme. As for ony other Materis of Wecht or Importance, I had none, till the tyme we cam to *Edinburgh*; and ſo thar is na ſuche great Cauſs of Sleuthfulnes toward my Part. And as for my Importunete in writtein, if you did know how I was urgt therto be the Lords, and alſo the Neceſſite whiche cravet the ſam, That mycht be eaſily borne with; but if I had writtyn to the Counſale, I wold have writtyn no leſs, hearing of thame by Mouth-ſpeaking, as I did heir of you, aſſuring Ayd as Neceſſite requirit. And as for keiping of Cloſurs, that ſtandit not in my Hand you know; thay whiche ſent me for that Money muſt needis be upoun Counſale of diſponing therof, whiche was not poſſible to keip cloſe, by reaſone of the liſting of the Men of Warre. It is knowing that we ar not hable, without Support of others, to ſuſteyn ſuche Charges, and therfore our Adverſaries preſumes we have Support of you; yea veraly our awin ſelves cannot keip the ſam cloſe, becaus thar is ſo mony being in our Counſale whiche cannot be brought to ane few Number, as the Materis now ſtandis with us. Laſt, where it is reportit to you, That the Money I receyved was not beſtowed upoun the commoun Affaires, but upoun particular Perſones, &c. That is moſt ontrue, who evir reportit it, as I ſchall clerly ſchew; for there was ane thouſand Futemen incontinent liſtit, whiche ar payit ane Monethes Wages with the ſaid Money: And becaus thay thought more neceſſarie to have Futemen then Horſmen, ther was liſtit agane 500 Futemen, whiche ar likewyſe payit ane Monethes Wages. And ane hundretht Horſmen at the leading of the Lord of *Gray* and *Alexander Whitlaw*, whom I payit at the Command of Mr *Randolph*, as having Commiſſion from you. And I deliverit to the Erle of *Glencarn* and Lord *Boyd* 500 Crowns, which was the beſt beſtowed Money that ever I beſtowed, ather of that or any other; the which if I had not done, our hoyll Interpriſe it hatht bene ſtayd, both in joyning with the Duke, and cuming to *Edinburgh*, for certan particular Cauſes that war betwix the ſaids Lords and the Duke, which war ſett down by that meanes be me ſo ſecrete, that it is not knowen to many. Her is the hoyll Mater oppynnit upoun beſtowing of the ſaid Money. Now judge you my Ple. But in tymes to cum I ſhall ſave my ſelf from ſuch Blame with the Grace of God. I think I deſſervit more Thanks. It was preſumit that I had receyvit Twentie thouſand Crowns, and wold not beſtow it as every Man wold. This is the Commodite that I had for my Travell, bot I ſerve God principallie in this Mater, and conſequentlie that Thing whiche may tender the Common-weale of baith thir Realmes, as God beareth Witnes to my Conſcience, and I am hable to juſtifie when Tyme and Occaſion ſuit; ſo I take the leſs care of Tales. Had I ſuit ſum Mennis Appetites, thar hatht bene no word of the Money beſtowing; bur hatht I done that, I culd not have anſwerit to you upoun my Honour, as I dar now baldly write and ſpeake. The Man whom you deſyre, will be ſent to you frely inſtruckit, how ſoone Laſſer may be had, and ſum Stay of thir preſent Beſyneſs. The Payment of our Futemen extendis monethlie everie Anſenye (whiche ar now ſex in Number) to 290 *l. Sterl.* The hundretht Horſemen extends to monethlie in ordinarie Payment 230 *l. Sterl.* By this you may calkill what twa thouſand Futemen and thre hundretht Horſemen will tak monethlie, whiche is the leaſt Number the Lords deſyris to have furneſat at this Tyme. And as for the Money loſt by the Lord *Ormeſtoun*, the Lords will ſend you thar Writtyn upoun the ſam as the Mater hatht chancit. If Mr. *Randolphe* hatht not bene her preſent, I wold have writyn oftiner to you; notwithſtanding as Materis occurris, and as I may have Leſar (whiche is rare) you ſhalbe adverteſt. Thus not moleſting you longar, I committ you to the Tuition of Almychty God. From *Edinburgh* the 4th Day of *November*, *Anno Dom.* 1559.

Zour much aſſured Frend at Power,

HEN. BALNAVIS *of* Halhill.

XXII. ☞ This Number is caſually fallen by; however it is of no great Conſequence, after what Mr. *Knox* relates of the ſame Thing. But to make more than Amends to my Readers, I preſent them here with ſome valuable Papers for illuſtrating the Hiſtory, *viz.* A true and faithful Copy of *the ſhort Diſcuſſion of the weighty Matter of* Scotland, *p.* 24 of this Appendix, taken for me out of the *Cotton* Library. It is all written by Sir *William Cecil* himſelf, and is as follows;

A breefe Conſideration of the weighty Matter of Scotland.

Queſtion. WHether it be meet that *England* ſhould help the Nobility of *Scotland* to expell the *French*; or no?

That No.

1. Firſt,

1. Firſt, It is againſt God's Law to aid any Subjects againſt their natural Princes, or their Miniſters.

2. It is dangerous to do it: For if the Aid be ſecret, it will not ſuffiſe; if it be oppen, it is the Break of Peace, and Entry into Warres.

3. It may be dowted that when Aid ſhall be given and Money ſpent, the *French* may compound with the *Scots*, and pardon that Error, to joyn both againſt *England*: And more to be dowted, if Warr ſhould be made oppen ageynſt the *French*; for *France* had rather make a ſhameful Compoſition with *Scotland* than leſe it unto *England*.

4. It may be dowted that to ſtay the Progreſs of Relligion, the Emperor, the King of *Spain*, Potentats in *Italy*, the Pope, the Duke of *Savoy*, will rather conſpire with the *French* than to ſuffer theſe two Kingdoms to be conjoyned in one Relligion.

5. It may be dowted that many in *England* and *Scotland* alſo that cold be content with the Coincidation of them both in one Monarchy, and to be delyvered of the *French*, will not willyngly accord to have them conjoyned in Relligion.

That Yea.

1. It is agreable to God's Law for every Prince and publick State to defend it ſelf, not only from preſent Perrils, but from Perrils that be feared to come.

2. It is not diſagreeing to God's Law to uſe the ſame manner of Defence that the Enemy uſeth in his Offence.

Theſe two Principles not denied, it will eaſily follow that *England* not only may, but owght by Lawe of Nature helpe to expell the *French* from the Conqueſt of *Scotland*.

1. Firſt, The Crown of *England* hath a good, &c. [*All what follows is* verbatim *and exactly the ſame as in* Numb. 54 *of* Burnet*'s Appendix, Concluſion, and every thing; ſo that it would be to no purpoſe to ſet it down here.*]

Inſtructions given by the Queen's Majeſty to William Winter, *Eſq; Maſter of the Ordnance of her Majeſty's Admiralty, ſent at this preſent to the Seas with fourteen armed Ships to ſail to* Scotland *(a).*

Imprimis, He ſhall ſail in one of thoſe fourteen Ships judged fitteſt by the Lord Admiral, and ſhall take with him the reſt of the Ships, as alſo the Tranſports to carry Proviſions and military Stores to *Tinmouth*, *Holy-Iſland*, or *Berwick*, and ſhall bring with him all the Tranſports which he ſhall find in any Port ready for that Service, and ſhall endeavour to preſerve that Fleet, and keep good Diſcipline therein.

Secondly, He ſhall make what Diſpatch he can with the foreſaid Ships of War, to convoy the Tranſports to *Berwick*, &c. Then he is to conſider, that if without Danger of the Fleet he may enter the Frith of *Forth*: But he is to be adviſed in this by Sir *Ralph Sadler* and Sir *James Croft*; and if he find it not dangerous, notwithſtanding the *French* Navy, he ſhall enter it, and commit no Hoſtilities, unleſs attacked by the *French*, or *Scots* of their Party; and he ſhall do what he can to defend the Queen's Navy, and offend the *French* to the uttermoſt, by Shot, Fire or otherwiſe. But if he ſhall have no Hoſtilities offered him, which probably the *French* will forbear, becauſe of their Weakneſs, yet he muſt perform the Things following;

1. He ſhall do what he can to hinder any *French* Ship, or any aſſiſting them, to enter the Frith with Proviſions or Men, and that none come out of it, but to take and deſtroy them.

2. To hinder any Ships within the Frith to land Men, Proviſions, or milita-

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(a) N. B. Sir *Robert Cotton* remarks that this is from an Original in the Hand of Secretary *Cecil*. Date 16th *December* 1559, F. 57.

ry Stores, for the Uſe of the *French* or their Friends at *Leith*, *Inch-Keith*, *Dumbar*, *Blackneſs*, or any other Place.

3. He ſhall aſſiſt as much as he can the Nobility of *Scotland* and their Party who have declared againſt the *French*, for the Liberty of their Country.

4. If he find a fit Opportunity, and any Proſpect of Succeſs, he may ſurprize or fight the *French* Navy wherever he can find them; to which End he muſt have his Fleet in good Order, and take what Aſſiſtance he can have from the *Scots* who have declared againſt them: For the chief of his Buſineſs is to hinder any more Power to come from *France*, and to hinder any Ship to go thence with Intelligence.

5. If poſſible, he is to communicate with Sir *Ralph Sadler* and Sir *James Croft*, to whom he ſhall ſhow his Inſtructions, and with their Advice ſhall undertake what ſhall be thought moſt fit for the Queen's Service.

6. If it ſhall be thought fit not to attack the *French* Fleet, and only to guard the Mouth of the Frith, then he ſhall only be upon the defenſive. To colour this, he is to give out, that he is either driven by Wind, or that he is come to victual upon the Coaſts of *Fife*; or uſe ſome other Pretext, till further Occaſion ſhall happen to commit Hoſtility.

7. Though her Majeſty hath many good Reaſons to make War upon the *French*, yet Mr. *Winter* ſhall not name any as in the Queen's Name; but ſhall ſay, That having conveyed Proviſions to *Berwick*, he thought fit to ride in the Frith thirteen or fourteen Days, till the Tranſports were unloaded at *Berwick*, and that he cannot ly there with his great Ships. 'Tis thought the *French* will ſoon give him ſome good Cauſe to begin the War, except Cowardice prevent them; and though there be no other, he may challenge the *French* for carrying the Arms of *England*, to the Diſhonour of his Sovereign and his Country, and which he cannot bide: And ſo, as from himſelf, he may begin Hoſtilities upon any Proſpect of Succeſs.

8. Upon the Advice of *Sadler* and *Croft*, he may endeavour to victual his Fleet, or Part thereof, upon *Fiſe-ſide*, by the Aſſiſtance of the free *Scots*, upon reaſonable Prices, by which he may ſave his Proviſions.

Laſtly, He ſhall uſe great Caution until *Northfolk* be come to the Borders; before that Time he ſhould take the Advice foreſaid.

Part of an Anſwer to be ſaid to Monſieur de Seury *the* French *Ambaſſador, by Commandment of her Majeſty* [*the Queen of* England] *the 17th Day of* February 1559, *by Sir* William Cecil *and Sir* John Maſon, *Knights.*

Calig. B. 10. THe next Point is, Her Majeſty remembred that the Ambaſſador ſeem'd deſirous to know, whether her Majeſty meant aſſuredly to keep Peace with the *French* King: Whereunto her Majeſty anſwered, That except ſhe had contrary Occaſion offered to her, ſhe meant no otherwiſe. And thereupon the Ambaſſador touch'd the aiding or comforting of ſuch as he called Rebels in *Scotland*; and therein her Majeſty alſo coveting to end her Speech, uſed the leſs Talk. But becauſe her Majeſty meaneth not to ſay otherwiſe than ſhe thinketh, although ſhe will not many times ſpeak all that ſhe thinketh: Therefore her Majeſty in this Caſe aſſureth them, That ſhe doth not take the Nobility and Nation of *Scotland* to be Rebels, as they term; but as the Matter itſelf is manifeſt, they do ſhew themſelves wiſe and natural Subjects to the Crown of *Scotland*, to adventure the Offence of the *French* King, for Defence of his Wife's Right their Sovereign. And indeed if they ſhould permit the Kingdom now to be evicted out of the Governance of the Nation of *Scotland*, during the Marriage and Abſence of their Sovereign out of their Realm, and whilſt ſhe is directed only by the *French* and no *Scots*, both in *Scotland*, as by her Mother and certain Advocates of *France*, and in *France* by the Cardinal and Duke of *Guiſe*, truly the World might ſpeak Shame of them; yea the Queen herſelf, if ſhe ſhould overlive her Husband, ſhould have a juſt Occaſion to condemn them all as Cowards and unnatural

natural Subjects, ſpecially having on their Part the Laws of the Realm, and the Force of divers Pacts and Covenants made by the *French* King; and conſidering with what Difficulty ſhe was tranſported thence, and married to ſo mighty a Prince: Whereas no Regard is had to her Kingdom, but all that may be deviſed to cauſe her neglect her Crown and Eſtate.

A Memorial to be ſent to the Queen Dowager of Scotland (11*th* April 1560) *by* Chapperon *in Ciphers, decipher'd.*

IN caſe the Biſhop of *Valence* go ſafely to the Queen Dowager, ſhe ſhall underſtand by him how all Things here paſſed with the Queen of *England*, the Hardneſs that he hath found in her, and the wicked Conditions which ſhe requireth, as well for her own Reſpect as for that of the *Scottiſh* Rebels; whereby the ſaid Dowager ſhall be well able to judge what is to be hoped for from *England*. She ſhall alſo know of the ſaid Biſhop of *Valence*, to what Reaſon the *French* King would have come to quench the Fire which the Queen of *England* doth nouriſh; and the Means which he hath choſen to mollify her, and to take away all occaſion of the Jealouſies which ſhe ſheweth to have of the Forces which the King cauſed to be ſent into *Scotland*. All which Things have done no Good; and little is to be hoped thereof, if the going of *Monſ. de Glacon* (who is ſent thither by the King of *Spain*) do no Good in the Matter.

Ibid.

By means whereof, if there be ſmall Hope to bring the ſaid Lady to any Reaſon; It ſeemeth to the ſaid *French* King, that the beſt that may be done is to eſſay to qualify the Matters of *Scotland*, if it be poſſible, eſſaying to win ſome of the Lords with Promiſe to be ſav'd harmleſs, and to aſſure them of their Pardon; and all that is paſt to be forgotten, ſo that they will return into the high Way, and unto the King's Obedience, which the King only deſireth according to the Contents of a Memorial and Inſtruction which was given of this Matter to the ſaid Biſhop of *Valence*, who knoweth the King's Mind therein and the Fine *. If the ſaid Queen do continue ſtill in her Opinion, it is very hard, but the Breach will be diſcovered out of hand: Notwithſtanding the King deſireth (if there can no better way be taken) that every Man ſhould ſtand upon his Guard, providing for the Holds the beſt that may be poſſible, till the Succours come that are to be ſent thither; which ſhall be ſo good and ſo ſtrong, that he hopeth to have Reaſon at the Rebels Hands, and alſo to keep the Queen of *England* from hindring him to chaſtiſe the ſaid Rebels; and for all the Month of *June*, or, at the furtheſt, by the Middle of *June*, the ſaid Succours ſhall be there.

* i. e. *final Reſolution.* This was probably the Latin Order, *p.* 36.

In theſe Succours ſhall be ſome Veſſels of the King of *Spain* and a good Company of his Subjects, which he hath offered to the ſaid *French* King to chaſtiſe the ſaid Rebels; having aſſured the King, that for that purpoſe he will aſſiſt him with all that is in his Power to do. The Queen Dowager is there accompanied with many honeſt Men and good Counſel: If ſhe can find the Means to bring the Matters to a Suſpence, and ſo to order the ſame as it come not to Arms, the King would take it in moſt acceptable Part, as above all Things he deſireth; for that he feareth leſt the ſlackneſs of his Succours may be to his great Hindrance: And yet nevertheleſs rather than he would do any thing in this Caſe that ſhould be to his Rebuke, he is fully determined to abide That which it ſhall pleaſe God to appoint to him therein.

In the mean time, becauſe the ſaid Lady Regent may have Means to ſupply the Charges that ſhe is at for the maintaining of the Men of War, the King hath ſent her within theſe eight Days, by the little Mariner whom ſhe ſent hither, the Sum of 6000 Francs, with twenty Barrels of Powder; and now he ſendeth her by Captain *Chapperon* another Sum of 4000 Crowns, having thought good to help her thus by little Sums by divers Ways, till ſuch Time as he may with Surety ſend a good and great Reinforcement of Money, as he hath determined to do with the Forces that ſhall paſs thither.

And the ſaid Lady may aſſure herſelf, that he will not omit one only Occaſion on his Part whereby he may get any Commodity to fortify her; or at the leaſt to eſſay to repair Things by one Means or other, for the Benefit of the Affairs on that Side.

Foraſmuchas the ſaid Queen of *England* hath not in any thing been ſo earneſt with the ſaid Biſhop of *Valence*, as in that he had not Commiſſion to promiſe any thing to the ſaid Rebels, and to treat with her upon ſuch Points as ſhe thinketh are not well underſtood, nor made plain between the King and her; there is ſent preſently a general Commiſſion, which the ſaid Lady Regent may uſe towards the one and the other, as ſhe ſhall ſee it requiſite for the Benefit of the Affairs of the ſaid Realm of *Scotland*. So that finally there needs none Inſtruction be ſent from hence more particularly; referring the whole Matter to the ſaid Lady Queen Regent, and to the good Council which ſhe hath about her.

This ſeems to be but an Abſtract of the Memorial.

XXIII. XXIV. *A Letter from the Council of* England *to Secretary* Cecil, *&c.*

Calig. B. 10. an Original.

AFter our right hearty Commendations, we have received your Letters of the 8th of this Month, and do thereby perceive what you have done with the *French* Commiſſioners upon your firſt meeting with them; wherein as you have very wiſely and circumſpectly begun, ſo miſtruſt we not but you will continue the like, and go forward in the ſame as Occaſion ſhall be offered. And where the Queen's Majeſty received yeſternight certain Letters and Intelligences out of *France* from Sir *Nicholas Throckmorton*, by Mr. *Jones* her Highneſs's Servant, diſpatched hither expreſly for that Purpoſe; Her Majeſty hath willed us to ſend the ſame unto you, which you ſhall receive herewith; that is to ſay, An Inſtruction delivered by the ſaid *Jones* touching the State of Things in *France*, which he hath opened unto her Highneſs in ſuch ſort as you may perceive by the ſame; Certain intercepted Letters ſent by you Mr. Secretary, to be decipher'd by Mr. *Sommer*; A Memorial ſent to the Dowager of *Scotland*; and, A Letter from Mr. *Throckmorton* unto you; which have been decipher'd here, to the Intent you may by the ſame gather out ſuch Matter, as you ſhall think may beſt ſerve for the bringing to paſs of that you have preſently in hand. And albeit we miſtruſt not but you can by your own Wiſdoms, well enough note ſuch Grounds and Points in the ſame Intelligences and Letters as are fitteſt to be provided for and conſidered, yet have we thought meet ſpecially to put you in Remembrance of two principal Matters, whereof we think great Conſideration is to be had. We perceive firſt by the ſaid Intelligences, that the Dowager hath not only victual'd the Caſtle of *Edinburgh*, but alſo hath begun to new fortify the ſame, meaning (as by the Contents of theſe Letters and Advertiſements may be gathered) that (if *Leith* ſhall be brought to any Extremity) ſome Sally in the Night, or other Practice ſhall be attempted, to the Intent thereby the chiefeſt Perſons within the Town may eſcape to *Edinburgh-Caſtle*, which Place it ſeemeth they make account to keep, and therefore ſpecial Regard would be had to the preventing and meeting with that Matter, if any ſuch thing ſhall happen to be intended. It appeareth alſo that of late there have two principal Perſons eſcaped by Sea out of *Leith*, and come into *France*; whereat we cannot but much marvel. And for the better looking to the like hereafter, it ſhall be well done you give Knowledge thereof unto our very good Lord the Duke of *Norfolk*, to the Intent he may give Warning to Mr. *Winter* to cauſe better heed to be given henceforth to his Charge. And thus we bid you right heartily Farewell. From *Greenwich* the 12th of *June* 1560.

Your aſſured loving Friends,

NORTH^t. PEMBROKE. HOWARD. THO. PARRY. E. ROGERS.
WILL^m PETRE. E. CLYNTON.

A Letter from Sir William Cecil, *to the Queen of* England.

IT may pleaſe your moſt excellent Majeſty: Since our common Letters of the 19th, wherein we declared how far we had proceeded to that Time, we Calig. B. 10. an Original. find that this Abſtinence hath done us much Good divers ways: The Strength of the Town hath been quietly and truly viewed; There hath been alſo Means uſed to draw ſome ſpecial Men out of the Town from the *French*; and at this preſent I perceive the Men of War make little Doubt of winning the Town, having the Army here to beſiege it. Nevertheleſs I and Mr. *Wotton* take another way, and mean to obtain That by Treaty with a Peace to follow, that the others would by loſs of Blood with a War to follow. We doubt not but to obtain all reaſonable Things, ſaving Surety towards both theſe Realms; and ſuch is the Caſe being betwixt a Prince and Subjects, as we know not how to provide for Surety of Subjects againſt all Adventures, without ſuch Diſhonour to the Prince, as neither will be granted, nor can reaſonably be demanded for Subjects. I aſſure your Majeſty, theſe Caſes be marvellous difficult to reſolve; and yet conſidering I know the *French* Malice, and am wholly addicted to your Majeſty's Honour and Surety, I would not yield ſo much to the *French* Queen's Honour in Behalf of her Subjects, if your Coffers were full to maintain but one Year's War: Such would be your Honour, Conqueſt and Surety. Our greateſt Difficulty at this preſent will ſtand upon Continuance of the League betwixt your Majeſty and this Realm, wherein I find the *Scots* ſo peremptory, as they all ſtand faſt thereto, that they will never accord to break it of their Part. Within two Days it will appear what ſhall enſue thereof; for I ſee the *French* be as peremptory: So that except the Moderation come of our Part, I ſee no hope of Accord. Thus much I am bold to trouble your Majeſty in this Matter——

This Afternoon Mr. *Wotton* and I ſhould have heard the *French* and *Scottiſh* Artillery, I ſhould ſay, Articles of their Treaty; but they be ſo long in planting, as I think it will be to Morrow in the Morning before the Battery will ſhoot off. The *French* ſeek all the Ways they can to put a Jealouſy in the *Scots* of us, ſo as we ſee what they ſhoot at; wherein if there were not more truſt that the Matters would keep them aſunder and us together, than in any Certainty in the Nation of *Scotland*, I would fear more than I do. But ſurely the Hatred to the *French* is ſuch, and the Cauſes ſo many, the Benevolence at this Time towards *England* is ſo great, and that with ſuch Deſert, as I ſee not that in long time the *French* ſhall recover the Minds of *Scotſmen* againſt us, as in times paſt hath been. Since the Queen's Death there be none in *Scotland* that dare openly ſhew Favour to the *French*: The Biſhops that be moſt offended, dare not ſhew any Countenance to theſe Men, nor dare come out of the Caſtle for hatred of the common People. We did offer the Archbiſhop of St. *Andrew*'s a Guard to come to the Ambaſſadors, but he durſt not; and ſo the *French* Ambaſſadors went into the Caſtle to him and others. I will no more moleſt your Majeſty, but—— From *Edinburgh* the 21ſt of *June*, at Four of Clock in the Afternoon, 1560.

Your Majeſty's humble Subject,
and unwordy Servant,

W. Cecill.

XXV. *The Readers will ſee the Paper here intended to be referred to, in the Introduction to the Eccleſiaſtick Affairs*, Book II. Chap. 14.

¶ Leſt it be thought that I have been too conciſe in the *Firſt Book* of the preceding *Hiſtory*, or have not ſupported ſome Facts with their proper Authorities; to prevent both theſe Complaints I have inſerted here all the Acts of Privy-Council from the oldeſt Date of that Regiſter, in the Year 1545, which can ſerve to enlarge or illuſtrate the ſame: Only I have deſignedly omitted ſuch Acts as will be found in the Appendix of the Book intituled, *Epiſtolæ Regum Scotiæ*, ſeeing thoſe that are deſirous may have the Satisfaction to view them there. As for the Regiſters of Parliaments, I think I have omitted nothing in the Hiſtory that could be of publick Uſe.

Apud Sanctum Andream 25. *Junij*, 1545.

SEDERUNT *Cardinalis Cancellarius, Epiſcopi Dunblanen. Orchaden. Comites Huntly, Ergile, Bothwill, Caſſillis, Glencairn, Rothes, Morton, Menteith; Abbates Paiſley, Dunfermelyn, Lundors, Glenlyſs, Dundrennan, Culros; Domini Fleming, Ruthven, Roſs, Setoun, Teſtir, Hume, Lindeſay de Byris, Glammys, Somervil, Methven, Semple; Magiſtri Eglinton, Rothes, Semple, Montros; Domini Georgius Douglas de Pettindreich, Johannes Campbel Miles Vicecomes de Are, Garlis, Lochinver, Blarquhan, Lag junior, Ninianus Crechton, Coldounknowis, Ceſsfurd, Sauchty.*

THE quhilk Day, anent the Expenitioun maid in Preſence of the Quenis Grace, my Lord Governour, and Lordis above-written, be *Monſ. Lorge*, ſend fra the maiſt Criſtine King of *France*, with ane Support of Men of Weir, baith on Horſe and Foot, for the Defence of this Realme, owther to defend or invaid the common Inimy of *Ingland*, as it ſall pleſe my Lord Governour and Lordis Eſtaitis of this Realme; and offerit himſelf, with all that he hes brocht under the Charge, reddy at all Hour and Tyme as he ſall be deſyrit thairto: Deſyrand thairfore my Lord Governour and Noblemen of this Realme to declair thair Pairt, and latt him underſtand quhat Deliberatioun thai will giff in this Behalf, and how thai will uſe thamſelffis in the Premiſſis. My Lord Governour, Lordis, Baronis and Gentlemen under-written, quha hes preſentlie ſubſcrivit this preſent Act, all in ane Voce, without Diſcrepance or Variance, hes declarit every Man for his awne Pairt, That ſen the ſaid maiſt Criſtene King of *France* hes ſchawen him ſa grete and tender ane Freind, luiſing Fader to the Quenis Grace our Soverane Lady, and Defender to this Realme, that baith thai and all the remanent Nobillis and Baronis of this Realme, and utheris Liegis thairof, ſall and ſuld be reddy att the utmaiſt of thair Power to defend, as the Tyme ſalbe thocht expedient to my Lord Governour and Counſall of this Realme, agains the ſaid auld Inimy of *Ingland*, and to invaid the Realme of *Ingland* als oft as the Occaſioun of tyme ſall occur, and be thocht neceſſar and proffittable.

James G. *D. Cardinalis Cancellar.*—*Brechynen. W. Dunblanen. Jo. Orchaden. Arch.* Erle of *Angus*, *G.* Erle of *Huntly*, *Arch.* Erle of *Argyle*, *Patrik* Erle of *Bothwell*, *Rothes*, *Glencairn*, *Caſſils*, Erle of *Montrois*, *Jhone* Erle of *Monteith*, *William* Lord —— *(a)*, *Alexander* Lord *Elphinſton*, *Drummond*, *Jhone* Lord *Lindeſay*, ——— Lord *Somervil*, Lord *Weemes*, ——— *Glammys*, *Jhone* Lord *Hay* of *Teſtyr*, *Ruthven*; *James* Commendator of *Kelſo* and *Melroſs*, &c. *Dunfermlyen*, *E.* Commendator of *Driburgh*, *Lundors*, *Paiſley*, *Hary* Abbot of *Drumdrennane*; Maiſter of *Eglinton*, Maiſter of *Semple*, Shirif of *Ayr*, *Jhone Campbel* of *Cauder* Knicht, *Alexander Stewart* of *Garleſs*, *Jhone Kennedy* of *Blarquhan*, *Thomas Kennedy* of *Bargenny*, *James Gordon* of *Lochinvar*, ——— *Walter Ker* of *Ceſsfurde*, *Niniane Chrechton* of —— *Robert Maxwell*, *Drumlangrik*, *Jhone Johnſton* of that Ilk, Mr. *Walter Scot* of *Branxholme* Knicht, *Thomas Kilpatrik* of *Cloſeburne*, *Jhone Grerſon* of *Lag*, *Mungo Muir* of *Rowallan*, *Alexander Howme*, *Jhone Howme* of *Blaketer*, *Robert*

(a) The Blanks all along are ſuch Names and Parts of the Regiſter as cannot be got read.

Robert Boyd of *Kilmarnok, Nychol Quhitfurde* of *Findol, Patrik Howme* of *Broomhouſe, George Douglas* (a).

THe ſamyn Day, in Preſence of the Quenis Grace, my Lord Governour, Lord Cardinall, and all the remanent of the Lordis ſpirituall and temporall above-written, hes cheſin the Erlis of *Anguſs, Huntly, Ergile, Bothwill, Rothes* and *Glencairn*, to ſitt with the Quenis Grace, my Lord Governour and Cardinall foreſaids, and to article, declair and conclude upon ſik Matteris as concernis the Forme and Manner of the Weir, baith to defend agains the common Inimy of *Ingland*, and to invaid the Realme of *Ingland* als oft as the Occaſion of Tyme ſall occur, and ſall be thocht neceſſar and proffitable; and ſiklike upon the Matteris concerning the ordering of the Bordoris.

Linlithgow 1. *November*, 1545. *Præſente Domino Gubernatore*, SEDERUNT *Cardinalis Cancellarius, Epiſcopus Candidæ Caſæ, Domini Roſs, Sempil; Abbates Paſlay, Melroſs; Secretarius, Clericus Regiſtri.*

——anentis *Scotland* (b), hes commandit and chargit that na Preſoneris *Ingliſmen* takin be *Scottiſmen*, and lattin hame again——upon thair Band and Faith to entre how ſoon thai were callit for be thair Takarris, ſuld entre again to thair Takarris agains the auld Uſe and Conſuetude obſervit and kepit upoun the Bordoris brekand thairthrow thair Faith and Hurt to thair Honeſty gretlie: Thairfore my Lord Governour, with Aviſe of the Lordis of Counſall, hes ſtatute and ordanit that nane *Scottiſmen* takin Preſoneris be *Ingland*, and lattin hame upoun thair Faith and Goidteis, entre again to thair Takarris in *Ingland*, under the Pane of Treſoun: Becauſe it is conſonant to all Law, Reſoune, Equitie and Juſtice, that every Man do and keip ſik Law and Part as is done, ſtatute and kepit to thame be thair Partie adverſar; that Letteris be directit heirupoun to the Wardanis of the Eſtir, Myddill and Weſt Merches, and thair Deputis, to mak Publicatioun and Intimatioun of this Ordinance at all publick Places of the Bordoris, as hes bene uſit in tymes bigane, and to command and charge all and ſundry our Soverane Ladyis Liegis dwelland within the Boundis of thair Wardanance, to obſerve and keip the ſamyn, under the Pane foreſaid.

Apud Edinburgh 23. *Maij*, 1546. *Præſente Domino Gubernatore*, SEDERUNT *Cardinalis Cancellarius, Epiſcopi Candidæ Caſæ, Dunblanen. Orchaden. Comes Errole; Abbates Paſlay, Dunfermling; Dominus Maxwell, Dominus Wilielmus Hamilton.*

THe quhilk Day, Foraſmekleas my Lord Governour and Lordis of Counſall underſtandand that thair is diverſs of *Mers* and *Teviotdale* that ſitts under Aſſurance of *Ingland*, incontrar the Tenour of the Act maid thairupoun, incurrand the Panes contenit thairintill; Thairfore my Lord Governour and Lordis of Counſall ordain the Juſtice-Clerk to call all ſik Perſonis that ſittis under Aſſurance, as ſaid is, quhais Names ſalbe gevin in Bill att particular Juſtice-Courtis, to underly the Lawis for the ſamyn, after the Forme and Tenour of the Act maid thairupoun (c).

Striveling 10. *Junij*, 1546.

IT is diviſit and ordainit be the Quenis Grace, my Lord Governour, and haill Lordis convenit in this preſent Conventioun, That certain Lordis remane with my Lord Governour, and be of ſecrete Counſall with him in all Matteris, and thai to remane monethly with him, and that to the Nowmer of Foure; and the firſt Moneth to begin this Day, *viz.* the tent Day of *Junij* inſtant.

Thir

(a) This has been the Convention of Prelates, Earls, Lords, and great Barons, appointed to meet in *Edinburgh* the 24th of *June* by the Act of Council 7th *June* 1545. See *Epiſtolæ Regum Scotiæ, Vol.* 2. *p.* 328.

(b) The firſt two Lines of the Regiſter cannot be read; but in the Earl of *Haddington*'s Collections we find the Act runs thus, *viz. Proclamation that ſeeing the Earl of* Herford *Lieutenant of* England *fornent* Scotland, *has diſcharged all* Engliſh *Priſoners lettin free upon their Faith and Suretie to return unto* Scotland, *being required to obſerve the ſame: Therefore, &c.*

(c) There are ſeveral Acts to be met with in the Records againſt *aſſured* Perſons; and very juſtly, becauſe theſe Perſons aſſiſted the *Engliſh* in making Depredations within the Limits of *Scotland*.

Thir ar the Lordis deviſit to remane the firſt Moneth, and to begin the ſaid tent Day of *Junij* inſtant, and to remane quhill the tent Day of *Julij* nixt thairafter; *Inprimis*, *Robert* Biſchop of *Orknay*, *George* Erle of *Huntly*, *William* Lord *Ruthven*, Sir *George Dowglas* of *Pettindrech*, Knicht.

Thir ar the Lordis deviſit to remane the ſecond Moneth, and to begin the ſaid tent Day of *Julij*, and to remane unto the tent Day of *Auguſt* nixt thairafter; *Gawin* Archbiſchop of *Glaſgow*, *Archibald* Erle of *Angus*, *Hew* Lord *Somerveil*, *George* Abbot of *Dunfermelyn*.

Thir ar the Lordis deviſit for the third Moneth, and to begin the ſaid tent Day of *Auguſt*, and to remane quhill the tent Day of *September* nixt thairafter; *William* Biſchop of *Dunblane*, *Archibald* Erle of *Argile*, *William* Erle of *Glencairn*, *Donald* Abbot of *Couper*.

Thir ar the Lordis deviſit for the ferd Moneth, and to begin the ſaid tent Day of *September*, and to remane quhill the tent Day of *October* nixt thairafter; *Patrick* Biſchop of *Murray*, *Patrick* Erle *Bothwell*, *Gilbert* Erle of *Caſſellis*, *Malcolme* Lord *Fleming*.

Thir ar the Lordis deviſit for the fift Moneth, and to begin the ſaid tent Day of *October*, and to remane quhill the tent Day of *November* nixt thairafter; *William* Erle *Merſchell*, *William* Erle of *Montroſe*, *Andro* Biſchop of *Galloway*, Sir *William Hamilton* of *Sanquhar*, Knicht.

Item, It is deviſit and ordanit that my Lord Theſaurar, Secretar, Comptrollar and Clerk of Counſall, and Juſtice-Clerk and Advocat, be of Counſall, and remane continually thairupoun.

Item, It is deviſit and ordanit that quhen thir five Moneths ar furt runnin, and the Lordis hes bidden thair Moneths after the Manner and Order foreſaid, that the foure Lordis that begane the firſt Moneth, *viz.* at the tent Day of *Junij*, ſall entre again the ſaid tent Day of *November*, and remane during the Space of ane Moneth; and ſiclike, the remanent of the Lordis above-written, to cum and remane be the ſaid Space of ane Moneth, ilk ane of thame in thair awne Rowme, eftir the Forme, Order and Maner before expremit.

Item, Notwithſtanding this Diviſion of the Lordis of Counſall deviſit to remane with my Lord Governour monethly, It is deviſit and ordanit that quhen ony utheris of the Lordis of Counſall before namyt cummys or happynis to be preſent, that thai ſall be of Counſall with my Lord Governour and the foure Lordis that ſall happyn in that Moneth with his Grace for the tyme.

Item, Becaus the Lordis *Erskin* and *Levingſton*, Lordis cheſin to be of ſecret Counſall, may not remane with my Lord Governour, becaus of the keiping of our Soverane Ladyis Perſone; Nottheleſs it is deviſit and thocht expedient that quhen any of thame cummys, that thai ſalbe of Counſall with my Lord Governour as ſaid is.

St. Andrews 11. *Junij*, 1546.

THe quhilk Day my Lord Governour, in Preſence of the Quenis Grace and the Lordis of Counſall, hes for gude Concurrance to be had for the Commonweill of the Realme and ſtanchyng of Diviſion, diſchargit the Contract and Band maid to him be quhatſumever Noblemen of the Realme, anents our Soverane Ladyis Merrage, and ſall deſtroy the ſamyn, and diſcharge all Noblemen that hes conſentit thairto of the ſaid Band. And ſiklik, the Quenis Grace hes diſchargit all Bands maid to her be all manner of Noblemen, incontrar the ſaid Contract. And als, my Lord Governour, with Aviſe of the Quenis Grace and Lordis of Counſall, hes diſchargit and diſchargis all Bands betwix the Noblemen of the Realme and utheris, and decernis the ſamyn to be of nane Avail, Force nor Effect in all tymes to cum, conforme to the auld Act of Parliament maid thairupoun.

And als, my Lord Governour hes declarit that he will reward all Noblemen of the Realme, every Man in his awne Degre, for his gude Service done and to be done to the Quenis Grace, and the Autorite, to thair Contentation, in ſa far as he may.

Edin-

Edinburgh penult. Julij, 1546. Præſentibus Regina & Gubernatore, SEDERUNT *Gavinus Archiepiſcopus Glaſguen. Epiſcopi Candidæ Caſæ, Orchaden. Comites Huntlie Cancellarius, Angus, Bothwell, Caſſellis, Merſchell; Abbates Paſlay, Culros, Dryburc, Dunfermelyn; Domini Fleming, Ruthven, Setoun, Hume, Lindeſay de Byris, Hay de Teſtir, Somerveill, Glammys, Elphinſton, Secretarius, Dominus Georgius Douglas, Wilielmus Hamilton de Sanchar Milites, Clericus Regiſtri.*

———And becaus the ſaid umquhill Cardinall Chancellar hes mony greit Freindis in *Fiff*, *Lowthiane*, *Angus*, and utharis Pairtis, quhairthrow the ſaidis Perſonis may allege ane Feir and Dredour that thai may nocht cum to allege thair Defens in the ſaid Mater, nor have ſure Paſſage to the Town of *Edinburc*; Thairfore ordanis Letteris to be directit to Officeris of the Quenis Sheriffis in that Pairt, to paſs, command and charge all and ſundrie our Soverane Ladyis Liegis, be oppin Proclamatioun at the Mercat-Croces of the Burrowis of *Edinburc* and *Cowpar*, and utharis Placeis neidfull, That nane of thame tak upone hand to mak ony Moleſtatioun, Truble or Impediment to the ſaidis Perſonis in thair Bodeis, Landis and Gudis, utharwayis than Law will; bot that thai may frelie cum to the Burc of *Edinburc*, paſs and repaſs thairfra, and uis thair Defens aganis the ſaid Summondis as accordis, under the Pane of Tynſell of Lyff, Landis and Gudis.

Edinburgh 21. Auguſt, 1546.

THe quhilk Day, Forſamekleas thair is ane Pece takin and ſtandand betwix our Soverane Lady and hir derreſt Uncle the King of *Ingland*, quha hes written to hir Grace, ſhawand that thar is certane *Scottis* Schippis in the Eſt-Seis and utheris Placeis that dailie takis, rubbis and ſpulzeis his Schippis and Liegis of his Realme, paſſand to and fra; deſyrand thairfore hir Grace to putt Remeid thairto, for keiping of the ſaid Parte: Thairfore ordanis Letteris to be directit to Officeris of the Quenis Sheriffis in that Pairt to paſs to the Mercat-Croces of *Edinburc* and *Kyngorne*, *Dyſart* and *Pittinweme*, *Kircaldy* and *Inverkeithing*, *Queniſferrie*, Pere and Shore of *Leith*, *Dunde*, *Aberdene*, *Montrois*, *Are*, *Irwyne*, *Dunbertane*, *Glaſgow*, and uther Placeis neidfull, and thair be oppin Proclamatioun command and charge all and ſundrie our Soverane Ladyis Liegis, that nane of thame tak upoun hand to paſs furt in Weirfair, unto the tyme thai cum unto my Lord Governour and Lordis of Counſall, and have his Graces Licence under our Soverane Ladyis Previe Seil or Great Signet, and Subſcriptioun of my Lord Governour, with ſik Reſtrictionis as ſall be gevin to thame, under the Pane of Tynſell of Lyff, Landis and Gudis; and gif ony Schippis happynis to depairt, that nane of thame tak upoun hand to invaid, tak, truble or moleſt ony *Inglis* Schippis, under the Pane foreſaid.

Apud Edinburgh 24. Auguſti, 1546. Præſente Domino Gubernatore, SEDERUNT *Epiſcopi Dunkelden. Orchaden. Comites Angus, Caſſillis; Abbates Couper, Dunfermelyn, Ad. Otterburn, Clericus Regiſtri.*

THe quhilk Day, That forſamekleas it was deviſit before be my Lord Governour and Lordis of Counſale, for apprehending of *Norman Leſlie* ſometyme Fiar of *Rothes*, *James Kirkaldy* of the *Grange*, *Petir Carmichell* of *Balmadde*, *Johnne Leſlie* of *Parkhill*, and thair Complices, our Soverane Ladyis Traitoris and Rebellis, and recovering of the Caſtell of *Sanct Androis* furth of thair Handis, that the ſaid Caſtell ſuld be aſſegit: And to that Effect it was thocht expedient that the Realme ſuld be devidit in foure Quarteris, and every Quarter to remane with my Lord Governour at the ſaid Aſſege for the Space of xx Dayis; and the firſt Quarter to begin upon the xxix Day of *Auguſt* inſtant, and to remane with his Grace unto the xviij Day of *September* nixt thairefter; And that his Grace ſuld not be diſſolat of Men, the ſecond Quarter to begin twa Dayis before the outrynning of the ſaid xx Dayis, and ſa furt quarterlie during the tyme of the ſaid Aſſege, as in the firſt Act and Ordinance maid thairupoun is at mair lenth contenit: Thairfore ordanis Letteris to be directit to the Sheriffis of *Perth* be-eſt *Tay*, *Forfar* and *Kincardin*, and thair Deputis, and utheris Officeris of the Quenis Sheriffis in that Pairt, Chargeing thame to paſs to the Mercat-Croces of all Burrowis within the ſaidis Schiris, and utheris Places neidfull, and thair be oppin Proclamatioun command and charge all and ſindrie Erlis, Lordis, Barronis, Landit-men, Gentlemen, and uther ſubſtantious Zemen, Men dwelland within the Boundis foreſaidis, baith to Burc and to Land, alſweill Regalitie as Rialte, dwelland upon ſpretualle Mennis Landis as temporalle Mennis Landis, That thai weill bodin in feir of Weir, in thair maiſt ſubſtantious manner, be in *Sanct Androis* the xvi Day of *September* nixt tocum, weill furneiſcht, to remane thairintill unto the ſixt Day of *October* nixt efter thair cuming to the ſaid Town, to the Effect foreſaid, under the Pane of Tinſell of Lyff, Landis and Gudis.

Item, Siclik, Letteris to be directit to the third Quarter in the ſamin Sort and Manner.

Item, Siclik, Letteris to be directit to the feird Quarter in the ſamin Sort and Manner.

Apud Sanctum Andream, 2. Octobris, 1546.

SEDERUNT *Epiſcopi Dunkelden. Moravien. Comites Angus, Ergile, Bothwell; Poſtulatus Roſſen. Ad. Otterburn de Reidhall, Wilielmus Hamilton de Sanchar Milites, Clericus Regiſtri.*

THe quhilk Day it is thocht expedient be the Lordis above-written, that ane Commiſſioun be maid to certane Perſonis to paſs in *Ingland* wele inſtructit, for to offer to the King of *Ingland* the Acceptation of the Comprehenſion of the Quenis Grace, this hir Realme, and Liegis thairof, maid in the Article and Treatie laſt paſt betwix the King of *France* and *Ingland*, and efter the Forme of the Articlis ſend thairupon with *Monſ. de Mandoiſe*; and ask the King of *Inglandis* Confirmatioun thairupoun.

Item, ——— Comprehenſion ——— a poſſible Dilligence ——— of the King of *Inglandis* utir Anſwer, and ſall remane quhill the Anſwer cum agane.

Item, That ane Commiſſioun be maid to the ſaidis Ambaſſatoris that paſs in *Ingland*, to commone, treate and conclude upon ane Peace and Abſtinance of Weir as ſall be deviſit, for ane Space lang or ſchorte, efter the Informe of the Inſtructions and Articlis to be gevin in that Behalf.

Item, In cais the King of *Ingland* will not accept the Comprehenſion in Maner and Forme as it is maid, that ane Perſone have Power and Commiſſion to paſs to the King of *France*, and ſchaw in quhat Pointis this Realme is dampnagit and skaithit throw the ſaid generall Comprehenſion: And gif the King of *Ingland* will mak Weir upon this Realme, and invaid the ſamyn, To require thairfore the King of *France*, be virtew of his Leig, to declair the King of *Ingland* his Inimy, and defend, ſupple and debait this Realme, conform to the Treateis paſt betwix the Kingis of *France* and *Scotland*, and thair Predeceſſoris of before.

Sanct Androis —— *December*, 1546.

THe ſamyn Day it is thocht expedient be the Quenis Grace and Lordis of Counſall, that my Lord Governour ſall paſs towart the Bordoris, with ſik Cumpany as he ſall pleis to tak to him, and to veſy the ſamyn, and put Ordour thairto as he ſall think expedient, at the xxiij Day of *Zule*: Nottheleſs the Quarteris to cum, and remane at the Aſſege of the Caſtell of *Sanct Androis*, ilk Quarter in his tour, efter the Forme and Tenour of the Letteris and Proclamation directit thairupon.

11. *October*, 1547.

SEDERUNT *Epiſcopi Dunblanen. Moravien. Candidæ Caſæ; Abbates Couper, Dunfermelyn, Culros; Poſtulatus Glaſguen. Theſaurarius Glaſguen. Vicarius Generalis ejuſd.*

THe quhilk Day, Forſamekleas the haill Clergie, Prelattis and beneficed Men of this Realme, laitlie grantit to my Lord Governour for the furt bering of our Soverane Ladyis Auctorite, and repreſſing of Faltors, and for divers utheris Cauſis, the Sowme of 2500 *Lib.* to be payit be thame to his Grace at the Feiſt of Midſomer laſt bipaſt, and the Sowme of 2500 *Lib.* at the Feiſt of *Sanct Andro* nixtocum; likeas in the Act maid thairupon is at mair lenth contenit. And now the Prelatis and Kirkmen above-writtin haifand reſpectis to the Effaris of this Realme preſentlie occurrand, and in ſpeciale that our auld Ynemeis of *Ingland* hes be way of Deid takin the Places of *Sanct Colms Inche*, the Craig and Places of *Bruchty*, the Place of *Hume* and *Aldroxburgh*, and hes ramforſat the ſaid, and biggit Fortalices and Strenthis thairintill, and daylie and continuallie perſeveris in thair bigging and ramforſing of the ſaidis Places, quhilks may engenner ane greit Inconvenience, without the ſamyn be haiſtelie remedit; and for recovering thairof furt of thair Handis, the ſaidis Prelatis and benefitit Men above-writtin hes inſtantlie avanſit to my ſaid Lord Governour, to the Effect foreſaid, thair Partis of the ſaid *Androis*-Meſs-Terme, togidder with the reſt of the laſt Midſomer-Terme awand be thame, and promittis to pay the ſamyn now incontinent in hand: And thairfore exhortis and prayis the remanent of the Prelatis and beneficit Men of this Realme that ar awand ony Reſt of the laſt Midſomer-Terme, and ſiclik that aucht to pay the nixt *Androis*-Meſs-Terme, That thai and ilk ane of thame for thair awin Pairt, awans now inſtantlie incontinent the ſaid Taxt, and pay the ſamyn in hand to the Effect foreſaid, for the Cauſis above-writtin; and in likwys ordanis Letteris to be directit heirupon as effeirs. And gif ony Inferiors———

THe ſamyn Day ane Reverend Fadir in God *Johnne* Biſchop of *Dunkeld*, and the remanent of the Kirkmen above-writtin, underſtandand the Place of *Sanct Colms Inche* is laitlie takin be our auld Ynimeis of *Ingland*, and that thai now inſtantlie ar biggand and ramforſand the ſamyn; and without the ſamyn be haiſtilie perſewit and recoverit furt of thair Handis, thair may follow greit Inconvenientis to this Realme, quhilkis may not be weill heireftir ramedit: Thairfore ordanis the Abbot of *Sanct Colms Inche* to content and pay to my Lord Governour the Sowme of Five hundredth Pounds uſuale Money of this Realme, of the reddieſt furth of the ſaid Abbacy, of this inſtant Zeir and Crop, to fee Wageors and Men of Weir, for recovering of the ſaid Place furt of the Handis of our ſaidis auld Ynimies, becaus his Grace hes inſtantlie deburſit the ſamyn before hand to the Effect foreſaid; and ordanis the ſaid Abbot and his Convent, religious Men, be honeſtlie ſtakit and furniſchit, as effeirs, in the Places of *Sanct Androis*, *Arbroth*, *Scone*, *Lundors*, *Dunfermling*, *Paſley*, *Cambuskynneth*, and ſik utheris religious Places as ſall be thocht expepedient to put thame into for this Zeir.

19. *February*, 1547.

THe quhilk Day, the Quenis Grace, my Lord Governour, and Lordis of ſecret Counſale, underſtandand perfytlie that our auld Ynimies of *Ingland* being in the Hous of *Brouchty*, ar apperandly to invaid the Burc of *Dunde*, and haill Cuntre, and to burn, hery, ſla and deſtroy our Soverane Ladyis Liegis dwelland within the Boundis thairof, without thai be reſiſtit: Thairfore it is deviſit and ordanit be my Lord Governour and Lordis foreſaidis, that thair ſalbe raſit thre hundreth Men of Weir, of the quhilkis ane hundreth Hagbuttis, ane hundreth Speirmen, the ane half tobe equallie furniſt be the greit Prelatis conſtitut in Dignite of this Realme, thair Payment extending to

600 *Lib.* and the uther half be the Inhabitantis of the Burc of *Dunde* ; and ane hundreth Horſemen tobe furniſt be the Baronis and Landit-men of the Sherefdome of *Perth*, fra *Tay* Eiſt, and Sherifdomes of *Forfar* and *Kincardin* ; providing that thairbe at all tymes ane certane of the Baronis of the Sherefdomes foreſaidis with the ſaidis Horſemen as ſalbe thocht expedient be my Lord Lieutennent, and all the ſaidis Men of Weir to be haldin and payit for the Space of ane Moneth, beginnand at ſik Day as ſalbe appointit to thame be my Lord Lieutennent ; and ordanis Letteris to be directit heirupon to command and charge all and ſindry the Baronis foreſaidis, and Landit-men of the foreſaidis Sherifdomes, to Burc and to Land, of quhat Degre thai be of, to anſwer and obey the Premiſſis as thai ſalbe commandit be my ſaid Lord Lieutennent, under the Pane of Tinſell of Lyff, Landis and Gudis. And ſiklik, to require the ſaidis Prelatris to mak Payment of thair Partis of the ſaid Taxt, deviſit to the Effect above-writtin, ilk ane for thair awne Pairt, efter the Forme of the Taxt-Roll maid thairupon, within xxiv Houris nixt efter thai be requirit, under the Pane of Rebellion ; and failzieing thairof, to put thame to the Horne.

Vlt. Februarij, 1547.

SEDERUNT *Epiſcopi Dunkelden.*—— *Abbates Dunfermelyne*, *Melros* ; *Dominus Borthwick*, *Clericus Juſticiariæ*.

THe quhilk Day, in Preſence of the Lordis of Counſale comperit *Johnne* Lord *Borthwick*, and at my Lord Governours Command hes takin upoun him the Cuire and Keiping of the Place and Fortalice of *Halis*, and hes bund and obliſt him to keip the ſamyn ſurlie fra our auld Inimies of *Ingland* and all utheris, and ſall nocht deliver the ſaid Place and Fortalice to *Patrick* Erle *Bothville*, nor nane utheris in his Name, but my Lord Governours Aviſe and Command, under the Pane of Ten thouſand Pundis. And in cais ony Adverteiſment cummis, that our auld Ynimies intendis to cum and perſew the ſaid Hous, and to recover the ſamyn furth of the ſaid Lordis Handis ; than and in that Cais the ſaid *Johnne* Lord *Borthwick* bindis and obliſſis him to mak ſik Adverteiſment to my Lord Governour upoun the Space of four Dayis warning, that his Grace may ſend xxiv Horſemen to the ſaid Place of *Halis* for keiping thairof, and ſall mak thame convoy ſurlie to paſs and repaſs fra the ſamyn within the ſaid Space, under the Pane foreſaid ; and the ſaid Adverteiſment to be maid outher to the Capitane of the Caſtell of *Dunbar*, or to the Capitane of the Caſtell of *Edinburc*, in my Lord Governours Abſence : And at the cumming of the ſaid Horſemen, the ſaid Lord *Borthwick* bindis and obliſſis him to deliver the ſaid Place to thame, to be uſit as ſalbe commandit be my Lord Governour, under the Pane above-writtin.

THe ſamyn Day, *Elizabeth* Priores of *Hadyngton* hes takin upon hir the Cuire and Keiping of the Place and Fortalice of *Nunraw*, and hes bundin and obliſt hir, and be the Tenor heirof bindis and obliſſis hir to keip the ſamyn ſurlie fra our auld Ynimies of *Ingland* and all utheris, and ſall not deliver the ſaid Place to na maner of Perſonis, but my Lord Governours Aviſe and Command : And in cais——the ſamyn, and that——Place ; than and in that Cais bindis and obliſſis hir to caſt down and deſtroy the ſamyn, ſwa that na Habitatioun ſalbe had thairintill frathynefurt.

THe ſamyn Day, Forſamekleas my Lord Governour and Lordis of Counſale haifand reſpect to the divers enorme and exorbitant Crymis committit and done be the Lardis of *Ormeſtoun* and *Bruntſtoun*, and ſiklik be the Keiperis of the Hous of *Saltoun*, and for thair falſe and treaſſonabill Dedis, and how that thair Houſis of *Ormeſtoun*, *Saltoun* and *Gilbertoun*, hes bene put in our auld Ynimeis Handis, to the Subverſioun of the Cuntre to thair Opinioun ; and laſt of all, our ſaidis auld Ynimeis hes bene preſentlie in the ſaidis Houſis, quhair-

quhairthrow thai have declarit thame oppin and manifeſt Tratoris and Reſatoris of our ſaidis auld Ynimeis; and for the Perſute thairof my Lord Governour hes preſentlie aſſegit the ſaidis Houſis, and recoverit the ſamyn be way of Deid; and becaus the ſaidis Houſis may engenner Cumeris in the Cuntre, and that na Perſonis will tak upoun hand to keip the ſamyn ſurlie fra our ſaidis auld Ynimeis, thair Aſſiſteris and Partetakaris: Thairfore it is diviſit, ſtatut and ordanit, that the ſaidis Houſis of *Saltoun*, *Ormeſtoun* and *Gilbertoun*, be caſſin down, ſwa that na Habitatioun ſalbe had in ony of the ſaidis Places to our ſaidis auld Ynimeis fra thyne furt in ony tymes tocum.

Nota, *Becauſe the Regiſters of Privy-Council from this Time to* Anno 1550 *are loſt; theſe following are taken from Earl of* Haddington's *Collections*.

28. *Aprile*, 1548.

PRoclamatioun commanding the Inhabitantis of *Lowthian*, *Mers*, *Tiviotdaill*, *Lawderdaill*, and Foreſt of *Ettrik*, quho war aſſurit with *Ingland* to cum to the Governour upon *Monanday* at Evin to the Armie, to tak Pairt with the Enimeis of *Ingland*; aſſuring thame that thai ſall haif ane frie Remiſſioun for Byganes, excepting ſuch Perſonis as ar preſentlie under the Proces of Treaſoun; with Certification that quha faillis ſall be reputt ane Traittour.

20. *Junij*, 1548.

The Towne of *Dundie* ordanit to ſtay from the Raid, and to waig 100 Sowldiers to attend the Laird of *Dun*, directit to ſtay in *Angus* to reſiſt the *Ingliſhmen*, and that the Townſmen of *Dundie* await upon the Laird of *Dun*, and watch and waird with him as thai ſalbe commandit be him, under the Pane of Tinſell of Lyff, Landis and Gudis.

2. *Julij*, 1548.

George Lord *Setoun* appointit to be Merſhall of the haill Armie at this tyme, and to appoint every Nobleman, and otheris, thair Rowme and Place where thai ſall ly; with Command to all Men to obey him and his Deputtis thairanent, under the Pane of Death.

Ordinance that thair ſall be ane michtie Watch of the haill half of the Armie, and that the one half await upon the Erle of *Angus*, and the other half upon the Erle of *Ergile*, thair Nicht about.

10. *Januarij*, 1548.

Ane Fort appointit to be biggit at *Inneresk*, and the Towne of *Edinburgh* furniſch 300 Men with Pick, Mattock, Schule, Spade, to work thairat be the Space of ſax Dayis, as thai ſall be commandit be the Commiſſionar appointit for that Effect: As alſwa, that every Pleugh of aucht Oxen betwix *Lithgow* and *Hadington*, in the Sherifdome of *Lithgow* and *Lowthian*, furniſch ane Man boddin as ſaid is, for the Space foreſaid; and ilk Fotch-Pleuch furniſch twa Men, under the Pane of 40 *Sh.* to be upliftit be the ſaidis Commiſſionaris for ilk Pleuch.

— *April*, 1549.

Mention maid of the Taxt of 30000 *Lib.* grantit be the Clergie.

6. *Maij*, 1549.

Ane Taxt of Twelve thouſand Pundis, impoſed by the Lordis of ſecret Counſall upon the Borrowis, for waiging Sowldiers for Defenſe of the Realme aganis *England*.

Apud Edinburgh 22. *Junij*, 1549.

THe quhilk Day, the Quenis Grace, my Lord Governour, and Lordis of ſecret Counſall, having Reſpect of the Neceſſitie of the Tyme, and the Eaſe and Profeit that may redound to this Realme for the biging of ane Fort upon *Inche-Keith*, for reſiſting of our auld Inimies of *Ingland*, hes thocht expedient, devyſit and ordanit, That the haill Burrowis on the Sydis of *Forth*, and great Townes and throuch Fares that lyis within twa Myles to the Coiſt of the ſamyn; that is to ſay, *Sanct Androis*, *Carraill*, *Pearth*, *Weymes*, *Anſtruther*, *Kingis-Barns*, *Sanct Monanys*, *Kilnowquhar*, *Largo*, *Erles-ferrie*, *Levyng-mouth*, *Wemys* Eiſtir and Weſtir, *Dyſert*, *Kircaldie*, *Kinghorne* Eiſtir and Weſtir, *Brunteland*, *Abirdour*, *Innerkeithing*, *North-ferrie*, *Dunfermeling*, *Culros*, *Clackmannane*, *Alloway*, *Cambuskennoch*, *Stirvling*, *Falkirk*, *Kinneill*, *Lynlythgow*, *Quenis-ferrie*, *Cramond*, *Leith*, *Edinburgh*, *Muſſilburgh*, *Preſtoun*, the *Panes*, *Dalkeith*, *Dudingſton*, *Seytoun*, *Tranent*, *Langnidrie*, *Abirlady*, *North-Berwick*, *Dirleton*, *Gosfurd*, *Gullan*, *Ballincrief*, ſall furniſch Four hundreth Pioneris, ilk Man twa *ſh.* in the Day for the Space of xvi Dayis, to work at the ſaid Fort in the ſaid Inche; and ordanis the Towne of *Edinburgh* to divyde and taxt thir Four hundreth Men amangis the ſaidis Townes; and Letteris be direct to Officiaris of the Quenes, to paſs, command and charge the ſaidis Townes to mak Payment of the Sowmes of Money that thai ſall be taxt to, ilk ane of thame for thair awin Partis, within xxiv Houris eſtir the ſaid Charge, under the Pane of Rebellion and putting of thame to the Horne; and ordanis Commiſſioun to be direct heirto incontinent, and to put Men to the ſaid Work upoun the Expenſis of the ſaidis Townes; and ordanis the ſaidis Townes to ſend all able Men to work furth of thair Boundis to the ſaid Inche, to reſſave dailie Waiges, quhair the ſaidis Commiſſionaris ſall mak thankfull Payment to thame, ilk ane of thame for thair awn Partis as effeiris: And ordanis the Towne of *Edinburgh* to deput the ſaidis Commiſſionaris to mak Payment of thair Workmens Waiges to thame; and ſiklik, to mak and deput Maiſters of Work to ſie the Workmen do thair Labouris juſtlie and trewlie, and omit no Tyme, for the Cauſis foreſaidis.

3. *Julij*, 1549.

THe quhilk Day, the Lord Governour and Lordis of ſecret Counſall, and the maiſt Pairt of the haill Nobellis of this Realme, being convenit and aſſemblit togidder, havand Reſpect to the greit and mony Incurſiounis daylie and continualie maid upoun this Realme be our auld Inimeis of *Ingland*, and ſurelie informit of the greit Preparatiounis devyſit and ordanit be our ſaidis auld Inimeis for the Deſtruction of this Realme this nixt Harveſt approchand; Hes for ſubſtantious Reſiſtance thairof, willinglie of thair awin Cowrage, offerit thameſelfis reddie to defend thair awin auld Liberties with thair Bodies and Subſtance, and to win the haill Nobilitie thairupoun: Thairfore ordanis Letteris to be direct to all Officiaris, Stewartrie Bailleis, alſweill Regalitie as Royaltie, and thair Deputtis; Proveſtis, Aldermen and Bailleis of Borrowis, and to thair Officiaris, of the Quenis Sheriffis in that Pairt, chargeing thame to the Mercat-Croces of all Borrowis and Townis of this Realme, and uthir Places neidfull, and thair be opin Proclamatioun command and charge all and ſindrie our Soverane Ladyis Leigis be opin Proclamatioun, betwix Sixtie and Sixteine Zeiris, and utheris ſenſabill Men, baith to Burt and Land, alſweill Regalitie as Royaltie, dwelland upon ſpirituall Menis Landis or temporall Menis Landis, that thai and every ane of thame be in reddineſs, weill boddin in feir of Weir, in thair maiſt ſubſtantious Manner with Armis and Wapounis, eſtir the Forme of the Actis of Parliament, to cum, ſend, wait, at the firſt Day of *Auguſt* nixtocum, as thai ſall be chargit and advertiſit, upon aucht Dayis Warneing, with forty Dayis Victuall, eſtir thair cumming to the Place thair ſalbe aſſignit and appointit in the Letteris of Warneing, for reſiſting of the ſaidis auld Inimeis, Defenſe of this Realme, and Libertie thairof, under the Pane of Tinſell of thair Lyſis, Landis and Gudis; nochtwithſtanding the Actis and Ordinances maid of before for raiſing and liſting of ane furniſcht Man of everie Seven-Mark Land of auld Extent, furniſcht for the Expenſis thairof for the Space of twa Monethis, likas the ſaid Act at mair lenth proportis: Quhilk Act and Ordinance my Lord Governour

vernour and Lordis foreſaidis hes diſchargit, and be the Tenour heirof diſchargis the ſame, becaus thair is no Prelattis, Sheriffis, Erlis, Lordis, Baronis, and uthir Frie-halderis that hes takin up the Taxt foreſaid fra the Tenentis within thair Boundis, and Landis and Juriſdictioun; Thairfore my Lord Governour and Lordis foreſaidis, willis and ordanis thame, and everie ane of thame for thair awin Pairtis, to deliver, content and pay agane the ſaid Taxt, takin up as ſaid is, to the ſaidis Tenentis, ilk Man his awin Pairt, within ten Dayis nixt eftir the Charge; with Certification to ilk ſpirituall Man that faillzies heirintill, that he ſall be callit and accuſit as ane Contemnar and Brekar of this preſent Act, to ane particular Dyet, and ſall be puniſchit thairfoir in his Landis and Gudis, with all Rigour for his Contemption. And for performing of the Premiſſis, ordanis the Juſtice-Clerk and Theſaurer-Clerk to tak diligent Inquiſitioun of the Perſonis baith ſpirituall and temporall that randeris nocht agane the ſaid Taxt to the ſaidis Tenentis *reſpectivè*, and roll thair Names, ſwa that my Lord *Sanct Androis* on the ane Pairt may direct Letteris of Curſing upoun the Prelattis and Kirkmen for not Payment of thair Pairtis of the haill Taxt in maner foreſaid; and the ſaid Juſtice-Clerk and Theſaurer-Clerk on the uthir Pairt may direct Letteris upoun the temporall Men in manner above-writtin, for thair Contemption. And ordanis the Clerkis to content, pay and deliver the Sowme of 15000 *Lib.* of the haill Taxt of 35000 *Lib.* grantit of befoir to be equallie diſtribute and payit amongis thame, ilk Man for his awin Pairt, effeirand to the Rait and Quantitie of thair Benefices, conforme to the Taxatioun maid amongis thame thairupoun; providing alwayis that the Sowmes of Money ellis payit be the Clergie of the ſaid Taxt to the Collectoris thairof, be allowit in pairt of Payment of the ſaid Sowme of 15000 *Lib.*

Apud Edinburgh 13. *Julij*, 1549.

THe ſamyn Day, the Quenis Grace, my Lord Governour, and Lordis of ſecret Counſall, underſtanding that thair is diverſe our Soverane Ladyis Lieges that ſittis under Aſſurance with our auld Inimeis of *Ingland*, quhairthrow the Countrie is become herriet and deſtroyit; and for Remedie heirof, it is advyſit and ordanit that Letteris be direct to Officiaris of the Quenis Sheriffis in that Pairt, charging thame to paſs to the Mercat-Croces of *Edinburgh*, and uthir Places neidfull, and thair be opin Proclamatioun command and charge all and ſindrie aſſurit Perſonis with *Ingland*, that thai and everie ane of thame betwix this and the——Day of *Julij* inſtant, give up thair Aſſurance to our ſaidis auld Inimeis of *Ingland*, and declair to thame that thai ar and will be trew Subjectis to our Soverane Lady and hir Realme, and will defend the ſamyn and Libertie thairof; and that thai come to the Quenis Grace, my Lord Governour and Counſall, and declair the maner of the upgiving of the ſaid Aſſurance to our ſaidis Inimies betwix and the ſaid Day, with Certification to thame an they failzie, the ſaid Day being bypaſt, that thai and ilk ane of thame ſall be perſewit as Inimeis baith by Fyre and Sword, and put to uttir Ruine with all Rigour: And the ſaid Day being bypaſt, and the ſaidis aſſurit Perſones failland in the Premiſſis, ordanis the Lovetennent and Gariſones to paſs and perſew the ſaidis aſſurit Perſones, as thai ſalbe direct be my Lord Governour and Counſall, baith be Fyre and Sword, and puniſch thame in maner above-writtin.

Edinburgh 25. Marcij, 1550. Præſentibus Regina & Gubernatore, SEDERUNT *Archiepiſcopus Sancti Andr. Comes de Huntlie Cancellarius, Epiſcopi Moravien. Candidæ Caſæ, Dunblanen. Orchaden. Comites Argile, Merſchell, Caſſillis, Errole; Domini Ruthven, Drummond, Dominus Georgius Douglas, M. Semple; Clericus Regiſtri, Clericus Juſticiariæ, Advocatus, Robertus Carnegy.*

Regiſter of Privy-Council.

THe quhilk Day it is deviſit, ſtatut and ordanit, That for reſiſting of our auld Ynemyis of *Ingland*, and Defenſe of the Weſt-Bordoris, and for reparing of ane Fort and Strenth in the Towne of *Annand*, for Defenſe of the Cuntre, and diverſe utheris Reſpectis and Conſiderationis moving thame; That the Sowme of 4000 *Lib.* be raſit and upliftit of the Prelattis and Clergie of this Realme, to be raſit and inbrocht to the Collectouris to be deput thairto, to the Effect above-writtin; and in cais the ſaid 4000 *Lib.* be thankfullie payit and deburſit be the Prelattis and Clergie, than and in that Cais my Lord Governour and Lordis of ſecret Counſale promittis that thair ſall na Taxatioun be raſit agane upoun thame for the Space of ane Zeir nixtocum.

THe ſamyn Day it is deviſit, ſtatut and ordanit; That the Shereffis of *Edinburgh* principall, *Edinburgh*, within the Conſtabulary of *Haddington*, *Selkirk* and *Lawderdaill*, and thair Deputis, ſall aſſiſt and concure with the Lairdis of *Lethingtoun*, *Quhittinghame*, *Elphinſtoun*, *Trabroun* and *Wauchtoun*, in the aviſing of the furneſching of the Oxin and Pyoneris deviſit for the furt bringing of our Soverane Ladyis Munitioun and Artailzery to the Oiſt and Army deviſit to aſſemble and convene in *Edinburgh* the xvi Day of *Aprile* nixtocum, conforme to the Actis maid thairupoun.

Apud Edinburgh 3. *Aprilis*, 1550. *Præſente Regina*,
SEDERUNT *Archiepiſcopus Sancti Andreæ*, *Comites Merſchell*, *Caſſillis*, *Abbates Dunfermelyn*, ——— *Clericus Regiſtri*, *Robertus Carnegy*.

THe quhilk Day, Forſamekill as thair is diverſs aſſurit Perſonis, be our auld Ynemyis of *Ingland*, and ſittis undir Aſſurance, dwelland within the Boundis of the *Mers*, and uthir Partis adjacent to the ſamyn, quhilk upoun this laſt *Monanday* at Evin, the laſt Day of *Merche* laſt bypaſt, that hes furniſt Carriage and Carriage horſs to our ſaidis auld Inemyis, for the furniſſing of the Fort of *Lauder*, and our ſaidis auld Ynemyis being in the ſamyn, takand Art and Part with thame, aſſiſtand and favourand thame in the Deſtruction of the Cuntre: Thairfor it is diviſit and ordanit that *Alexander* Lord *Hume* paſs furt and ſeik the ſaidis Perſonis furniſſaris of the ſaidis Carriage and Carriage-horſs to our ſaidis auld Ynemeis and Fort forſaid, and tak and apprehend ſex of the Principallis of thame, and punis thame to the Deid for thair Attemptattis; with Power to the ſaid Lord to juſtify the ſaidis Perſonis, Court and Courtis of Juſticiarie to hald to that Effect: And will and grantis that this preſent Act and Ordinance be of als greit Strenth, Faith, Force and Effect, as and the ſamyn had bene gevin in Forme of Commiſſioun under the quhit Walx, to the Effect above-writtin, for the Cauſis forſaidis.

Proclamatio pacis.

Apud Edinburgh 20. *Aprilis*, 1550.

WE do zou to wit, Forſamekil as in the moiſt honorable and perpetuale Pece takin betwix the maiſt Criſtine King of *France* on that ane Pairt, and the King of *Ingland* on that uthir Pairt, for thame, thair Aris and Succeſſoris for evir, Oure Soverane Lady hir Realme, Dominionis, Rewmes and Poſſeſſiounis baith be Sey and Land, Liegis and Subjectis of the ſamyn, ar comprehendit, for hir, hir Hienes Airis and Succeſſoris perpetuallie; lik as in the Contractis and Tretyis of Peax paſt thairupoun, and Comprehenſioun forſaid, is at mair lenth contenit: Quharefor we command and charge, in our Soverane Ladyis Name and my Lord Governoris, all and ſindrie our Soverane Ladyis Liegis, of quhatſumevir Eſtait, Dignitie, Ordour, Preeminence or Conditioun that evir thai be off, That nane of thame tak upoun hand to violett or brek the ſaid Pece in ony ſort, or to do ony Hurt, Harme, Moleſtatioun, Inquietatioun or Perturbatioun to ony of the Liegis of the Realme of *Ingland* owther be Sey or Land, Nycht or Day, bot to obſerve and kepe the ſaid Peax and Comprehenſioun foreſaid clerelie and enterelie

terelie in all Punctis; or to pretend to mak ony Offence to ony *Ingliſhman* quhilk may * tynde to the Violatioun of the ſaid Peax. And ſiklik, we command and charge all and ſindrie Bordoraris, and all utheris our Soverane Ladyis Liegis, That nane of thame tak upoun hand to ryde into *England*, or to mak ony Perturbatioun thairintill Nycht or Day frathynefurth, under the Pane of Treſon.

* Ita MS. ſ. *tynde* or *tend.*

Apud Edinburgh 22. *Aprilis*, 1550. *Præſentibus Regina & Gubernatore*, SEDERUNT *Comes de Huntlie Cancellarius, Johannes Archiepiſcopus Sancti Andreæ; Comites Ergile, Merſchell, Glencarn, Caſſillis; Abbates Dunfermling, Cowper; Domini Ruthven,* ——— *Magiſtri Erskin, Semple, Dominus Georgius Douglas.*

Anſweris to the maiſt Criſtine King of Francis *Memoriale, reſſavit fra* Monſ. de Finnell, *gevin to* Thomas *Maiſter of* Erskin, *Ambaſſador for the Quenis Grace of* Scotland *and my Lord Governour thairof; To be ſchawin to his Hienes upon thair Behalf.*

IN the Firſt: The Quenis Grace, my Lord Governour and Counſale underſtandand the Report of the ſaid *Monſ. de Finnell* and Memoriale foreſaid; how that the ſaid maiſt Criſtine King, efter that his Hienes had maid ſik Invaſioun upoun our auld Inimeis of *Ingland* within the Cuntre of *Boullennois*; and thairthrow conſtrenit thame to retere the maiſt Part of thair Army, quhilkis thai had lyand upoun this Realme, furth of the ſamyn, and tranſport thame towart the ſaid Cuntre of *Boullennois*; and his Hienes perſeverand in ſik ſharp Perſute of the ſaidis *Ingliſhmen*, mare in reſpect of this Realme of *Scotland*, nor of ony uthir Conſideratioun, brocht to ſik Neceſſite, that it behufit thame to ſeke Peax of his Hienes divers tymes, and be ſindry Perſonis; and that his Hienes havand Conſideratioun of the grete Scathis, Oppreſſiounis and Dampnagis quhilkis this Realme hes ſufferit be ſo lang Weris, and beand deſyrous to putt the ſamyn at Reſt and Quietnes, accordit to trete with the ſaid *Ingliſhmen* apone ane Peax: To the quhilk, efter lang Reſonyng, wes condiſcendit be his Hienes Commiſſionaris, comprehendand our Soverane Lady and this hir Realme in the ſamyn; the quhilk the Quenis Grace, my Lord Governour and Counſale of this Realme, acceptis maiſt thankfully, as ane Thing done be his Majeſtie for the Wele and Releiff of this Realme, and Tranquillite to the Subjectis thairof, and haldis thame thairthrow addettit to his Hienes mare than thai ar hable preſentlie to acquite: And namelie, inſafer as it hes not onlie pleſit his Hienes to have refuſit the grete Offeris of *Ingland* maid to him, anent the quyting of thare Penſion, randering of *Boulongne* of all that thai withheld bezond the Sey, for the geving of our Soverane to thame, but alſwa by all the infinite Coſt maid be his Hienes for the Defens of the Liberte of this Realme of before, now to deburs ſwa large Sowms for Peax and Reſt to us as to his awin; and thairfore that the ſaid Maiſter of *Erskin* upoun thair Behalf giff maiſt humyl Thankis thairof to his Majeſtie, quhilk hes preferrit the Reſt and Eis of this Realme to his awin particular Profitt, as he that is the ſure and only Defender and Releyf under God of all this Realme, and hes deliverit the ſamyn furt of the Thraldome in the quhilk it was for the tyme, and ſafit it fra the apperand perpetuale Subjectioun it wes hable to have fallin in, giff his Hienes had not tane the hale Byrding of the Defens thairof upoun him; and finalie not broucht the ſamyn to the auld Libertie and Fredome, unto his Hienes infynite Honour, and our ineſtimable Wele.

And according to the Deſyre of the ſaid Memoriale, the Quenis Grace and my Lord Governour ſendis thair welebeluſit *Thomas* Maiſter of *Erskin* Berar of thir Preſentis, thair Ambaſſador to the King of *Ingland*, with Commiſſioun undir our Soverane Ladyis Grete Sele, for to ratifie, affirme and appreve in our Soverane Ladyis Name, the Comprehenſion of hir Grace and hir Realme of

Scotland, maid in the ſaid Tretie, and all the Punctis and Articlis conteuit thairintill, inſafer as it concernis or may concerne hir Grace, or hir Realme foreſaid.

Item, Conforme to the Kingis Article, my Lord Governour, with Aviſe of the Counſale, hes inſtantly diſchargit all Weir-Schippis to depart or pas furth of the Realme of *Scotland* in ony maner of Weirfare; and ſiklik, hes ſend and gevin ſpeciale Charge to the Maiſter of *Erskin*, That in cais he fyndis ony Weir-Schippis of *Scotland* in *France*, to putt Inhibitioun to the Capitanes, Maiſteris and Awnaris of the ſamyn, that nane of thame tak upoun hand to mak Wear upoun the Emperoris Subjectis, unto the tyme the King be advertiſt: And that he ſend his Mynd unto us thairupon; and the ſamyn Charge to be uſit at the Kingis Pleſour.

Item, As to the Anſwer towart the Cardinale of *Carpy*, The Quenis Grace and my Lord Governour hes ellis writtin thairupoun to the King, quharewith thai think his Majeſtie ſalbe ſatisfyit; likeas the Maiſter of *Erskin* will declare.

Item, Thareſter the ſaid Maiſter of *Erskin* ſall report to the King how rejoſit the Quenis Grace and my Lord Governour war of the Novellis of our Soverane Ladyis Weleſare, and to heir that the Kingis Hienes was ſwa wele contentit with hir, and that ſche was ſwa hable to encres in Vertew, and that the Kingis Majeſtie takis ſik Conſolatioun, ſeying the begynying of hir upbringing to have bene ſwa gude, that he hopis ſum Day to ſee his Sone the Husband of ane of the maiſt vertuous Princes that Men can deſyre; beſikand God of his infinite Gudnes that his Hienes may ſee nocht allenerlie that Thing that his noble Hart deſyris, but alſwa that oure Soverane Lady be efter this ſwa endewit with the Graces of God, that ſche may be hir Birth mak his Hienes to be callit the Gudſer of ane of the maiſt victorious Princes in the Warld, and King to ryng lang proſperouſlie abuſe baith the Realmes.

Item, The Occaſioun of the ſending of the Hereld to the King, quha wes directit to the Emperor, wes be this Motive; *Monſ. d'Oſell* the Kingis Ambaſſador here ſchew the Quenis Grace, my Lord Governour and the Counſale, That the King mervellit that we continuit the Waris with the Emperor, havand actually Weir with *Ingland*, and micht have had Peax of him, deſyrand us to ſek ane honourable Peax of the Emperor be the Kingis Aviſe and Myance, rather than to procure furthir Weir be ony oure Occaſioun: Upoun the quhilk we directit the ſaid Hereld to the King with ſpeciall Writtingis to our Ambaſſador, giff he had bene preſent, deſyrand his Majeſtie to ſend to the Emperor for ane Conduct to certane Ambaſſadors of *Scotland*, to cum and trete upoun Peax with the Emperor; quhilk Ambaſſadors firſt ſuld have cumin to the King for his Aviſs and Informatioun, and thareſter to have departit to the Emperor for the ſaid Peax, and the Kingis Ambaſſadors with thame to that Effect. The Abſence of our Ambaſſador wes the Caus that the King wes not ſo amplie informit of oure Deſyris, as oure Directionis wes unto his Majeſtie.

Item, It is deſyrit of the King that he will ſend his Ambaſſadors towart the Emperor, to procure ane Peax to the Quenis Grace oure Soverane Lady, hir Realme and Subjectis, in ſemblable maner as hes bene accuſtumate of before, always referring the Tyme to his Majeſties Diſcretioun, with Abolition of all Thingis paſt, becaus an honourable Peax wes takyn be the King, quham God aſſolze, and the Emperor for ane hundreth Zeiris. Quhilk Peax without Occaſioun maid be us, wes violet and brokyn be the Emperor and his Subjectis, in takyn and withhaldyn of ane grete Nowmer of the Schippis of *Scotland*, at the Deſyre of *Ingland*, to the grete Hurt and Dampnagis of the Liegis of this Realme, lykas our Ambaſſadors the Biſchop of *Roſs* and the Maiſter of *Erskin*, or athir of thame can declare at lenth; togidder with the maner of the Tretie laſt takyn, quhilk hes bene alſwa to the grete Hurt and Dampnage of baith the Emperors Subjectis and ours.

Item, Becaus that the Kingis Majeſtie hes ellis writtin to my Lord Cardinale of of *Guiſe*, lyand preſently in the Court of *Rome*, to mak Inſtance to the Papis Halynes for the Legacie of *Scotland*, to be grantit to my Lord the Archbiſchop of *Sanct Androis*, Brother to my Lord Governour, and to do his utir Poſſibilitie for obteyning of the ſamyn; Tharefor to thank his Hienes, and beſek him to continew in the ſamyn, unto the tyme it be brocht to ſik ane Perfectioun as that the ſaid Legacie be grantit in maiſt ample and large maner, ſwa that all Benefices within the Realme of *Scotland*, exceptand Biſchopricks allenarlie, be providit within the Realme: Quhilk Thing being done be the Kingis Majeſtie, ſall purches be his Hienes ane grete Wele, Profitt and Eis, in reſpect of the tyme and in bering of the greit Chargis of the Waris, and ſindry uthir wayis, togidder with the Favour of the Subjectis, inſafer as it is of ſa grete Advantage to the ſamyn; and to informe his Hienes how grete Sowmes paſt furth, and daylie paſſes furth of this pure Realme to the Court of *Rome*, and how coſtlie ane Thing it is to mak Fynance evin through all Partis quhill thai cum to *Rome*, be reſoun of the Diſtance of the Places and perellous Paſſages baith by Sey and Land, through ſindry Princis Juriſdictioun, and how that this Realme is ſwa hereit with lang Weris, that it will not be hable to recover the Scaith it hes ſufferit in mony Zeiris, in cais that the Subſtance thairof be tranſportit be the Occaſioun foreſaid to the Court of *Rome* in ſik aboundance as it hes bene thir Zeris bipaſt; and that the Kingis Hienes be informit that this Legacie be nocht aluterlie deſyrit for the private Wele of ony ane Perſone, but for the common Wele of the hale Inhabitantis of this Realme.

Item, Becaus the Kingis Majeſtie hes deſyrit to knaw of the Quenis Grace, my Lord Governour and Counſale here, quhat Charge is neceſſar to him to hald in this Realme, and as litle as is nedfull; It is thocht expedient be thame, for ſparing of the Kingis Expenſes in tyme of Pece, giff it ples and ſalbe thocht expedient to his Hienes, That the Fort of *Luffnois* be kepit be the Lard of *Wauchton* in tyme of Pece, upoun Caution; and the Fort of *Inveresk* be kepit be the Abbot of *Dunfermeling*, upoun ſiclik Caution; and the Forts of *Sanct Colmys Inche*, *Inchegarvie*, the Fort of *Bruchty* and *Montrois* be caſſin down, becaus thai ſerve of nathing in tyme of Pece; and the laſt four Forts ar not neceſſar in tyme of Weir.

Item, That the King putt ſik Gariſones in *Dunbar*, *Blaknes*, Caſtell of *Bruchty* and *Incheketh*, as his Majeſtie or his Lieutennent thinkis neidfull for Preſervatioun of the ſamyn in tyme of Pece, and that thai be fortifyit, and ſpecialie the Forts of *Inchekethe* and Caſtell of *Bruchty*, becaus thai ar the Entres of twa of our Soueranes maiſt ſpeciale Revars: And that the Lord *Hume* kepe the Caſtell of *Hume*, and the King to ſupport him as he pleſes, becaus it is our Charge, and to the ſaid Lord to kepe the ſamyn as an Hous of Were, ſo nere the Bordoris.

Item, It is thocht expedient be the Quenis Grace, my Lord Governour and Counſale, That the Fortis of *Lauder*, *Dunglas*, *Roxburc* and *Aymouth*, be all caſſin down, for ſik Motivis as the ſaid Maiſter of *Erſkin* can ſchaw.

Item, Giff it be the Kingis Pleſour to tak away his Army heir, it wer neidfull that thair wer ane thouſand Futemen left in this Realme by thame that kepis the Caſtellis and Fortis, quhill the finall End and Perfectioun of the Peax, and down-caſting of the Fortis, and that ſure Knawledge may be had of the Pece betwix us and the Emperor: And the Peax, with the Effects thairof, beand finalie performit, ſik Ordour ſalbe takin for Execution of Juſtice, and ordouring of the Cuntre be the Aviſe of the Quenis Grace, as the Lieutennent and Ambaſſador ſall knaw, quharewith the King ſall have Caus to be contentit, and ſalbe advertiſt thairof in dew tyme.

Item, Anent the Preſoneris, The Quenis Grace, my Lord Governour and Counſale hes ſene the Anſwer cum fra the Counſale of *Ingland*, and Articlis ſubſcrivit be the Commiſſionaris Tretars of the Pece betwix *France* and *Ingland*, to *Monſ. de Finnell*, with the quhilkis thai ar contentit for the Pairt of *Scotland*; and to deliver all the Preſoneris of *Ingland* now being in *Scotland*, frelie, als wele thame that hes aggreit upoun thair Ranſoum, and gevin Bandis or Plegis thairfor as utheris; and to reſſave all Preſoneris and Plegis being in *Ingland* ſemblablie, and to deſyre Day and Place to be appunctit thairto.

Finalie, To informe the Kingis Majeſtie, That the Biſchoprick of *Dunkeld* is now vacand be the Promotioun and Tranſlatioun of my Lord Archbiſchop of *Sanct Androis* fra the ſaid Sete of *Dunkeld*, quha broukit the ſamyn pececablie but ony Interruptioun the Space of thre Zeris and mare: And now my Lord Governour hes writtin diverſe tymes to the Papis Halynes quhilk laſt deceſſit, for the Promotioun of *Donald* Abbot of *Cowper*, Uncle to the Erle of *Ergile*, to the ſaid Biſchoprick; nochtheleſs the ſaid Papis Halynes as zit poſtponis the ſaid Promotioun, be the inoportune Soliſitatioun and wrang Informatioun of ane Maiſter *Robert Creichtoun*, quha on his maner intendis to purcheſs the ſamyn, but ony Supplicatioun or Licence of my Lord Governour, or ony havand Autorite for the tyme, to the grete Hurt of the Quenis Grace Privilege, and ſwa wer, quhilk is and ay hes bene in uſs, that na Promotioun of Prelacy pas in *Rome* but the Princis Supplicatioun thairfor; deſiring his Grace to write rycht effectuouſlie to the Papis Halynes, College of Cardinallis, and his Graces Ambaſſador ſtanding in *Rome*, for Preſervatioun of the Quenis Grace Privilege and Promotioun of the ſaidis Abbot, conforme to the Quenis Grace Supplicatiounis and Writtingis ſend be my Lord Governour in hir Graces Name.

And ferther, Becaus we deſyr preſentlie the maiſt Criſtine King to trete ane Peax betwix the Emperor and us, be his Ambaſſador preſentlie being with the Emperor; Ze ſall ſchaw the King thir Inſtructionis and Articlis following to be ſend to his Hienes Ambaſſador with the Emperor, quhareby his Ambaſſador forſaid may underſtand and knaw perfitelie the maner of the Pece contractit of auld betwix the Emperor and our Soverane, quham God aſſolze, and the Occaſioun of the Brek thareof; and tharethrow to be the mare reſolute to anſer to ſik Queſtionis as may be demandit of him be the Emperor and his Counſale.

In the Firſt, To informe the ſaid maiſt Criſtine King how it is underſtandin to the Quenis Grace, my Lord Governour and Counſale of *Scotland*, be diverſe Informationis and Writtingis ſend fra ſindrie gret Men Subjectis to the Emperor in *Flanders*, that honorabill Peax may eſelie be tretit betwix the Emperor his Subjectis and us; Thairfor to deſyr the ſaid maiſt Criſtine King to ſend his Ambaſſador with zou to the Emperor to procure the ſamyn, conforme to the Contract of Peax laſt maid betwix his Majeſtie and our Soverane the Kingis Grace that laſt deceiſſit.

And giff the ſaid maiſt Criſtine King thinkis this gud to be done, ze ſall with his Aviſe paſs to the Emperors Majeſtie, and uſe thir Inſtructionis following:

In the Firſt, To reduce to his Remembrance the Contract of Peax betwix his Majeſtie, for himſelf, his Realme, Dominionis and Subjectis, and the Kingis Grace our Soverane that laſt deceiſſit, his Realme and Subjectis, for the Space of ane hundreth and ane Zeris.

Item, To declair to his Majeſtie how the ſamyn Peax wes brokin upoun us be his Subjectis of *Flanderis*, but ony Occaſioun maid be us, and without Denunciatioun of Weir, quhen our Schippis come in *Flanderis* as to our Freyndis for Traffyque of Merchandice, efter that thai had bene weil reſſavit, freyndlie treatit, interchangit thair Merchandice, and reddy to depart, the haill Floit of xiv riche Schippis laydyn with *Flanderis* Wair wer takin, haldin and diſponit, and the Merchandis thareof perſewit as Inimeys, be the Emperors Subjectis, in the Portis, Havynis and Townis of the *Vdir-Myddilburt*, and utheris of the laich Partis of *Flanderis*.

Item, To ſchaw his Majeſtie how we, incontinent efter the taking of the ſaid Schippis, ſend Heraldis with Letteris ſupplicatouris to him, and to the Quene of *Vngary* Regent of *Flanderis*, for Redreſs thareof, and culd get nane; bot than ane Weir oppynlie proclamit and denuncit in *Flanderis* in the Emperors Name, upoun the Subjectis of this Realme.

Item, To declair how efter the laſt Peax contractit betwix his Majeſtie and the maiſt Criſtine King of *France*, we ſend ane Ambaſſador to his Majeſtie and his

his derreſt Syſter the Regent of *Flanderis*, deſyrand as Conſideratis with the ſaid maiſt Criſtin King to have bene comprehendit in the ſaid Peax, and to have acceptit the ſamyn, quhilk wes inlykwys refuſit for ſik Motivis as than movit his Majeſtie: Nochttheles, for the Quiet of bayth the Realmes, it wes convenit that certane Conductis ſuld be grantit of equale Nowmer be his Majeſtie to the Subjectis of this Realme, and our Soverane Lady to his.

Item to declair, That albeit thir Conductis wes than thocht equivilent to ane Peax, zit the Witkittnes and perverſit Myndis of Pyrattis on aither Syd had thairthrow takin occaſioun to harme baith the Cuntreis and Subjectis thairof, ſwa that the ſamyn wes rather Caus and Occaſioun of Haitrent and Trubill nor ony Quiett to the Cuntreis; and diverſe Inconvenientis followit thairupoun, quhairof the Verite may not be tryit, nor Redres maid, becaus that Pyrattis on ather Syd apprehendand Schippis with Conductis, as is ſuſpectit, diſtroyis and puttis away the ſamyn, howbeit the Princis and Counſalis Myndis on athir Syd be weill willit thairto.

Item to deſyre thairfor his Majeſtie, That he will grant of new ane honorabill Peax to our Soverane Lady, hir Realme and Subjectis, for ſamony Zeris as ſalbe thocht convenient, conforme to the auld, ſen the occaſioun of this Weir movit nocht as we underſtand, of na Haitrent nor evill Mynd that he bure towart this Realme, bot allannerlie of the Occaſioun and Perſuaſioun of our auld Ynemeis, *&c.*

Item to declair to his Majeſtie the greit Trubill, Cruelte and Invaſionis daylie maid upoun our Soverane Lady and hir Liegis be the Tyrany of our ſaidis auld Ynemeis in hir Graces Minorite, and greit apperance of blud-ſchedding thairthrow in tymecummyng; and thairfor deſyre and require his Majeſtie, That he firſt of his Gudneſs will endevoir himſelf to procure ane honorable Peax of the King of *Ingland* to our Soverane Lady, hir Realme and Liegis, gif it may be had with the auld Liberteis; or otherwayis, becaus he of his Imperiall Dewite is obliſt to defend Pupillis, That he will grant Support of Men, Munitioun, and ſic uthir reaſonabill Help as he may ſpair *(a)*.

Apud Edinburgh 22. Maij, 1550.

THe quhilk Day, Forſamekill as in the Treaty of Peax laitlie takin betwix the maiſt Criſtin King of *France* on that ane Part, and the King of *Ingland* on that uthir Part, our Soverane Lady hir Realme and Subjectis ar comprehendit; into the quhilk Pece it is diviſit and ordanit, That the Fortis of *Roxburc* and *Aymouth* ſalbe randerit at ane certane Day appoyntit thairto: Nochttheles the Perſonis *Ingliſmen* preſentlie being in the ſaidis Fortis, daylie and continewalie makis Incurſionis upoun our Soverane Ladyis Liegis nixt adjacent unto thame, reifis, ſpulzeis and oppreſſis thame, tending to do that is in thame to violate and brek the Pece contrair the Myndis of the Princis; and for to evaid ſik Inconvenientis as may heirefter follow thairupoun, and Reſt and Quietnes of bayth the Realmes, it is diviſit, ſtatut and ordanit be my Lord Governour and Counſale, That Letteris be direct to command and charge all and ſindry our Soverane Ladyis Liegis, be oppin Proclamatioun, at the Mercat-Croces of —— and utheris Places neidfull, That thai, and ilk ane of thame, gif gud Attendence at all tymes quhen the forſaidis Perſonis happynis tocum furt of the ſaidis Fortis without Licence, to the Effect above-writtin; and gif thai pretend to do ony Hurt or Harme to the Cuntre, or Liegis thairof, That thai, and every of thame, tak and apprehend thame as Preſoneris; with Certificatioun to thame, that all ſik Perſonis cummand furt of the Fortis forſaidis, to the Intent above expremit, ſalbe reput and haldyn as juſt and lauchfull Preſoneris, and that thair Takaris ſall nocht be callit nor accuſit, nor incur ony Danger or Skayth thairthrow, in thair Perſonis, Landis or Gudis, but ſalbe reput and haldin as faythful and trew Liegis to this Realme in all tymes tocum.

(a) The curious Readers may ſee a Copy of this 101 Years Treaty of Peace between the Emperor *Charles* V. and our King *James* V. *July* 24th 1531, in the late large Collections of the Treaties of Peace, *&c.*

Apud Edinburgh 23. Maij, 1550. Præſentibus Regina & Gubernatore,
SEDERUNT———

THe quhilk Day, Forſamekle as the Quenis Grace, my Lord Governour, and Lordis of ſecreit Counſale, haifand Reſpect to the greit and hie Attemptattis committit and done be *Patrik* Erle *Bothwile*, and how he hes had him towart our Soverane Lady, my Lord Governour, and the Autorite, in ſindry Behalfis: Thairfore it is diviſit and ordanit be the Quenis Grace, my Lord Governour and Counſale, That Summondis of Treſoun be raſit upoun him the ſaid Erle; and ordanis the Quenis Advocat to libell the ſamyn, conforme to Informatioun to be gevin to him thairupoun; and ordanis the Clerk of Cancellarie and Kepar of the Quarter-Seill to anſwer the ſamyn accordinglie, as uſe is.

Apud Edinburgh 2. Auguſti, 1550.

THe quhilk Day, Forſamekle as thair is diverſe *Franchmen* that hes committit ſindry Attemptattis upoun our Soverane Ladyis Liegis, quha ar tobe accuſit and puniſt for thair Demeritis; and thairfore neceſſar it is that ane Aſſiſs be ſummondit thairto: Thairfore the ſaidis Lordis ordanis ane Maiſſer, or uther Officiar of Armes, to pas and ſummond certane Perſonis quhais Names ſalbe gevin in Bill, to compeir before the Jugis Commiſſionaris deput to ſit in ſik lik Materis, in the Lugeing of *Monſ. de Termes* in the Abbay of *Halyrudhouſe*, upoun *Weddniſday* the vi Day of *Auguſt* inſtant, and thair to beir Witnes in ſik Materis as ſalbe inquirit at thame; or to paſs upoun an Aſſiſs, gif neid be, ilk Perſon under the Pane of 40 *Lib.*

Apud Edinburgh 27. Januarij, 1551.

THe quhilk Day, Forſamekle as the Quenis Grace, my Lord Governour and Lordis of ſecreit Counſale, being remembrit of the mony and diverſe Gratituds done to our Soverane Lady, hir Realme and Liegis thairof, for Defens of the ſamyn, be the maiſt Criſtin King of *France*, and ſpeciallie in bigging of the Fort of *Abirlady* at *Luſnes*, and ſtrenthning thairof with Men and Munitioun in tyme of Weir; and that the ſamyn is ſumptuous to his Majeſtie, and nocht neceſſary to be keipit now in tyme of Peax; and willing to diminiſche the ſumptuous Chargeis ſuſtenit be his Majeſtie in this Realme, inſafer as thai may: Thairfore the Quenis Grace, my Lord Governour, and Lordis foreſaidis, ordanis the ſaid Fort of *Abirlady* to be randerit and deliverit to *Patrik Hepburn* of *Wauchtoun*, and the ſamyn to be caſſin down and deſtroyit to the Erd, except the Hous and Manſioun thairof, ſwa that na Fort nor Strenth be thair in tymes tocum; and the ſaid Manſioun and Houſis to be broukit and joiſit be the ſaid *Patrik* as his Heritage, lik as his Forbears brukit the ſamyn of before in tymes bipaſt, conforme to his Infeſtment; providing always that the ſaid *Patrik* caus the Munitioun and Artailzery being in the ſaid Fort to be had and caryit to *Dunbar* upoun his Expenſis.

Apud Striveling 20. Marcij, 1551. Præſentibus Regina & Gubernatore,
SEDERUNT *Archiepiſcopus Sancti Andreæ, Epiſcopi Moravien. Dunblanen. Roſſen. Orchaden. Comites Huntlie, Ergill, Merſchell, Erroll, Glencarne, Caſſillis, Athole, Menteith; Abbates Dunfermelyn, Sanctæ Crucis, Kilwynyn, Culroſs; Domini Ruthven, Maxwel, Flemyn, Forbes, Drummond, Dominus Georgius Douglaſs.*

THe quhilk Day, the Lordis of the greit Counſale being aſſemblit at *Striveling* upoun the Treatie paſt betwix *France* and *Scotland*; and inlykwys the Treatie laſt paſt betwix our Soverane Lady and the Emperour, of the Dait at——the——Day of——the Zeir of God Ane thouſand fyve hundred and fifty ane Zeiris; and finding be the ſamyn that in the ſaid Treatie with the Emperour is ſpeciallie reſervit, incluſit and comprehendit the maiſt Criſtine King of *France* his Realmes and Dominionis, efter the Forme of the Treaties paſt betwix

twix

twix his maiſt nobill Forbearis and the Quenis Grace maiſt nobill Forbearis Kingis of *Scotland*; weying alſwa the King of *Frances* Writting and Requiſitioun laitlie cum in to the thre Eſtaittis of this Realme, to declare thameſelfis, and tak his Part, according to the Tenour of the auld Treatyis, and to the greit Freyndſchip that ſen his cumming to the Crowne of *France* he hes ſchawin in ſuppleying of this Realme in thair greit Miſtir, againſt the greit Forces of *Ingland*, being at that tyme all redy enterit and fortifyit far within the ſamyn; Hes at laſt condiſcendit and reſolvit thameſelffis in this maner, that thair ſalbe ſend to the King of *France* ane Gentilman to ſchew for the Part of this Realme unto his Majeſtie quhat Incommodite may cum to this Realme, gif the Peax with the Emperour beis brokin, quhat Harme may be done thairthrow to the ſaid Emperour his Enimie, and quhat Chargeis his Majeſtie ſalbe conſtranit to entere into on this Syd, in cais the Emperour put ony greit Force to thir Seyis, and thairthrow to perſwaid the Kingis Majeſtie to be content and ſatisfyit thairwith, als far as he may; Bot gif alwayis his Majeſtie perſiſtis and abidis at that Poynt, that he will haif Declaratioun of Weir maid to the Emperour in Naim and Behalf of this Realme; in that Cais thair ſalbe ſend to the Emperour ane ſufficient Perſonaig to git up the ſamyn Peax, and declare unto him that this Realme cannot remane at Freyndſchip with him, he ſtandand at Enmity with the ſaid maiſt Criſtin King of *France*, maiſt antiant and maiſt ſpeciale Freynd unto the Quenis Grace our Soverane Lady, and this hir Realme.

Apud Edinburgh ultimo Novembris, 1552.

THe quhilk Day it is diviſit be my Lord Governour, and Lordis of ſecreit Counſale, That ane certane Number of Fitmen be reſit and upliftit of this Realme, to be ſend in *France* for the Support of the maiſt Criſtine King, conforme to the auld Liegis, Bandis, Amitie and Allyanſis quhilk hes ſtand of lang tyme betwix the Realmes of *Scotland* and *France*, renewit and confermit be every Kyng and Princes ſen the tyme of *Achaius* Kyng of *Scotland* and *Chairlis* the Maine Kyng of *France*, and laitlie in thir Dayis be our Soverane Lady and of *Franſis* laſt Kyng of *France*, as he hes requerit be his ſpeciall Letteris, as the ſamyn at mare lenth proporttis; the quhilk Men of Weir can nocht gudlie be reaſit without the Realme be ſtentit: Thairfor it is thocht expedient, that of everie Fourtie Merk Land of auld Extent in this Realme, als weill of our Soverane Ladyis awin Propertie as the temporall and ſpirituall Mennis Landis, togidder with all Waird-Landis, Terce and conjunct Fie-Landis, and Landis in Non-entres, thair be ane ebill, ſufficient Fitman, weil furniſchit, cled in new Hois, and ane new Dowblett of Canweſs at the leſt, with Jack of Plett, Steilbonet, ſplent Slewis of Mailzie, or Plait, with ane Speir of ſix Elne lang, or thairby, be reaſit to paſs with thair Generall, Corrowner and Capitanes to that Effect, to the ſaid Pairtis of *France*: Thairfore ordanis Letteris to be direct to every Sherif and Bailzie within this Realme, and thair Deputtis, alſwele generall as reall, alſwele of ſpirituall Mennis Landis as temporall Mennis Landis, charging thame that thai conveine the Friehalderis of everie Schyir and Bailzarie foreſaid, in the heid Brut of the Schyir, with all Dilligence poſſible, and at the farreſt betwix this and the xx Day of *December* nixtocum, conſiddering it ſtandis upoun the hie Pleſour to the ſaid maiſt Criſtine King, and Honor of this Realme; and thair retour all the ſaidis Landis within thair Schyris and Boundis of thair Offices, alſwele our Soverane Ladyis Landis.

Item, It is diviſit and ordanit, That thair be reaſit of the haill Burrowis of this Realme ane Anſaingzie of Fitmen extending to thre hundrethe Men; and in ſwa far as is poſſible, that all the thre hundrethe Men be Hagbutteris furniſchit with Powdir, Flask, Morſinghornis, and all uthir Geir belanging thairto: And ordanis the Proveſt of *Edinburc* to tax the remanent of the haill Burrowis as uſe is; provyding alwayis that it ſall nocht be an Tabroun or Suaſche to gang throw ony Burc for ſutting of Men to the reſt of the Anſaingzies unto the xx Day of *December* nixtocum be bypaſt.

Inſtructionis for Roſs *Herald, to be ſchawin to* Monſ. Novellis *Ambaſſadour for the maiſt Criſtine King in* Londoun.

IN the Firſt, To ſchaw him quhow the Bordouraris of *Inglande* daylie ridis in *Scotlande* upoun the Fronteris of the ſamyn, takand Heirſchippis of Gudis, committand Slauchteris and utheris greit Crymis and Wrangis upoun the Liegis of this Realme, quhareof the Wardanis can get na Redres; quhilk apperis manifeſtlie to move Occaſioun of Weir betwix the Realmes, gif haiſty Remeid be not providit, and Ordour put thairto: And ſpeciallie to ſchaw how ane Capitane of *Norhame*, twa Zeir ſyne or thairby, *viz.* in the End of *Junij* 1551 Zeris, ſchot Artailzerie at the Lord *Humis* Fiſchearis of his Salmond-Fiſching upoun *Tweid* in *Halywell*, and put thame fra the Fiſching thairof; and continuallie ſenſyne the ſaid Capitane of *Norhame* occupyis and withhaldis the ſamyn Fiſching, fiſchis and applyis the Fiſchis thairof to his awin Uis, quhairof the Lord *Hume* can get na Redres: Howbeit Mr. *Gray* of *Chillinghame*, Wardane of the Eſt-Bordouris of *Ingland*, within the Boundis of quhais Office the ſaid Capitane of *Norhame*, Reiſtar of the ſaid Fiſchemen, dwellis, hes bene diverſe tymes requirit tharefor, alſwele be my Lord Governouris awn ſpeciall Wrytting as be the Wardanis of *Scotlande* franente him, nochtwithſtanding that the ſamyn Fiſching of *Halywell* wes at the Confirmatioun of the laſt Trete of Peax betwix the Realmes be the Commiſſionaris of *Scotlande* and *Inglande*, depute thairto realie be virtew of the ſaid Peax, reſtorit to the Lord *Hume* and his Poſſeſſioun the xxiij Day of *Junij* the Zeir of God foreſaid, and he ſufferit peceablie to occupaye and labour the ſaid Fiſching thairefter be the Space of viij Dayis.

Item, The ſaid Mr. *Gray* of *Chillinghame* being for the tyme Wardane-depute of *Inglande* upoun the Eſt-Merchis of *Inglande*, lykas he is zit, *Cuthbert Muſgray* Capitane of *Harbottill-Caſtell* in *Inglande* came in the Moneth of *Julij* laſt bypaſt with ane greit Cumpany of *Ingliſhemen* to the Nowmer of Fyve hundreth, upoun Fair-day lycht at x Houris afoir None to the Landis of *Zettem* and *Kirk-Zettem* in *Scotlande*, and thair reft and had away with thame thrette fyve hundrethe Scheip, fyve hundrethe Nolt, and as zit withhaldis the ſamyn, quhairof the ſaid Mr. *Gray* will mak na Redres, he being Wardane-depute of *Inglande* in thair Partis; bot quhen he wes requiſit thairfore be the Wardane of *Scotlande*, maid Anſwer, That he wes commandit to tak the Gudis perteining to *Scottiſmen* within the Landis foreſaidis be the Lorde *Quhartoun*, Generall Lieutennent and Wardane-depute of all the Merchis of *Inglande* anentis *Scotlande*, under the Duke of *Northumberland*; and howbeit he hes ſenſyne bene requirit to redres the ſamyn be my Lord Governouris awin ſpeciall Wryttingis, zit he will mak nane.

Item, The Capitane of *Warke* upoun the xxiv Day of *Auguſt* laſt bypaſt, the ſamyn Day being appointit ane Day of Trew and Meeting of the Wardanis of *Scotlande* and *Inglande* at *Reddame-burne*, Place accuſtomit to convene at Dayis of Trew upoun thai Merchis, come with ane greit Cumpanye of Men to the Nowmer of ſexſcore and ma, to the Landis of *Haldane* within *Scotlande*, nocht half ane *Scotis* Myle fra the ſaid Metyng-place of *Reddame-burne*, and ſcant twa Houris efter the Metyng of the Wardanis, and cruellie ſlew *Patrik Jameſoun* and *Jhone Davidſoun Scottiſmen*, quharof apperit to haif followit Occaſioun of ane greit Truble heſtilie, be Metyng of the ſaidis Wardanis ſtarklie, accumpanyit as thair uſe is, at ſik Metyngis, ſa ſuddenlie eftir the ſaid Slauchtir, and ſa neir the Place quhar it wes committit; the hale Kyn and Frendis of the Men that wes ſlane being accumpanyit with the *Scottis* Wardane thairof, as zit thair can be na Redres had for na Requiſitioun that the Wardane of *Scotlande* can mak, nor zit for my Lord Governouris awin ſpeciall Wryttingis ſend to the Wardane of *Inglande* thairupoun.

And to deſyr the Ambaſſadour foreſaid to ſchaw thir Thingis to the Quene of *Inglande* and hir Counſale, and to declair to thame how the Bordouris of

Inglande, or at the leaſt ſum of thame that ar of evill Nature and Diſpoſitioun, Inemyis to Peax and Quietnes, inclynit to Slouthe and Reif, accuſtumit to leif thairupoun, daylie and nychtlie makis Invaſioun upoun this Realme, ſum tyme in ane Part thairof, and ſum tyme in ane uther, with grete Cumpanyis of Men togidder in plane Reif, Heirſchippis and Slauchteris, alſwele in plane Day-licht as in the Nycht, ſum tyme xx Myle within *Scotlande*, in plane forroyng, tendying alway be all the Craft thai can to provoke the Liegis of this Realme to do ſiklyke, and thairthrow to mak Occaſioun of Weir, contrare the Myndis of the Quene and Counſalis of baith the Realmes. And thairfore to perſwaid the Quene and Counſale to direct Commiſſioneris, twa, thre or four of *Inglandiſmen* to meit ane lyk Nowmer Commiſſioneris for *Scotlande*, at convenyent Day and Place, als ſchortlie and haſtilie as he may gudlie upoun the Bordouris, for redreſſing of ſic Attemptatis, ſtanchying of Malefactouris, and ordouring of the Bordouris, Manteinance of the Peax and Quiet of the Liegis of baith the Realmes: And gif this be refuſit, that the Ambaſſadour mak the King Advertiſment thairof.

Item, In cais it be anſwerit to the Ambaſſadour of *France* be the Counſale of *Inglande*, That this Fiſching of *Halywell* on *Twead* hes bene in all tymes of Peax fiſcheit be the Capitanes of *Norhame*, becaus it lyis neir the Wall of the Caſtell, and that my Lord *Hume* gat bot allanerlie in tyme of Peax ane Dewtie of Sylver payit to him thairfore be the Capitane of *Norhame*, in Name of Maill or Ferme allanerlie; In that Cais the Heralde foreſaid ſall informe the Ambaſſadour, that the Lordis of *Hume* be thairſelfis and thair Servandis *Scottiſmen* in all tymes of Peax bypaſt, fiſcheit and occupeit that Fiſching of *Halywell* als neir the Wall of *Norhame* as thai do now, and brocht the Fiſche thairof daylie and continuallie away in *Scotlande*, but ony Stop or Truble of *Ingliſchemen*; and that the ſamyn was never ſet to the Capitane of *Norhame*, bot allanerlie at ane tyme be the Lord *Hume* that laſt deceiſſit, for the Space of ane Zeir, for Payment of ane certane Sowme of Money: Quhilk Aſſedatioun wes lyk as all ſik Aſſedatiounis war, and is unlefull and forbyddin be the Lawis of this Realme, that ony *Scottiſmen* ſall ſet ony of the Quenis Dominionis or Poſſeſſionis to ane *Ingliſcheman*, or ony *Ingliſcheman* ſet ony of the Quene of *Inglandis* Dominionis to ane *Scottiſcheman*; and ſwa upoun ane Aſſedatioun of ane Zeir Tak maid in maner foreſaid, but Conſent or Knawlege of the Authorite or Counſale of *Scotlande*, unlefullie be ane private Perſoun, can never the Quene of *Inglande*, nor her Capitanes of *Norhame-Caſtell*, pretend Richt within the Quene our Soverane Ladyis Poſſeſſionis and Dominionis.

Item, In cais it be allegit be the Counſale of *Inglande* to the Ambaſſadour, That the Gudis takin be the *Ingliſchemen* furt of the Landis of *Zettem* and *Kirk-Zettem* Townes, war juſtlie takin upoun the Frontiers, becaus thai war paſturit and kepit within the Merchis of *Inglande*, and thairfore eſchaet and juſtlie takin away be Mr. *Gray* foirſaid off the ſeverall Ground of *Inglande*; In that Cais to informe the Ambaſſadour, that ſupponand thai had bene fund paſturand upoun the ſeverall Ground of *Inglande* (as thai war nocht indeid, bot takin off the ſeverall Ground of *Scotlande*) zit he micht on nawayis eſchaetit thame, nor haldin thame langer, be the Lawes or Cuſtomes of the Bordouris, bot quhill thai had payit ane Grott for the Heid of ilk Peax for thair Poundlaw.

Item, Gif it happenis to be allegit to the Ambaſſadour, That the *Scottiſmen* war ſlane be the Capitane of *Warke* in his Defenſe, and thair Perſute within the ſeverall Ground of *Inglande*; The Heralde ſall informe him, That thai war ſlane, and tane up deid upoun the ſeverall Ground of *Scotlande*, nowthir pleyable nor debatable, ane greit way within the peceable Merche of *Scotlande*, in Defenſe of thameſelfis and thair Cornis, quhen the ſaid Capitane and his Cumpany war etand with thair Horſs.

Item, In cais the Quene and Counſale of *Inglande* condiſcend to aggre to ſend Commiſſioneris to the Bordouris, deſyre the Ambaſſadour to knaw the Namis of thame ſall cum for the Pairt of *Inglande*, and caus him name for this Realme Men of ſic Eſtait as thai name; that is to ſay for Biſchopis, *Murray*,

Inſtructionis for Roſs *Herald, to be ſchawin to* Monſ. Novellis *Ambaſſadour for the maiſt Criſtine King in* Londoun.

IN the Firſt, To ſchaw him quhow the Bordouraris of *Inglande* daylie ridis in *Scotlande* upoun the Frontetis of the ſamyn, takand Heirſchippis of Gudis, committand Slauchteris and utheris greit Crymis and Wrangis upoun the Liegis of this Realme, quhareof the Wardanis can get na Redres; quhilk apperis manifeſtlie to move Occaſioun of Weir betwix the Realmes, gif haiſty Remeid be not providit, and Ordour put thairto: And ſpeciallie to ſchaw how ane Capitane of *Norhame*, twa Zeir ſyne or thairby, *viz.* in the End of *Junij* 1551 Zeris, ſchot Artailzerie at the Lord *Humis* Fiſchearis of his Salmond-Fiſching upoun *Tweid* in *Halywell*, and put thame fra the Fiſching thairof; and continuallie ſenſyne the ſaid Capitane of *Norhame* occupyis and withhaldis the ſamyn Fiſching, fiſchis and applyis the Fiſchis thairof to his awin Uis, quhairof the Lord *Hume* can get na Redres: Howbeit Mr. *Gray* of *Chillinghame*, Wardane of the Eſt-Bordouris of *Ingland*, within the Boundis of quhais Office the ſaid Capitane of *Norhame*, Reiſſar of the ſaid Fiſchemen, dwellis, hes bene diverſe tymes requirit tharefor, alſwele be my Lord Governouris awn ſpeciall Wrytting as be the Wardanis of *Scotlande* franente him, nochtwithſtanding that the ſamyn Fiſching of *Halywell* wes at the Confirmatioun of the laſt Trete of Peax betwix the Realmes be the Commiſſionaris of *Scotlande* and *Inglande*, depute thairto realie be virtew of the ſaid Peax, reſtorit to the Lord *Hume* and his Poſſeſſioun the xxiij Day of *Junij* the Zeir of God foreſaid, and he ſufferit peceablie to occupaye and labour the ſaid Fiſching thairefter be the Space of viij Dayis.

Item, The ſaid Mr. *Gray* of *Chillinghame* being for the tyme Wardane-depute of *Inglande* upoun the Eſt-Merchis of *Inglande*, lykas he is zit, *Cuthbert Muſgray* Capitane of *Harbottill-Caſtell* in *Inglande* came in the Moneth of *Julij* laſt bypaſt with ane greit Cumpany of *Ingliſhemen* to the Nowmer of Fyve hundreth, upoun Fair-day lycht at x Houris afoir None to the Landis of *Zettem* and *Kirk-Zettem* in *Scotlande*, and thair reft and had away with thame thrette fyve hundrethe Scheip, fyve hundrethe Nolt, and as zit withhaldis the ſamyn, quhairof the ſaid Mr. *Gray* will mak na Redres, he being Wardane-depute of *Inglande* in thair Partis; bot quhen he wes requiſit thairfore be the Wardane of *Scotlande*, maid Anſwer, That he wes commandit to tak the Gudis perteining to *Scottiſmen* within the Landis foreſaidis be the Lorde *Quhartoun*, Generall Lieutennent and Wardane-depute of all the Merchis of *Inglande* anentis *Scotlande*, under the Duke of *Northumberland*; and howbeit he hes ſenſyne bene requirit to redres the ſamyn be my Lord Governouris awin ſpeciall Wryttingis, zit he will mak nane.

Item, The Capitane of *Warke* upoun the xxiv Day of *Auguſt* laſt bypaſt, the ſamyn Day being appointit ane Day of Trew and Meeting of the Wardanis of *Scotlande* and *Inglande* at *Reddame-burne*, Place accuſtomit to convene at Dayis of Trew upoun thai Merchis, come with ane greit Cumpanye of Men to the Nowmer of ſexſcore and ma, to the Landis of *Haldane* within *Scotlande*, nocht half ane *Scotis* Myle fra the ſaid Metyng-place of *Reddame-burne*, and ſcant twa Houris efter the Metyng of the Wardanis, and cruellie ſlew *Patrik Jameſoun* and *Jhone Davidſoun Scottiſmen*, quharof apperit to haif followit Occaſioun of ane greit Truble heſtilie, be Metyng of the ſaidis Wardanis ſtarklie, accumpanyit as thair uſe is, at ſik Metyngis, ſa ſuddenlie eftir the ſaid Slauchtir, and ſa neir the Place quhar it wes committit; the hale Kyn and Frendis of the Men that wes ſlane being accumpanyit with the *Scottis* Wardane thairof, as zit thair can be na Redres had for na Requiſitioun that the Wardane of *Scotlande* can mak, nor zit for my Lord Governouris awin ſpeciall Wryttingis ſend to the Wardane of *Inglande* thairupoun.

And to deſyr the Ambaſſadour foreſaid to ſchaw thir Thingis to the Quene of *Inglande* and hir Counſale, and to declair to thame how the Bordouris of *Inglande*,

Inglande, or at the leaſt ſum of thame that ar of evill Nature and Diſpoſitioun, Inemyis to Peax and Quietnes, inclynit to Slouthe and Reif, accuſtumit to leif thairupoun, daylie and nychtlie makis Invaſioun upoun this Realme, ſum tyme in ane Part thairof, and ſum tyme in ane uther, with grete Cumpanyis of Men togidder in plane Reif, Heirſchippis and Slauchteris, alſwele in plane Day-licht as in the Nycht, ſum tyme xx Myle within *Scotlande*, in plane forroyng, tendying alway be all the Craft thai can to provoke the Liegis of this Realme to do ſiklyke, and thairthrow to mak Occaſioun of Weir, contrare the Myndis of the Quene and Counſalis of baith the Realmes. And thairfore to perſwaid the Quene and Counſale to direct Commiſſioneris, twa, thre or four of *Inglandiſmen* to meit ane lyk Nowmer Commiſſioneris for *Scotlande*, at convenyent Day and Place, als ſchortlie and haſtilie as he may gudlie upoun the Bordouris, for redreſſing of ſic Attemptatis, ſtanchying of Malefactouris, and ordouring of the Bordouris, Manteinance of the Peax and Quiet of the Liegis of baith the Realmes: And gif this be refuſit, that the Ambaſſadour mak the King Advertiſment thairof.

Item, In cais it be anſwerit to the Ambaſſadour of *France* be the Counſale of *Inglande*, That this Fiſching of *Halywell* on *Twead* hes bene in all tymes of Peax fiſcheit be the Capitanes of *Norhame*, becaus it lyis neir the Wall of the Caſtell, and that my Lord *Hume* gat bot allanerlie in tyme of Peax ane Dewtie of Sylver payit to him thairfore be the Capitane of *Norhame*, in Name of Maill or Ferme allanerlie; In that Cais the Heralde foreſaid ſall informe the Ambaſſadour, that the Lordis of *Hume* be thairſelfis and thair Servandis *Scottiſmen* in all tymes of Peax bypaſt, fiſcheit and occupeit that Fiſching of *Halywell* als neir the Wall of *Norhame* as thai do now, and brocht the Fiſche thairof daylie and continuallie away in *Scotlande*, but ony Stop or Truble of *Ingliſchemen*; and that the ſamyn was never ſet to the Capitane of *Norhame*, bot allanerlie at ane tyme be the Lord *Hume* that laſt deceiſſit, for the Space of ane Zeir, for Payment of ane certane Sowme of Money: Quhilk Aſſedatioun wes lyk as all ſik Aſſedatiounis war, and is unlefull and forbyddin be the Lawis of this Realme, that ony *Scottiſmen* ſall ſet ony of the Quenis Dominionis or Poſſeſſionis to ane *Ingliſcheman*, or ony *Ingliſcheman* ſet ony of the Quene of *Inglandis* Dominionis to ane *Scottiſcheman*; and ſwa upoun ane Aſſedatioun of ane Zeir Tak maid in maner foreſaid, but Conſent or Knawlege of the Authorite or Counſale of *Scotlande*, unlefullie be ane private Perſoun, can never the Quene of *Inglande*, nor her Capitanes of *Norhame-Caſtell*, pretend Richt within the Quene our Soverane Ladyis Poſſeſſionis and Dominionis.

Item, In cais it be allegit be the Counſale of *Inglande* to the Ambaſſadour, That the Gudis takin be the *Ingliſchemen* furt of the Landis of *Zettem* and *Kirk-Zettem* Townes, war juſtlie takin upoun the Frontiers, becaus thai war paſturit and kepit within the Merchis of *Inglande*, and thairfore eſchaet and juſtlie takin away be Mr. *Gray* foirſaid off the ſeverall Ground of *Inglande*; In that Cais to informe the Ambaſſadour, that ſupponand thai had bene fund paſturand upoun the ſeverall Ground of *Inglande* (as thai war nocht indeid, bot takin off the ſeverall Ground of *Scotlande*) zit he micht on nawayis eſchaetit thame, nor haldin thame langer, be the Lawes or Cuſtomes of the Bordouris, bot quhill thai had payit ane Grott for the Heid of ilk Peax for thair Poundlaw.

Item, Gif it happenis to be allegit to the Ambaſſadour, That the *Scottiſmen* war ſlane be the Capitane of *Warke* in his Defenſe, and thair Perſute within the ſeverall Ground of *Inglande*; The Heralde ſall informe him, That thai war ſlane, and tane up deid upoun the ſeverall Ground of *Scotlande*, nowthir pleyable nor debatable, ane greit way within the peceable Merche of *Scotlande*, in Defenſe of thameſelfis and thair Cornis, quhen the ſaid Capitane and his Cumpany war etand with thair Horſs.

Item, In cais the Quene and Counſale of *Inglande* condiſcend to aggre to ſend Commiſſioneris to the Bordouris, deſyre the Ambaſſadour to knaw the Namis of thame ſall cum for the Pairt of *Inglande*, and caus him name for this Realme Men of ſic Eſtait as thai name; that is to ſay for Biſchopis, *Murray*, *Dumblane*, *Orknay*; for Erlis, *Marſchell*, *Rothes* and *Caſſellis*; Knychtis, Sr *Williame Hammiltoun* of *Sanquhair*, *Jhone Maxwell* of *Tarreglis*, *Matelande* of *Lethyngtoun*, *Andro Jhoneſtoun* of *Elphynſtoun*, *Robert Carnegie* of *Kinnarde*, Maiſter *Jhone Ballenden* of *Auchtnowle*; Maiſter *James Macgill* of *Balgawys*, Maiſter *David Borthwick* of *Lochhill*, ſwa that ſa mony of thir Perſonis above-wryttin ſall convene and meit with ſa mony as thai ſall caus come down for the Part of *Inglande*, of ſemblabill Eſtait.

N.B. *The Record being deficient, this is gathered from* Haddington'*s Collections.*

12. *Aprile* 1554.

Proclamation of the Quene Douarier Regent.

2. *June* 1554.

Ordinance that the Erle of *Huntlie* raiſe an Armie of the Quenis Liegis fra the Water of *Die* North——and the Erle of *Argyle* raiſe an Armie of the Liegis convenient and habill within the Boundis of——be Sea and Land; to convene upon the——Day of——to pas with Fyre and Sword, to the utter Exterminion of the *Clanranald*, *Donald Gorme*, *Macloyde* of the *Lewis*, and thair Complices, that ſendis not and enteris thair Pledges as thai ar chairged.

11. *October* 1554.

The Erle of *Huntlie* being called before the Quene Regent and Counſall, to give Account of his Lieutenendrie accepted be him; and he compeirand, efter lang Reſſoning, and divers Witneſſes and Probation reſſavit, decerned that he had not uſed his Commiſſion according to his Acceptation and Dewtie, but had failzied thairin, and thairfore wes ordanit to be puneiſſed at the Quenis Pleſſour.

22. *January* 1554.

Ane gret Sederunt of Biſchoppis, Erlis, Abbotis, Lordis, calling thamſelffis the Lordis of ſecreit Counſall, concludand that ane Forth be bigged beſyde *Kelſo*; For bigging quhairof, ordanis that ane Taxt of 20000 *Lib.* be raiſed, to be upliftit of the Kirkis temporall Eſtait, to wit, 10000 *Lib.* of the ſpirituall Eſtait, and 10000 *Lib.* of the Barronis, Landit-men temporall Eſtait, and Bourrowis, thairof to be payed be the Barronis 6666 *Lib.* 13 *ſh.* 4 *d.* and be the Bourrowis 3333 *Lib.* 6 *ſh.* 8 *d.* every Pund Land payand 6 *ſh.* 8 *d.* except the Quenis Properte and Landis pertening to the Kirk; and that Letteris be direct to Sheriffis, Stewartis and Bailzies, and thair Deputtis, chargeing thame within the Boundis of thair Office, that thay with all Diligence raiſe the ſaid Sowme of 6 *ſh.* 8 *d.* of everie Pund Land of auld Extent within the Boundis of thair Offices, and inbring the ſame to the Collectoris depute to reſſave the ſame at the Termes following, undir the Pane of Rebellion; and gif thai failzie, to denunce: And for the Relief of the ſaidis Sheriffis, *&c.* ordanis ſiclyk Letteris to be gevin at thair Inſtance upon the Erlis, Lordis, Baronnis and Frehaldaris within thair Boundis, chargeing thame to mak Payment to the ſaidis Sheriffis, *&c.* of the ſaidis Sowme of 6. *ſh.* 8 *d.* for everie Pund Land of auld Extent perteining to thame, within ten Dayis eftir the Charge, undir the Payne of Rebellion; and that ſiklik Letteris be gevin for Relief of the ſaidis Erlis, Lordis, *&c.* againſt thair Subvaſſallis, Ladyis Tearceris, conjunct Fiaris and Liferenteris, to contribute with the Proprietaris *pro rata*, and to mak Payment to the ſaidis Proprietaris for thair Relief. And whair Lordis hes Landis in Sheriffdomes whair thai dwell not, that Letteris be direct to poynd the reddieſt Gudis of thair Tennentis being upon the ſaid Land within the Sheriffdome, for the Taxt of the ſaidis Landis; whilk Poynding ſalbe allowed to the Tennent in Payment of thair Maillis and Dewties of the Terme following.

23. *June* 1555.

Proclamation for repreſſing the Weſt Bordouris, chargeing the Landit-men of the Sheriffdomes and Bailzieries of *Lanerk*, *Renfrow*, *Kyle*, *Carrik*, *Cunninghame*, *Wigton* and *Kirkcudbright*, weill bodin in feir of Weir, with thair ſubſtantious Houſhaldis, meit the Quene and hir Commiſſionaris at *Dumfries* upon the xx Day of *Julij*, with xx Dayis Victuall and Furniſching eftir thair cumming to the Towne of *Dumfries*, undir Pane of Tinſell of Lyſe, Land and Gudis.

27. *June* 1555.

Commiſſioun to the Erlis of *Argile* and *Atholl* upon the Ilis.

Commiſſioun to the Erle of *Cathnes*.

Articlis offered be *Macloyd* of the *Lewis* for his Obedience and Redreſs of Wrangis, and the Erle of *Argile* as Cautioner for him.

2. *Maij* 1556.

THe Lordis of Articlis, for bettir uplifting of the preſent Taxation and in tyme cumming, hes thocht expedient that the Taxt Rollis of all Landis within the Realme, als weill Landis perteinand to the Crowne, as ſpirituall and temporall Mennis Landis, be juſtlie retoured, what thai extend to of auld Extent of everie Sheriffdome, and to be inbrocht and delivered to the Theſaurer; and ſiklik the Names of Friehalderis and Feuaris, Tennentis and Parochinaris of everie Parochin, as weill of Craftiſmen as utheris, and Cottaris Inhabitantis of this Realme, be put in Roll and Writ be the Sheriffis of everie Schire; and certane Commiſſaris to be nominat thairto, and be the Deanis, Rurall Viccaris, Curattis, and Paroche-Clerkis of ilk Paroche and Dioce of this Realme, togidder with the Qualite and Habilitie of everie Manis Perſon, and Quantitie of thair Subſtance and Guidis movabill and immovabill, ilk Man effeirand to his Eſtait; ſwa that the haill Number of the Pund Landis of this Realme, the haill Number of the Barronis and Friehalderis, the haill Number of Parochinaris, Tennentis, Craftiſmen, Cottaris and utheris, may be underſtand; the Qualite of thair Perſonis and Quantite of thair Gudis and Landis may be knawn and put in Roll: And for Tryell and performing of the Premiſſis, that Letteris be direct to everie Sheriff, Stewart, Bailzie, Proveſt, Aldermen and Bailzies of Burrowis within thair awn Juriſdiction, to command and charge the Commiſſaris to be named to convene with thame at the heid Burgh of the Schire, and appoynt whar thai will begin, and require the Ordinar to caus the Deanis Rurall of everie Juriſdiction, the Parſon or Vicar of ilk Parochen, the Paroche-Clerk or his Depute, with thair Paroche-buke and Clerk-buke, convene and meit with the ſaid Sheriffis and Bailzies, with the Commiſſioner foreſaid, and to ſummond four, five, ſix, ſeven or mae of everie Parochine to convene at thair Paroch-Kirk att the Dayis appoyntit; and being convened, that diligent Inquiſition be tane of the Number of all Friehalderis, Feuaris, Tennentis, Cottaris, Craftiſmen, and all utheris Inhabitantis of everie Parochine, the Qualite and Habilite of thair Perſonis, Quantite of thair Subſtance and Gudis movabill and immovabill, what Landis thai have within the Parochine in Heretage, Feu, Takkis or Mailling for Maill or Ferme paying, or be what Craft and Induſtrie, or utherwayis thay leive, and roll and put the ſame with everie Manis Name in Writ, and inbring and delyver the ſaidis Rollis to the Quenis Theſaurer betwix and *Zule* nixtocum, undir the Payne of Diſobedience.

25. *October* 1557.

A Diſcharge of the Dukes Office of Lieutennendrie and Ratification of his proceeding thairin, and of the Act maid at *Maxwell-heuch* be Adviſe of the Nobilite thair preſent: Ordaining the Armie to be brocht bak, and the Siege of the Caſtell of *Warke* to be left. ☞ *This Act refers to* p. 72 *of the Hiſtory.*

14. *December* 1557.
Ane Taxation of 15000 *Lib.* for Direction of Ambaſſadouris to the contracting of the Quene in Marriage with the Dolfin; Diſtribution thairof, and maner of ingaddering of the ſame.

Beſides what has been ſaid *p.* 18 of this Hiſtory, concerning the Meſſage by King *Henry* VIII. of *England* to his Nephew King *James* V. of *Scotland*; ſuch Readers as have Opportunity will ſee in Mr. *Strype*'s Annals, *Vol.* 1. *Appendix p.* 115, an original Paper under the Name of *an Ambaſſiate or Declaration of King* Henry VIII. *to* James V. *King of* Scots, *concerning the Supremacy*, &c. in which that King labours to perſwade his Nephew to vindicate his own Authority from the Encroachments of *Rome*. And this Declaration is made by *William Barlow* Biſhop Elect of St. *Aſaph*, and *Thomas Holcroft* afterwards Knight and Knight-Marſhal, in the Year 1535.

Item, Beſides the *Diſpatch* mentioned *p.* 19 of our Hiſtory, the King had obtained from the Pope a new *Indult* for the Enjoyment of one Year's Rent of Eccleſiaſtical Benefices, to be counted from the Day of the Deceaſe of the laſt Prelate, *&c.* The Tenor of which *Indult*, for the ſake of the Curious, I have thought might be here ſubjoined, not only for the Illuſtration of this particular Part of our *Scottiſh* Hiſtory, but as it likewiſe narrates ſome former Indults and Privileges granted to our *Scottiſh* Kings; a Matter which the generality of People ſeem to know but little about.

Bulla Indulti pro ſereniſſimo D. Jacobo *Scotorum Rege, ad percipiendum fructus Eccleſiarum & Monaſteriorum omnium ad unum annum a die cujuſlibet illorum vacationis computandum, ut infra,* 1534.

Pius Epiſcopus, ſervus ſervorum Dei, cariſſimo in Chriſto filio Jacobo Scotorum Regi illuſtri, ſalutem & Apoſtolicam benedictionem: Fidei conſtantia & ſincera devotio, quibus in noſtro & Apoſtolice ſedis conſpectu clarere dinoſceris, promerentur ut illa tibi favorabiliter concedamus, per que incumbentia tibi onera, pro ſubditorum tuorum benigna gubernatione, facilius valeas perferre. Sane pro parte tua nobis nuper exhibita petitio continebat, quod licet alias felicis recordationis Innocentius VIII. quod occurrente vacatione Eccleſiarum & Monaſteriorum Regni Scotie, quorum ſingulorum fructus, redditus & proventus ducentorum Florenorum auri, ſecundum communem extimationem, valorem annuum tranſcenderent, in providendo poſt vacationes hujuſmodi ad minus per octo menſes ſuperſederi, & clare memorie Jacobi Scotorum Regis, tunc in humanis agentis, ac ſucceſſorum ſuorum Scotorum Regum, interim deſuper littere & humiles ſupplicationes, durante dicto tempore octo menſium, expectari deberent, ut illis intellectis ſalubrius per ſedem Apoſtolicam ad proviſiones hujuſmodi procedi poſſet, per quaſdam voluerit & Leo X. Roman. Pontifices predeceſſores noſtri, motu proprio literas Innocentii predeceſſoris hujuſmodi, per ſuas litteras approbaverit & innovaverit, prout in ſingulis litteris predictis dicitur plenius contineri: & tui predeceſſores Scotorum Reges qui pro tempore fuerunt, per tantum tempus, cujus contrarii memoria hominum non exiſtit, conſueverint; tuque prefati Jacobi Regis natus & ſucceſſor conſueveris fructus, redditus, & proventus quarumcunque Eccleſiarum etiam Metrapolitan. & Primacialium, ac quorumvis ordinum Monaſteriorum in dicto Regno conſiſtentium, & quovis modo pro tempore vacantium, ac ad nominationem veſtram, ex privilegio Apoſtolico ſpectantium, quouſque Eccleſiis & Monaſteriis hujuſmodi de perſonis idoneis, per eundem Regem nominandis, per nos & ſedem predictam provideatur percipere & levare, ac perceptos & levatos, quouſque proviſi Eccleſiarum & Monaſteriorum hujuſmodi poſſeſſionem aſſecuti fuerint,

rint, in veſtram & Regni ejuſdem tuitionem ac alios honeſtos uſus convertere. Nichilominus tu cupis, pro majori conſcientie tue dilucidatione, tibi per nos deſuper licentiam impartiri. Quare pro parte tua nobis fuit humiliter ſupplicatum, ut conſcientie tue, paci & quieti in premiſſis opportune providere, de benignitate Apoſtolica dignaremur. Nos igitur volentes te, quem ſpeciali dilectionis affectu ex viſceribus caritatis proſequimur, favore proſequi benivolo, hujuſmodi ſupplicationibus inclinati, Majeſtati tue, ut quoad vixeris, fructus, redditus, proventus, jura & emolumenta temporalia quecunque quarumlibet Eccleſiarum, etiam Primacialium & Metropolitan. & quorumvis etiam Cluniacen. Ciſtercien, Premonſtraten. ordinum Monaſteriorum, & aliorum quorumcunque dicti Regni, pro tempore quomodolibet vacantium, ad que jus nominandi perſonas idoneas tibi per ſedem eandem conceſſum eſt, ad annum integrum, duntaxat a die illorum vacationis computandum, & non ultra, exigere, percipere, & levare, ac in tuos & Regni tui hujuſmodi uſus honeſtos, abſque alicujus cenſure ſeu pene incurſu, aut inhabilitatis nota, ſeu conſcientie ſcrupulo, convertere libere & licite valeas, auctoritate Apoſtolica tenore preſentium concedimus & indulgemus. Quocirca, venerabilibus Fratribus noſtris, Archiepiſcopo Glaſguen. & Candide Caſe ac Cathenen. Epiſcopis, per eaſdem preſentes committimus & mandamus, quatinus ipſi, vel duo aut unus eorum, per ſe, vel alium ſeu alios, tibi in premiſſis efficacis defenſionis preſidio aſſiſtentes, faciant auctoritate noſtra te Indulto hujuſmodi pacifice gaudere; non permittentes te deſuper per quoſcunque, contra preſentium tenorem, quomodolibet impediri ſeu moleſtari; contradictores quoſlibet & rebelles per cenſuras & penas Eccleſiaſticas, appellatione poſtpoſita, compeſcendo, ac cenſuras & penas ipſas, etiam iteratis vicibus, aggravando; invocato etiam ad hoc ſi opus fuerit auxilio brachii ſecularis: non obſtantibus quibuſvis Apoſtolicis, ac in Provincialibus & Synodalibus Conciliis, editis generalibus vel ſpecialibus, conſtitutionibus & ordinationibus, nec non Eccleſiarum, Monaſteriorum & ordinum predictorum juramento, confirmatione Apoſtolica, vel quavis firmitate alia roboratis, ſtatutis & conſuetudinibus ac quibuſvis privilegiis, exemptionibus & Indultis Apoſtolicis eiſdem Eccleſiis, Monaſteriis & ordinibus, ac illorum Prelatis, Conventibus, & perſonis, ſub quibuſcunque tenoribus & formis, ac cum quibuſvis etiam derogatoriarum derogatoriis, aliiſque efficacioribus & inſolitis clauſulis irritantibuſque, & aliis decretis, etiam motu proprio, & ex certa ſcientia, ac quavis conſideratione, & ex quibuſvis cauſis, per quoſcunque Roman. Pontifices predeceſſores noſtros & ſedem predictam, etiam iteratis vicibus, in genere vel in ſpecie conceſſis, approbatis & innovatis. Quibus omnibus etiamſi de illis eorumque totis tenoribus ſpecialis, ſpecifica, individua & expreſſa, ac de verbo ad verbum, non autem per clauſulas generales idem importantes, mentio, ſeu quevis alia expreſſio habenda, aut aliqua exquiſita forma ad hoc ſervanda foret, tenores hujuſmodi ac formas & dat. nec non decreta in illis appoſita, ac ſi de verbo ad verbum nichil penitus omiſſo, & forma in illis tradita obſervata inſerti forent preſentibus, pro ſufficienter expreſſis habentes, illis alias in ſuo robore permanſuris hac vice duntaxat ſpecialiter & expreſſe derogamus contrariis quibuſcunque: Aut ſi aliquibus, communiter vel diviſim, ab eadem ſit ſede indultum, quod interdici, ſuſpendi vel excommunicari non poſſint per literas Apoſtolicas non facientes plenam & expreſſam, ac de verbo ad verbum, de Indulto hujuſmodi mentionem. Nulli ergo omnino hominum liceat hanc paginam noſtrorum conceſſionis, Indulti, mandati & derogationis infringere, vel ei auſu temerario contraire. Si quis autem hoc attemptare preſumpſerit, indignationem omnipotentis Dei, ac beatorum Petri & Pauli Apoſtolorum ejus, ſe noverit incurſurum. Dat. Rome apud Sanctum Petrum, Anno Incarnationis Dominice milleſimo quingenteſimo trigeſimo quarto, Non. Martii, Pontificatus noſtri anno primo.

L. DE TORRES (a).

(a) Beſides the Secretary *De Torres*, there are about eight other Subſcriptions which we cannot diſtinctly read.

Item, p. 19. As a ſure Authority that the Clergy had made a large Donative to the King in the Year 1541, ſee *Epiſtolæ Regum Scotiæ, Vol.* 2. *p.* 109.

Item, p. 23. That the Inſtitution of the Court of Seſſion may be moſt fully and ſurely aſcertained, I reckon the Curious may receive with Pleaſure the two following authentick Bulls of the Popes.

CLEMENS Epiſcopus ſervus ſervorum Dei, ad perpetuam rei memoriam. Preclara merita, quibus chariſſimus in Chriſto filius noſter Jacobus Scotorum Rex illuſtris, in noſtro & Apoſtolice ſedis conſpectu, fide conſtantiſſima continuo reſplendet, nos excitant, & quodammodo ejus de fide, predictis meritis id exigentibus, nos impellunt, ut illa ſibi ejuſque poſteris regalis faſtigii celſitudine fulgentibus favorabiliter concedamus, per que juſtitia in eo, equa lance omnibus mature miniſtrata, Regnum ipſum in quietis & tranquillitatis amenitate permaneat. Sane cum, ſicut dilectus filius nobilis vir Johannes Albanie Dux, noſter ſecundum carnem affinis, dicti Jacobi Regis nomine nobis expoſuit; prefatus Rex benigno ſubditorum ſuorum regimine, & ut in Regno ſuo juſtitia mature & ſecurius miniſtretur, cupiat in ipſo Regno unum Collegium proborum & literatorum virorum, per ipſum Jacobum Regem & ſucceſſores ſuos prefatos eligendorum, quorum media pars in dignitate Eccleſiaſtica conſtituta exiſtat, qui de cauſis ſuorum Regnicolarum cognoſcant, inſtitui: quia tamen id ſine magnis expenſis fieri nequit, & ad hujuſmodi ſuſtinendas expenſas facultates ipſius Regis, qui quamplurima alia onera pro dicti Regni regimine ſubire cogitur, non parum extimate minus ſuppetant; dictus Johannes Dux, dicti Jacobi nomine, nobis humiliter ſupplicavit, ut a Prelatis Regni ſui, quorum non minus quam aliorum Regnicolarum intereſt, ut ipſum Regnum in quiete, tranquillitate & amenitate permaneat, juſtitiaque ibi vigeat, & mature miniſtretur; aliquod eidem Regni ſubſidium miniſtrari, & procurari de benignitate Apoſtolica dignaremur. Nos igitur Regnum predict. in tranquillitate, amenitate & juſtitia permanere, & perpetua quiete frui exoptantes, ac equum reputantes, ut Prelati ejuſdem Regni ad expenſarum hujuſmodi ſupportationem ſua ſuffragia & ſubſidia impertiantur; hujuſmodi ſupplicationibus inclinati, auctoritate Apoſtolica tenore preſentium, perpetuo ſtatuimus & ordinamus, quod de cetero, quamdiu tamen, dict. Jacobus Rex & ejus ſucceſſores in noſtra & ſedis Apoſtolice fide, obedientia & devotione permanſerint, univerſi quarumvis Metropolitan. & aliarum Cathedralium Eccleſiarum, ſecularium & regularium, Archiepiſcopi, etiam Primates & Legati nati, ac Epiſcopi, necnon quorumvis ordinum Monaſteriorum Abbates, & Prioratuum conventualium ejuſd. Regni Priores, ſeu Eccleſiarum, Monaſteriorum & Prioratuum eorund. perpetui vel temporales adminiſtratores & commendatarii pro tempore exiſtentes, & alii ipſius Regni Prelati etiam exempti, ex fructibus, redditibus & proventibus Eccleſiarum, Monaſteriorum & Prioratuum, eidem Jacobo Regi & ſucceſſoribus ſuis Scotorum Regibus pro tempore exiſten. pro inſtitutione & manutentione unius Collegii proborum & literatorum virorum, quorum media pars in dignitate Eccleſiaſtica conſtituta omino eſſe debeat, per Jacobum Regem & ſucceſſores prefatos alias rite pro tempore eligendorum, qui de cauſis Regnicolarum predict. cognoſcant, illaſque audiant, decident & fine debito terminent, ac eis juſtitiam miniſtrent: per eund. Jacobum Regem de novo in dicto Regno inſtituen. perpetuo annis ſingulis realiter & cum effect. uſque ad ſummam decem millium Ducatorum auri de Camera, juxta quantitatem fructuum, reddituum & proventuum Eccleſiarum, Monaſteriorum, & Prioratuum eorundem, per eos diſtribuen. & colligen. ſolvere debeant & teneantur. Quocirca venerabilibus fratribus noſtris Archiepiſcopo Glaſguen. & Moravien. ac Candide Caſe Epiſcopis per Apoſtolica ſcripta mandamus, quatinus ipſi, aut duo aut unus eorum, per ſe aut alium ſeu alios, Jacobo Regi & ſucceſſoribus prefatis, in premiſſis efficacis defenſionis preſidio aſſiſtentes, faciant auctoritate noſtra, per Prelatos predict. uſque ad dictam ſummam decem millium Ducatorum hujuſmodi, Jacobo Regi & ſucceſſoribus ſuis prefatis, annis ſingulis, juxta preſentium tenorem, integre perſolvi; contradictores

dictores quoſlibet & rebelles, per penas & cenſuras Eccleſiaſticas, & alia juris remedia, appellatione poſtpoſita, compeſcend. non obſtan. conſtitutionibus & ordinationibus Apoſtolicis, ac Eccleſiarum, Monaſteriorum & Prioratuum predict. etiam juramento, confirmatione Apoſtolica, vel quavis firmitate alia roboratis, ſtatutis & conſuetudinibus, nec non quibuſvis exemptionibus, immunitatibus, privilegiis, indultis & literis Apoſtolicis, etiam Primatibus & Legatis natis, Epiſcopis, Abbatibus, Prioribus, Adminiſtratoribus, Commendatariis & aliis Prelatis, ſub quibuſcunque tenoribus & formis, ac cum quibuſvis clauſulis & decretis, etiam motu & ſcientia ſimilibus conceſſis & approbatis. Quibus omnibus tenores illorum, ac ſi de verbo ad verbum inſererentur preſentibus, pro ſufficienter expreſſis habentes, illis alias in ſuo robore permanſuris, hac vice duntaxat ſpecialiter & expreſſe derogamus; & eis adverſus premiſſ. nullatenus ſuffragari volumus; ceteriſque contrariis quibuſcunque: Aut ſi Archiepiſcopis, etiam Primatibus & Legatis natis, Epiſcopis, Abbatibus, Prioribus, Adminiſtratoribus, Commendatariis, & aliis Prelatis prefatis, vel quibuſvis aliis, communiter vel diviſim, ab eadem ſit ſede indultum, quod interdici, ſuſpendi & excommunicari non poſſint, per Literas Apoſtolicas, non facientes plenam ac de verbo ad verbum de Indulto hujuſmodi mentionem.

Nulli ergo omnino hominum liceat hanc paginam noſtre Inſtitutionis, Conceſſionis, Indulti, mandati & derogationis infringere, vel ei auſu temerario contraire. Si quis autem hoc attemptare preſumpſerit, indignationem omnipotentis Dei, ac beatorum Petri & Pauli Apoſtolorum ejus, ſe noverit incurſurum. Dat. Rome apud Sanctum Petrum, anno Incarnationis Dominice 1531, Pontificatus noſtri anno octavo.

Proceſſus ſuper Bulla confirmationis Collegii Juſtitie ſereniſſimi Domini Scotorum Regis ſemper illuſtriſſimi.

UNiverſis & ſingulis, reverendiſſimis ac reverendis in Chriſto Patribus & Dominis, Dominis, Dei & Apoſtolice ſedis gratia quarumvis Metropolitan. & aliarum Cathedralium Eccleſiarum, ſecularium & regularium, Regni Scotiæ, Archiepiſcopis, etiam Primatibus & Legatis natis, ac Epiſcopis, eorumque & cujuſlibet eorum vicariis & officialibus, generalibus ac ſubdelegatis, & commiſſariis, nunc & pro tempore exiſtentibus; necnon quorumvis ordinum Monaſteriorum Abbatibus, ac Prioratuum conventualium Prioribus, ſeu Eccleſiarum, Monaſteriorum & Prioratuum eorundem perpetuis vel temporalibus adminiſtratoribus & commendatariis nunc & pro tempore exiſtentibus, & aliis quibuſcunque dicti Regni Scotie Prelatis, etiam exemptis, omnibuſque aliis & ſingulis quorum intereſt, intererit aut intereſſe poterit, quoſque infraſcript. tangit negotium ſeu tangere poterit quomodolibet in futurum, communiter vel diviſim, quibuſcunque nominibus cenſeantur, aut quacunque perfulgeant dignitate, HIERONIMUS de Ghimitiis (a) eadem gratia Epiſcopus Wigornien. curie cauſarum Camere Apoſtolice generalis auditor, judex & executor ad infraſcripta, una cum quibuſdam aliis noſtris in hac parte Collegis; cum illa clauſula Quatinus ipſi vel tres, aut duo, ſeu unus eorum, per ſe vel alium, ſeu alios, &c. a ſede Apoſtolica ſpecialiter deputatus, ſalutem in Domino; & noſtris hujuſmodi ymmo verius Apoſtolicis, firmiter obedire mandatis. Literas ſanctiſſimi in Chriſto Patris & Domini noſtri, Domini Pauli divina providentia Pape tertii, ejus vera Bulla plumbea, cum filis ſericis rubei croceique coloris more Roman. curie impendentes, bullatas, ſanas ſiquidem & integras, non vitiatas, non cancellatas, neque in aliqua ſui parte ſuſpectas, ſed omni prorſus vitio & ſuſpicione carentes, ut in eis prima facie apparebat; nobis, pro parte ſereniſſimi ac illuſtriſſimi Principis & Domini, Domini Jacobi Scotorum Regis illuſtris principalis,

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(a) In the *Epiſtolæ Regum Scotiæ*, *Vol.* 2. towards the End of the Reign of this King *James* V. there is much Mention made of the Cardinal *Hieronymus de Ghymiciis*; who we are aſſured, *p.* 96, *&c.* was Vice-Protector of the *Scottiſh* Nation in the Abſence of *Rodulphus Cardinalis Carpenſis*. Any of the Cardinals comes to get the Denomination of *Protector*, according as he takes upon him the Charge of the Affairs of a Nation at the Inſtances of the Prince.

in eiſdem Literis Apoſtolicis principaliter nominati, coram Notario publico Archivii Roman. curie ſcriptore, & teſtibus infraſcriptis, preſentatas, nos, cum ea qua decuit reverentia, noveritis recepiſſe, hujuſmodi ſub tenore: PAULUS Epiſcopus ſervus ſervorum Dei, ad perpetuam rei memoriam. Preclara cariſſimi in Chriſto filii noſtri Jacobi Scotorum Regis illuſtris merita, quibus ipſe, more clariſſimorum Regum Scotorum, progenitorum ſuorum, in noſtro & Apoſtolice ſedis conſpectu clarere dinoſcitur, non indigne merentur, ut petitionibus ſuis, preſertim juſticie cultum ac ſubditorum ſuorum benignam gubernationem, ac tranquillum ſtatum concernentibus, quantum cum Deo poſſumus, favorabiliter annuamus: ac ea que per eum propterea provide geſta ſunt, ut illibata perſiſtant Apoſtolici muniminis ſoliditate, prompta benevolentia roboremus: Dudum cum prefatus Jacobus Rex felicis memorie Clementi Pape ſeptimo predeceſſori noſtro exponi feciſſet, ſe ſummopere cupere, Regnum ſuum Scotie in quietis & tranquillitatis amenitate perpetuo permanere, ac omnibus illius Regnicolis juſticiam equa lance liberius miniſtrari: prefatus Clemens predeceſſor, eodem Jacobo Rege id ab ipſo predeceſſore inſtanter petente, ac deſuper humiliter ſupplicante, quod ex tunc de cetero perpetuis futuris temporibus, univerſi & ſinguli quarumvis Metropolitanarum & aliarum Cathedralium Eccleſiarum, ſecularium & regularium dicti Regni, Archiepiſcopi, etiam Primates & Legati nati, ac Epiſcopi, nec non quorumvis ordinum Monaſteriorum Abbates, ac Prioratuum conventualium Priores, ſeu Eccleſiarum Monaſteriorum & Prioratuum eorundem perpetui vel temporales adminiſtratores & commendatarii pro tempore exiſtentes, & alii ipſius Regni Prelati, etiam exempti, ex fructibus, redditibus & proventibus Eccleſiarum, Monaſteriorum & Prioratuum hujuſmodi, pro inſtitutione & manutentione unius Collegii proborum & literatorum virorum, quorum media pars in dignitate Eccleſiaſtica conſtituta omnino eſſe deberet, per Jacobum Regem, & ſucceſſores ſuos prefatos, alias rite pro tempore elegendorum, qui de cauſis civilibus & prophanis Regnicolarum predictorum cognoſcerent, illaſque audirent, deciderent & fine debito terminarent, ac eis juſtitiam miniſtrarent, per eundem Jacobum Regem de novo in dicto Regno perpetuo inſtituendi annis ſingulis realiter & cum effectu, uſque ad ſummam decem millium Ducatorum auri de Camera, juxta quantitatem fructuum, reddituum & proventuum Eccleſiarum, Monaſteriorum, & Prioratuum eorundem, diſtribuendorum & colligendorum, ſolvere deberent & tenerentur; per ſuas ſub plumbo confectas literas ſtatuit & ordinavit, prout in eiſdem literis plenius continetur. Cum autem, ſicut prefatus Jacobus Rex nobis, qui, dicto predeceſſore, ſicut Domino placuit, ſublato de medio, divina favente clementia, ad ſummum Apoſtolatus apicem aſſumpti fuimus, nuper exponi fecit ipſe hujuſmodi Collegium Juſtitie proborum & literatorum virorum, unius Preſidentis, Prelati ſemper Eccleſiaſtici, ac quatuordecim aliarum perſonarum, quarum media pars in dignitate Eccleſiaſtica conſtituta ſemper exiſtat, per eundem Jacobum & pro tempore exiſtentem Scotorum Regem electorum & eligendorum, qui de dictis cauſis Regnicolarum predictorum, ut prefertur, cognoſcant, illaſque audiant, decidant, & fine debito terminent in ejus ſupremo Parliamento, de concilio & aſſenſſu trium ſtatuum dicti Regni, ſua regia auctoritate inſtituerit: & erga Archiepiſcopos, Epiſcopos, Abbates, Priores, Adminiſtratores, Commendatarios & alios Prelatos predictos, prout ejus predeceſſores facere conſueverunt, ſe liberalem & munificum reddere volens, ſumma decem millium Ducatorum predicta, ad mille & quadringentas libras uſualis monete Regni predicti, trecentas quinquaginta libras ſterlingorum vel circa conſtituentes, reducta, cum eiſdem Archiepiſcopis, Epiſcopis, Abbatibus, Prioribus, Adminiſtratoribus, Commendatariis & aliis Prelatis etiam exemptis, predictis convenerit, quod pro hujuſmodi Collegii Juſticie per eundem Jacobum Regem de novo inſtituti, annua & perpetua ſuſtentatione & manutentione, per Archiepiſcopos, Epiſcopos, Abbates, Priores, Adminiſtratores, Commendatarios & alios Prelatos predictos, ſolum ſumma predicta mille quadringentarum librarum uſualis monete dicti Regni ſolvi debeat; ipſaque ſumma mille quadringentarum librarum ſic reducta, ex fructibus, redditibus & proventibus beneficiorum Eccleſiaſticorum, ſecularium ac etiam regularium,

rium, ad eorum collationem, proviſionem, preſentationem & quamvis aliam diſpoſitionem, communiter vel diviſim, ſpectantium; aut alias, per eos & eorum ſingulos, Capitulorum, Eccleſiarum & Conventuum, Monaſteriorum & Prioratuum ſuorum, ad id reſpective, expreſſo accedente conſenſu, nominandorum; per dictum Collegium, ac collectorem ab eiſdem pro tempore deputatum, annis ſingulis perpetuis futuris temporibus, levetur & exigatur; ac per immediatos in nominandis beneficiis hujuſmodi futuros ſucceſſores & poſſeſſores, in perpetuum cedentibus, etiam ex cauſa permutationis, vel decedentibus modernis eorundem nominandorum beneficiorum poſſeſſoribus, ſeu illa alias quomodolibet dimittentibus vel amittentibus, & illis quibuſvis modis etiam per privationem ſimul vel ſucceſſive vacantibus, etiam apud ſedem Apoſtolicam, ſeu proviſionibus de illis eiſdem Apoſtolica & alia quavis auctoritate quibuſcunque perſonis faciendis, ex quibuſcunque cauſis nullis & invalidis forſan exiſtentibus, & effectum ſortiri nequeuntibus, ſingulis annis perpetuis futuris temporibus, in locis & terminis in mandatis Archiepiſcoporum, Epiſcoporum, Abbatum, Priorum, Adminiſtratorum, Commendatariorum & Prelatorum predictorum deſuper confectis, expreſſis, & conficiendis, exprimendis, ac ſub cenſuris & penis Eccleſiaſticis etiam privationis beneficiorum predictorum per nos & ſedem Apoſtolicam apponendis, in eventum non ſolutionis ipſius ſumme, ſeu rate ſive partis illius eos contingentis eo ipſo incurrendis, plenarie, & integre perſolvatur: ſeu Collegium prefati, aut collector ab eis pro tempore deputatus, eandem ſummam mille quadringentarum librarum, ut prefertur, reductam ad eorum manus proprias, per ſe vel alium, ſeu alios eorum nomine, propria auctoritate exigant, levent, & percipiant; ac in dicti Preſidentis & aliarum quatuordecim perſonarum Collegii Juſticie hujuſmodi pro tempore exiſten. uſus & utilitatem, per modum diſtributionum quottidianarum, ad ratam reſidentie per eos & eorum quemlibet pro tempore faciende, loco annuarum penſionum, que ab omni juriſdictione ordinaria, ac ob omni decima contributione collecta, exactione ac ſubſidio etiam caritativo, oneribuſque ordinariis & extraordinariis, quavis etiam Apoſtolica auctoritate, etiam regia inſtancia, & ex quibuſvis cauſis, etiam expeditionis contra Turchas & Infideles, ſeu alias quomodolibet pro tempore impoſitis & imponendis, libere, immunes & exempte ſint, convertant; prout in literis patentibus ipſius Regis, & inſtrumentis publicis deſuper confectis, quorum tenores preſentibus pro ſufficienter expreſſis haben. plenius dicitur contineri: Et propterea pro parte Jacobi Regis, ac Archiepiſcoporum, Primatum, Legatorum natorum, Epiſcoporum, Abbatum, Priorum, Adminiſtratorum, Commendatariorum, & aliorum Prelatorum predictorum, nobis humiliter ſupplicatum fuerit, ut inſtitutioni, conceſſioni & conventioni hujuſmodi, pro illarum ſubſiſtentia firmiori, robur Apoſtolice firmitatis adjicere, & alias in premiſſis opportune providere de benignitate Apoſtolica dignaremur: Nos dicti regni proſperum & tranquillum ſtatum paterno zelantes affectu, ac ſperantes ex premiſſis in illo tranquillitatis & pacis dulcedine ſucceſſurum; hujuſmodi ſupplicationibus inclinati, inſtitutionem, conceſſionem & conventionem predictas, ac prout illas concernunt, omnia & ſingula in literis & inſtrumentis predictis contenta, licita & honeſta, ac ſacris canonibus non contraria, rata & grata habentes, illa, auctoritate Apoſtolica tenore preſentium, approbamus ac confirmamus, & plenum effectum ſortiri, & inviolabiliter perpetuo obſervari debere decernimus: Supplentes omnes & ſingulos juris & facti defectus, ſi qui forſan intervenerint in eiſdem. Et nichilominus eidem Collegio pro illius manutentione ultra dictam ſummam mille quadringentarum librarum dicte monete, ut prefertur, reductam, ac inter Archiepiſcopos, Epiſcopos, Abbates, Priores, Adminiſtratores, Commendatarios, & alios Prelatos predictos diſtributam, & alios redditus, proventus & emolumenta quecunque per dictum Jacobum & ſucceſſores ſuos Scotorum Reges pro tempore exiſtentes, ac alios quoſcunque, ipſi Collegio, pro uberiori illius manutentione legitime donata & conceſſa, ac donanda & concedenda, pro tempore, cum aſſignata fuerint: Nec non dicto Rege in hoc conſentiente tot beneficia Eccleſiaſtica, cum cura vel ſine cura, de jure Patronatus ex dotatione vel fundatione ipſius

Regis vel predeceſſorum ſuorum exiſtentia; quorum inſimul fructus, redditus & proventus ducentarum librarum ſterlingorum ſimilium, ſecundum communem extimationem, valorem annuum non excedant, de cetero per obitum cujuſcunque ſeu quorumcunq; illa obtinentis ſeu obtinentium vacatura, cum vacaverint, cum omnibus juribus & pertinentiis ſuis, ita quod liceat Preſidenti & Senatoribus pro tempore exiſtentibus, Collegii hujuſmodi per ſe vel ab eis deputatos collectores unum vel plures, ſeu alios eorum nomine, ſummam ipſam, a dictorum nominandorum beneficiorum immediatis ſucceſſoribus & ſuorum ſucceſſorum ſucceſſoribus prefatis in perpetuum, exigere & levare, ſeu propria auctoritate percipere, ac in dicti Collegii uſus convertere: nec non decedentibus ſimul vel ſucceſſive beneficia hujuſmodi obtinentibus, corporalem poſſeſſionem beneficiorum juriumque & pertinentiarum prædictorum propria auctoritate libere apprehendere & perpetuo retinere, ac illorum fructus, redditus & proventus ſimiliter in dictos uſus & utilitatem convertere, Ordinariorum locorum & collatorum ac poſſeſſorum nominandorum beneficiorum hujuſmodi, ac quorumvis aliorum, licentia ſuper hoc minime requiſita; ſic tamen, quod beneficia hujuſmodi debitis propterea non fraudentur obſequiis, & animarum cura in eis, ſi qua illis immineat, nullatenus negligatur, ſed per probos ydoneos animarum cura exerceatur, & eorum congrue ſupportentur onera conſueta, ex nunc, prout ex tunc, & e contra, auctoritate & tenore predictis perpetuo applicamus & appropriamus, ac unimus, annectimus, & incorporamus. Et inſuper cum juxta inſtitutionem Collegii & conventionem hujuſmodi, Preſidens dicti Collegii ſemper Prelatus Eccleſiaſticus, & quattuordecim perſone predicte Collegium ipſum juſticie conſtituentes, ſimul & continuo reſidere, ac indies juſtitiam Regnicolis predictis miniſtrare ſint aſtricti, ne eos à civitate, oppido aut alio loco, in qua, ſeu quo, eos collegialiter pro tempore reſidere contigerit, ad alia loca quoviſmodo in judicium a quibuſcunque trahantur, Preſidentem & quattuordecim Senatores Collegii hujuſmodi pro tempore exiſtentes, quamdiu actu Senatores extiterint, ac eorum Clericos, Scribas, Notarios & Advocatos pro tempore deſcriptos, & ad actuale exercitium admiſſos, nec non reliquos dicti ſenatus officiales neceſſarios, ſimiliter pro tempore exiſtentes, dum in exercitio hujuſmodi officii verſabuntur, ab omni juriſdictione, ſuperioritate, dominio, imperio, poteſtate, preeminentia, viſitatione & correctione quorumcunque Archiepiſcoporum, etiam Primatum, & Legatorum natorum, ac Epiſcoporum & aliorum Ordinariorum dicti Regni, nunc & pro tempore exiſtentium, & ſuorum Officialium & Commiſſariorum pro tempore quomodolibet deputatorum, auctoritate & tenore ſupradictis, penitus & omnino in perpetuum eximimus & totaliter liberamus, ac ſub beati Petri & ſedis Apoſtolice ac noſtra protectione ſuſcipimus; ita quod Archiepiſcopi, Primates, Legati nati, Epiſcopi, Ordinarii Officiales & Commiſſarii prefati, nullam in eos etiam ratione delicti, contractus domicilii, & rei de qua ageretur, ubicunque committatur delictum, ineatur contractus, aut res ſeu domicilium hujuſmodi conſiſtant, juriſdictionem, dominium vel poteſtatem poſſint quomodolibet exercere. Sed teneantur Preſidens & quatuordecim Senatores pro tempore exiſtentes, & juſtitiam ut premittitur miniſtrantes, eorumque Clerici, Scribe, Notarii & Advocati ac Officiales ſenatus predicti, coram venerabili fratre Candide Caſe & Capelle Regie Strivelingen. Epiſcopo, ac dilectis filiis Abbate Monaſterii beate Marie de Newbottill Sancti Andree Dioceſis, nec non Prepoſito Capelle Regie beate Marie de Rupe, infra ſeu prope civitatem Sancti Andree, de ſe querelantibus, de juſtitia, in illis que ad forum Eccleſiaſticum ſpectant reſpondere; diſtrictius inhibentes eiſdem Archiepiſcopis etiam Primatibus, & Legatis natis, Epiſcopis, Ordinariis, Officialibus & Commiſſariis, ne Preſidentem, Senatores, Clericos, Scribas, Notarios, Advocatos, & reliquos Officiales Collegii hujuſmodi pro tempore exiſtentes, contra exemptionem, liberationem & ſuſceptionem noſtras predictas, per ſe vel alios, directe vel indirecte, quovis queſito colore, moleſtare, inquietare ſeu perturbare quoquo modo preſumant: ac decernentes irritum & inane quicquid ſecus ſcienter vel ignoranter contigerit attemptari. Quocirca, venerabili fratri Vigorinen. curie cauſarum Camere Apoſtolice generali

rali Auditori, & prefatis Candide Caſe & Capelle Regie Epiſcopis, nec non Abbati & Prepoſito, per eaſdem preſentes committimus & mandamus, Quatinus ipſi, vel tres vel duo vel unus eorum, per ſe vel per alium ſeu alios, preſentes literas, & in eis contenta quecunque, ubi & quando opus fuerit, ac quotiens, pro parte Jacobi, & pro tempore exiſtentis Scotorum Regis, nec non Preſidentis & Senatorum Collegii predictorum, ſeu alicujus eorum, fueritis requiſiti; ſolenniter publicantes, eiſque in premiſſis efficacis defenſionis preſidio aſſiſtentes, faciant auctoritate noſtra literas & in eis contenta hujuſmodi firmiter obſervari, ac ſingulos quos ipſe preſentes litere concernunt, illis pacifice gaudere; non permittentes eos deſuper per quoſcunque, contra earundem preſentium tenorem quomodolibet moleſtari; Contradictores quoſlibet & rebelles per cenſuras & penas Eccleſiaſticas, ac etiam pecuniarias eorum arbitrio moderandas, & alia opportuna juris remedia, appellatione poſtpoſita, compeſcendo; Ac legitimis ſuper his habendis ſervatis proceſſibus, cenſuras & penas ipſas iteratis vicibus aggravando, invocato etiam ad hoc, ſi opus fuerit, auxilio brachii ſecularis, non obſtantibus noſtra, per quam dudum inter alia voluimus, quod petentes beneficia Eccleſiaſtica aliis uniri, tenerentur exprimere verum annuum valorem ſecundum extimationem predictam, etiam beneficii cui aliud uniri peteretur, alioquin unio non valeret, & ſemper in unionibus commiſſio fieret ad partes, vocatis quorum intereſſet, ac Lateran. Concilii noviſſime celebrati; Nec non felicis recordationis Innocentii quarti, que incipit *volentes*, ac Bonifacii octavi Pontificum, predeceſſorum noſtrorum, qua cavetur, ne quis extra ſuam civitatem vel Dioceſim, niſi in certis exceptis caſibus, & in illis ultra unam dietam, a fine ſue Dioceſ. ad judicium evocetur; Seu ne judices a ſede prefata deputati extra civitatem vel Dioceſ. in quibus deputati fuerint, contra quoſcunque procedere, aut alii vel aliis vices ſuas committere, quoquomodo preſumant; & de duabus dietis in Concilio generali edita, dummodo ultra tres dietas aliquis auctoritate preſentium non trahatur, ac quibuſvis aliis conſtitutionibus & ordinationibus Apoſtolicis: Nec non Eccleſiarum & Monaſteriorum ac Prioratuum, etiam in quibus beneficia nominanda hujuſmodi forſan extiterint, ac illorum etiam Cluniacen. Ciſtercien. Premonſtraten. & Carthuſian. ordinum, nec non hoſpitalis Sancti Johannis Hieroſolimitan. juramento, confirmatione Apoſtolica, vel quavis firmitate alia roboratis, ſtatutis, & conſuetudinibus, ſtabilimentis, uſibus & naturis, ac quibuſvis privilegiis, exemptionibus, immunitatibus, conſervatoriis, indultis & literis Apoſtolicis illis in genere vel in ſpecie, ſub quibuſcunque tenoribus & formis, ac cum quibuſvis etiam derogatoriarum derogatoriis aliiſque efficacioribus & inſolitis clauſulis, nec non irritantibus, & aliis decretis talibus, quod illis nullatenus, aut non niſi ſub certis modo & forma derogari poſſit etiam motu proprio & ex certa ſcientia, ac quavis etiam regia conſideratione, & ex quibuſvis cauſis per quoſcunque Roman. Pontifices predeceſſores noſtros, ac per nos & ſedem predictam, etiam iteratis vicibus conceſſis, approbatis & innovatis. Quibus omnibus, etiamſi pro illorum ſufficienti derogatione, de illis eorumque totis tenoribus ſpecialis, ſpecifica, individua & expreſſa mentio habenda, aut aliqua alia exquiſita forma ad hoc ſervanda foret, tenores hujuſmodi, ac ſi de verbo ad verbum nichil penitus omiſſo, & forma in illis tradita obſervata inſerti forent, preſentibus pro ſufficienter expreſſis habentes, illis alias in ſuo robore permanſuris, hac vice duntaxat ſpecialiter & expreſſe derogamus, contrariis quibuſcunque aut ſi quibuſvis communiter vel diviſim ab eadem ſit ſede indultum, quod interdici, ſuſpendi vel excommunicari non poſſint, per literas Apoſtolicas non facientes plenam & expreſſam ac de verbo ad verbum de Indulto hujuſmodi mentionem. Volumus autem, quod ſi aliquas parrochiales Eccleſias, vel alia beneficia curata, predicto Collegio in unum preſentium uniri, annecti & incorporari contingat, animarum cura parrochialibus Eccleſiis, ſeu aliis beneficiis ſic unitis, imminens per perpetuos Vicarios, quibus ſufficiens portio ad ſuſtentationem, fructuum, reddituum & proventum parrochialium Eccleſiarum ſeu beneficiorum unitorum hujuſmodi reſervetur, omnino exerceatur & ſuſtentetur. Et quia difficile foret preſentes literas ad ſingula loca ubi opus fuerit deferre, Apoſtolica auctoritate predicta, decernimus, quod tranſumptis earundem preſentium manu Notarii publici ſubſcriptis, & ſigillo alicujus perſone in dignitate Eccleſiaſtica conſtitute munitis, eadem prorſus fides in judicio & extra adhibeatur, que eiſdem preſentibus adhiberetur, ſi forent exhibite vel oſtenſe. Nulli ergo omnino hominum liceat hanc paginam noſtre approbationis, confirmationis, decreti, ſuppletionis, applicationis, appropriationis, unionis, annexionis, incorporationis, exemptionis, liberationis, ſuſceptionis, inhibitionis, mandati, voluntatis & derogationis infringere, vel ei auſu temerario contraire. Si quis autem hoc attemptare preſumpſerit, indignationem omnipotentis Dei, ac beatorum Petri & Pauli Apoſtolorum ejus, ſe noverit incurſurum. Dat. Rome apud Sanctum Petrum anno Incarnationis Dominice milleſimo quingenteſimo trigeſimo quarto, ſexto Idus Martii Pontificatus noſtri anno primo. POST QUARUM QUIDEM literarum Apoſtolicarum preſentationem & receptionem nobis & per nos, ut premittitur, factas, fuimus pro parte prefati ſereniſſimi & illuſtriſſimi Domini, Domini Jacobi Scotorum Regis, nec non modernorum Preſidentis & Senatorum Collegii, de quibus in preinſertis literis Apoſtolicis fit mentio, principalium in eiſdem preinſertis literis Apoſtolicis principaliter nominatorum debita cum inſtantia requiſiti, quatinus ad executionem dictarum literarum Apoſtolicarum & contentorum in eiſdem procedere dignaremur, juxta traditam ſeu directam per eas a ſede Apoſtolica nobis formam: Nos igitur Hieronimus de Ghimitiis Epiſcopus & auditor, judex & executor prefatus, attendentes requiſitionem hujuſmodi fore juſtam & rationi conſonam, volenteſque mandatum Apoſtolicum ſupradictum nobis in hac parte directum reverenter exequi, ut tenemur; idcirco auctoritate Apoſtolica nobis commiſſa, & qua fungimur in hac parte, prefatas literas Apoſtolicas & hunc noſtrum proceſſum, ac omnia & ſingula in eis contenta vobis omnibus & ſingulis ſupradictis, communiter vel diviſim, intimamus, inſinuamus, & notificamus, ac ad veſtram & cujuſlibet veſtrum noticiam deducimus & deduci volumus per preſentes. Et nichilominus vos reverendiſſimos ac reverendos, patres Dominos Archiepiſcopos, etiam Primates, & Legatos natos, nec non Epiſcopos, Vicarios, Officiales generales ac Subdelegatos, & Commiſſarios ac Abbates, Priores, Adminiſtratores, Commendatarios & Prelatos, omneſque alios & ſingulos ſupradictos, quibus preſens noſter proceſſus dirigitur, tenore preſentium requirimus & monemus, primo, ſecundo, tertio, & peremptorie, communiter vel diviſim, ac vobis & veſtrum cuilibet in ſolidum, in virtute ſancte obedientie, & ſub infraſcriptis ſententiarum penis, diſtricte precipiendo mandamus, quatinus infra ſex dierum ſpacium, poſt preſentationem ſeu notificationem dictarum literarum Apoſtolicarum & preſentis noſtri proceſſus, ac requiſitionem vobis ſeu alteri veſtrum factas; & poſtquam pro parte dicti illuſtriſſimi & ſereniſſimi Domini, Domini Jacobi & pro tempore exiſten. Scotorum Regis, nec non modernorum & pro tempore exiſtentium Preſidentis & Senatorum Collegii hujuſmodi, vel cujuſlibet eorum, ſuper hoc vigore preſentium fueritis requiſiti, ſeu alter veſtrum fuerit requiſitus, immediate ſequentes; Quorum ſex dierum duos pro primo, duos pro ſecundo, & reliquos duos dies vobis univerſis & ſingulis ſupradictis pro omni dilatione terminoque peremptorio ac monitione canonica aſſignamus; penam etiam duorum millium Ducatorum auri de Camera, partim parti & partim Camere Apoſtolice applicandam, & totiens quotiens incurrendam & exigendam, ſententiis ſupra & infraſcriptis hujuſmodi adjicientes, faciatis auctoritate noſtra ymmo verius Apoſtolica, preinſertas literas Apoſtolicas, nec non approbationem, confirmationem, decretum, ſuppletionem, applicationem, appropriationem, unionem, annexionem, incorporationem, exemptionem, liberationem, ſuſceptionem, inhibitionem, mandatum, voluntatem & derogationem, omniaque alia & ſingula in dictis preinſertis literis quomodolibet contenta firmiter obſervari; ac vos prout ad vos communiter vel diviſim pertinet, firmiter & inviolabiliter perpetuis futuris temporibus obſervetis: Nec non eoſdem illuſtriſſimum & ſereniſſimum Dominum Jacobum, & pro tempore Scotorum Regem, ac Collegii Preſidentem & Senatores hujuſmodi, omneſque alios & ſingulos, quos dicte preinſerte litere quomodolibet concernunt, & concernent in futurum, eiſdem literis, ac omnibus & ſingulis in eis contentis ſupradictis, pacifice & quiete frui & gaudere, quantum in vobis eſt vel fuerit, faciatis & permittatis; INHIBENTES nichilominus vobis omnibus & ſingulis ſupradictis quibus preſens noſter proceſſus dirigitur, & quibuſvis aliis judicibus & perſonis Eccleſiaſticis & ſecularibus, cujuſcunque dignitatis, ſtatus, gradus, ordinis vel conditionis exiſtant, ſub infraſcriptis ſententiarum, & dictorum duorum millium Ducatorum auri de Camera, ut prefertur, applicandorum & exigendorum, penis hujuſmodi, ne modernos & pro tempore exiſtentes Scotorum Regem, ac Preſidentem & Senatores Collegii hujuſmodi, necnon quoſcunque alios, quos dicte preinſerte litere quomodolibet concernunt, & concernent in futurum, contra dictarum preinſertarum literarum tenorem, per vos vel per ſe, aut alium ſeu alios, publice vel occulte, directe vel indirecte, quovis queſito colore vel ingenio, moleſtetis ſeu moleſtent, aut moleſtari permittatis vel faciatis, aut permittant vel faciant; ſed in omnibus & per omnia, mandatis Apoſtolicis atque noſtris pareatis ſeu pareant, realiter & cum effectu. QUOD SI FORTE premiſſa omnia & ſingula non adimpleveritis, ſeu adimpleverint, aut diſtuleritis, ſeu diſtulerint contumaciter adimplere, mandatiſque & monitionibus noſtris hujuſmodi, ymmo verius Apoſtolicis, non parueritis, ſeu paruerint, realiter & cum effectu: Nos in vos omnes & ſingulos ſupradictos, qui culpabiles fueritis, ſeu fuerint in premiſſis; & generaliter in contradictores quoſlibet & rebelles; ac impedientes modernos ac pro tempore exiſtentes Scotorum Regem, ac Collegii hujuſmodi Preſidentem & Senatores ſupradictos, ac alios quos dicte preinſerte litere quomodolibet concernunt, vel eorum aliquem ſuper premiſſis, & in preinſertis literis contentis in aliquo, aut ipſos impedientibus dantes auxilium, conſilium vel favorem, publice vel occulte, directe vel indirecte, quovis queſito colore, cujuſcunque dignitatis, ſtatus, gradus, ordinis vel conditionis exiſtant, ex nunc prout ex tunc, & ex tunc prout ex nunc, ſingulariter in ſingulos, predicta ſex dierum canonica monitione premiſſa excommunicationis; in Capitula vero, Conventus & Collegia quecunque in his forſan delinquentia ſuſpenſionis a divinis, & in ipſorum delinquentium & rebellium Eccleſias, Monaſteria & Capellas interdicti Eccleſiaſtici, ſententias ferimus in his ſcriptis, & etiam promulgamus; ac quemlibet ex impedientibus, moleſtantibus, delinquentibus & rebellibus ſupradictis, duorum millium Ducatorum auri de Camera penam hujuſmodi incurriſſe & incurrere, illamque ab eis & eorum quolibet exigi, &, ut prefertur, applicari poſſe & debere, juris & facti remediis quibuſcunque, eadem Apoſtolica auctoritate, decernimus; vobis vero reverendiſſimis ac reverendis patribus, Dominis Archiepiſcopis & Epiſcopis prefatis duntaxat exceptis, quibus ob reverentiam veſtrarum Pontificalium dignitatum deferimus in hac parte, ſi contra premiſſa vel eorum aliquod feceritis, ſeu fieri mandaveritis, per vos vel ſubmiſſas perſonas, publice vel occulte, directe vel indirecte, quovis queſito colore, ex tunc prout ex nunc, predicta ſex dierum canonica monitione premiſſa, ingreſſus Eccleſiarum interdicimus in his ſcriptis. Si vero hujuſmodi interdictum per alios ſex dies prefatos ſex immediate ſequentes ſuſtinueritis, vos in eiſdem ſcriptis, ſimili canonica monitione premiſſa, ſuſpendimus a divinis. Verum ſi prefatas interdicti & ſuſpenſionis ſententias per alios ſex dies prefatos duodecim immediate ſequentes, animis, quod abſit, ſuſtinueritis induratis; vos ex nunc prout ex tunc, & e converſo, hujuſmodi canonica monitione premiſſa, in his ſcriptis excommunicationis ſententia auctoritate Apoſtolica ſupradicta innodamus, ac penam duorum millium Ducatorum ſupradictam incurrere & incurriſſe ſimiliter declaramus. CETERUM cum ad executionem premiſſorum, & per preinſertas literas nobis commiſſorum ulterius faciendam nequeamus quoad preſens perſonaliter intereſſe, pluribus aliis arduis in Roman. Curia legitime prepediti negotiis; univerſis & ſingulis Dominis, Abbatibus, Prioribus, Prepoſitis, Decanis, Archidiaconis, Cantoribus, Theſaurariis, Scolaſticis, Sacriſtis, cuſtodibus tam Cathedralium etiam Metropolitan. quam Collegiatarum Eccleſiarum, Canonicis, Parrochialiumque Eccleſiarum Rectoribus, ſeu locatenen. eorundem, Plebanis, Viceplebanis, Archipresbyteris, Vicariis perpetuis, Capellanis, Curatis, Altariſtis, Presbyteris, ceteriſque viris Eccleſiaſticis, cum cura & ſine cura, ſecularibus, & quorumvis ordinum regularibus, in quibuſcunque dignitatibus, gradibus, vel officiis conſtitutis, ac Notariis & Tabellionibus publicis quibuſcunque, per univerſum Scotie Regnum ac alias ubilibet conſtitutis, & eorum quemlibet in ſolidum, ſuper ulteriori executione dicti mandati Apoſtolici atque noſtri facienda, auctoritate Apoſtolica ſupradicta tenore preſentium plenarie committimus vices noſtras, donec eas ad nos ſpecialiter & expreſſe duxerimus revocandas: Quos nos etiam & eorum quemlibet in ſolidum eiſdem auctoritate & tenore requirimus & monemus, primo, ſecundo, tertio & peremptorie, communiter vel diviſim, eiſque nichilominus & eorum cuilibet in virtute ſancte obedientie, & ſub excommunicationis pena, quam in eos & eorum quemlibet, niſi fecerint que mandavimus, ferimus, in hiis ſcriptis diſtricte precipiendo mandantes, quatinus infra ſex dies poſt preſentationem ſeu notificationem preſentium, ac requiſitionem pro parte prefati illuſtriſſimi Domini, Domini Jacobi, & pro tempore exiſtentis Scotorum Regis, ac modernorum & pro tempore exiſtentium Preſidentis & Senatorum Collegii hujuſmodi, aut alicujus eorum, eis ſeu eorum alteri deſuper factas, immediate ſequentes; quos dies ipſis & eorum cuilibet pro omni dilatione terminoque peremptorio ac monitione canonica aſſignamus; ita tamen quod in his exequendis alter eorum alterum non expectet, nec unus pro alio, ſeu per alium ſe excuſet: Ad vos omnes & ſingulos ſupradictos, perſonaſque & loca alia de quibus, ubi, quando, & quotiens opus fuerit, perſonaliter accedant ſeu accedat, & prefatas literas Apoſtolicas ac omnia & ſingula in eis contenta vobis omnibus & ſingulis ſupradictis communiter vel diviſim legant, intiment, inſinuent, & fideliter publicare procurent, ſeu legat, intimet, inſinuet, & fideliter publicare procuret; ac illuſtriſſimo Domino Jacobo, & pro tempore exiſtenti Scotorum Regi, necnon modernis & pro tempore exiſtentibus dicti Collegii Preſidenti & Senatoribus ſupradictis, ſuper premiſſis & in preinſertis literis contentis, efficacis defenſionis preſidio aſſiſtentes, eaſdem preinſertas literas, & in eis contenta omnia & ſingula, quantum in eis eſt vel fuerit, firmiter obſervari; ac ſingulos quos dicte preinſerte litere quomodolibet concernunt, illis pacifice & quiete frui & gaudere faciant: Non permittentes eos per quoſcunque, contra earundem literarum tenorem, quomodolibet moleſtari, inquietari, ſeu perturbari; Contradictores quoſlibet & rebelles per cenſuras & penas Eccleſiaſticas, ac etiam pecuniarias, eorum arbitrio moderandas, & alia opportuna juris remedia, appellatione poſtpoſita compeſcendo; ac legitimis ſuper his habendis ſervatis proceſſibus, cenſuras & penas ipſas iteratis vicibus aggravando; invocato etiam ad hoc, ſi opus fuerit, auxilio brachii ſecularis. Et nichilominus, ſi forſan aliqui, quos ſupradictum tangit negocium, ſeu tangere poterit quomodolibet in futurum, mandatis & monitionibus ac inhibitionibus noſtris hujuſmodi parere & obedire recuſarent, ſeu differrent, vel negligerent contumaciter adimplere; ex tunc prefatum ſereniſſimum & illuſtriſſimum Dominum, Dominum Jacobum, & pro tempore exiſtentem Scotorum Regem, ceteroſque Principes & Nobiles quoſcunque in toto Scotie Regno, & alias ubilibet, juriſdictionem temporalem & ordinariam quomodolibet exercentes, eorumque locatenentes, & ipſorum quemlibet, tanquam religionis & fidei Chriſtiane participes, & etiam defenſores, ex parte Domini noſtri Pape requirimus, & ex noſtra auctoritate rogamus; quatinus ipſi & eorum quilibet, ſi & prout requiſiti fuerint, ſeu alter eorum fuerit requiſitus, pro parte dictorum Dominorum modernorum & pro tempore exiſtentium Preſidentis & Senatorum Collegii hujuſmodi, vel alicujus eorum, per ſe vel alium, ſeu alios, ut veri Catholici, ſui in hac parte officii dexteram extendentes, infra ſex dies poſt preſentationem ſeu notificationem predictarum literarum Apoſtolicarum, & requiſitionem eis ſeu eorum alteri ut premittitur factas, immediate ſequentes; quoſcunque in premiſſis contradictores & rebelles & eorum quemlibet, prout culpabiles fuerint, qui ſic judicium & cenſuram Eccleſiaſticam contempſerint, per captionem & detentionem bonorum ſuorum, mobilium & immobilium, in ipſorum juriſdictione conſiſtentium primo; & deinde per ipſorum captionem, &

quem-

quemcunque alium modum canonicum, qui eiſdem Dominis temporalibus & ipſorum Officiariis videbitur expedire, auctoritate noſtra, ymmo verius Apoſtolica, compellant, videlicet manu forti, abſque tamen gravi leſione corporum eorundem, uſque ad integram paritionem omnium & ſingulorum in preinſertis literis & preſenti noſtro proceſſu contentorum; & alias ipſos inobedientes & rebelles & eorum quemlibet aſtringant ipſorum potentia brachii ſecularis, donec ad obedientiam ſancte matris Eccleſie devenerint, & proceſſibus noſtris antedictis paruerint, beneficium quoque abſolutionis a predictis ſententiis, cenſuris & penis meruerint obtinere: ET GENERALITER, dicti Subdelegati noſtri omnia & ſingula nobis in hac parte commiſſa plenarie exequantur, juxta predictarum literarum Apoſtolicarum & preſentis noſtri proceſſus vim, formam & tenorem: Ita tamen quod ipſi, vel quicunque alius ſeu alii, nichil in prejudicium dictorum illuſtriſſimi Domini Jacobi & pro tempore exiſtentis Scotorum Regis, ac Preſidentis & Senatorum Collegii hujuſmodi valeant attemptare quomodolibet in premiſſis, neque in proceſſibus per nos habitis, aut ſententiis per nos latis abſolvendo vel ſuſpendendo aliquid immutare: In ceteris autem que eiſdem pro tempore exiſten. Scotorum Regi, ac Preſidenti & Senatoribus predictis, vel eorum alteri in premiſſis nocere poſſent, vel quomodolibet obeſſe, prefatis Subdelegatis noſtris, & quibuſcunque aliis poteſtatem omnimodam denegamus. Et ſi contingat nos ſuper premiſſis in aliquo procedere, de quo nobis poteſtatem omnimodam reſervamus, non intendimus propterea commiſſionem noſtram hujuſmodi in aliquo revocare, niſi de revocatione ipſa expreſſam in literis fecerimus mentionem. Per proceſſum autem noſtrum hujuſmodi, nolumus nec intendimus noſtris in aliquo prejudicare Collegis, quo minus ipſi vel eorum alter, ſervato tamen hoc noſtro proceſſu, in hujuſmodi negotio procedere valeant, prout eis vel eorum alteri viſum fuerit expedire; prefataſque literas Apoſtolicas & hunc noſtrum proceſſum ac omnia & ſingula hujuſmodi negotium tangentia, volumus penes dictos pro tempore exiſtentes Scotorum Reges, ac Preſidentem & Senatores, vel eorum Procuratores remanere; & non per vos aut aliquem veſtrum, ſeu quemcunque alium, ipſis invitis, & contra eorum voluntatem quomodolibet detineri: Contrarium vero facientes prefatis noſtris ſententiis, prout in his ſcriptis per nos late ſunt, ipſo facto volumus ſubjacere: Mandamus tamen copiam fieri de premiſſis eam petentibus & habere debentibus, petentium quidem ſumptibus & expenſis. Abſolutionem vero omnium & ſingulorum, qui prefatas noſtras ſententias aut earum aliquam incurrerint ſeu incurrerit quoquomodo, nobis vel ſuperiori noſtro tantummodo reſervamus. IN QUORUM omnium & ſingulorum fidem & teſtimonium premiſſorum, preſentes literas ſive preſens publicum proceſſus inſtrumentum exinde fieri, & per Notarium publicum Archivii Roman. Curie ſcriptorem infraſcriptum ſubſcribi mandavimus, ſigillique dicti Archivii juſſimus & fecimus appenſione communiri. Dat. & act. Rome. in edibus noſtre ſolite reſidentie, anno a nativitate Domini milleſimo quingenteſimo trigeſimo quinto, indictione octava, die vero ultima menſis Martii, Pontificatus ſanctiſſimi in Chriſto patris & Domini noſtri, Domini Pauli divina providentia Pape tertii, anno primo: preſentibus ibidem diſcretis viris, Dominis Martino Jordan & Roderico Urrunno, Notariis Dertoſen. & Calagurritan. Dioceſ. Teſtibus ad premiſſa vocatis atque rogatis.

Et ego Didacus de Avila, Archivii Rom. Cur. ſcriptor, quia premiſſis omnibus preſens fui, ideo hoc publicum proceſſus inſtrumentum ſubſcripſi & publicavi, rogatus & requiſitus (a).

Item, p. 47. See the Tenor of Forfeiture againſt *Matthew* Earl of *Lenox* in the Appendix to the *Epiſtolæ Regum Scotiæ, Vol.* 2. *p.* 333. where the Readers will have the Opportunity to obſerve, that that Parliament was nothing elſe but a Meeting of the Lords of Articles, or of ſome ſuch like Committee of Parliament. Biſhop *Leſlie* makes Mention of ſuch another Meeting in the Summer of the Year 1556; and he acknowledges it obtained (for the rarity

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(a) This and the two preceding Papers are taken from the Originals in the Laigh Parliament-houſe.

rarity of the Thing I ſuppoſe) the Name of *Comitia currentia*, that is to ſay, *a Diet of Parliament continued.* Read in the following Line here, *p.* 47. *Theſe Things fell out in the Month of* Auguſt 1545, (not 1544.)

Item, p. 57. See an authentick Account of the Queen Dowager's Reception in Mr. *Strype*'s Annals, *Vol.* 2. *p.* 284, 285.

Item, p. 68. By *Buchanan*'s Authority I had placed the Riot on St. *Giles*'s Day, under the Year 1558: But the following authentick Voucher will afford us better Information.

23. *September* 1556.

THe quhilk Day, in Preſens of the then Proveſt, Baillies and Counſale, Mr. *Alexander Forreſt* Proveſt of the *Kirk of Foirdy*, in Name of my Lord Archbiſchop of *Sanctandrois*, &c. preſentit ane Wryting of the Quenis Grace, ſubſcryvit with hir Graces Hand, havand hir Graces Signet, and deſyrit the ſamyn to be regiſtrat, and the Effect thairof to be obeyit: Of the quhilk the Tenor followis; *Proveſt, Baillies and Counſale of* Edinburgh, *we greit zou weill: Forſamekle as we ar informit that thair is certane odious Ballets and Rymes laitlie ſett furth be ſum evill inclinit Perſonis of zour Town, quha hes alſua tane doun diverſis Imagis* (a), *and contempnandlie brokin the ſamyn, quhilk is ane Thing verray ſclanderous to the Peple, and contrarious to the Ordinancis and Statutis of haly Kirk; and it is givin us to underſtand that the Maikaris of the ſaid Miſordour ar all Indwellaris and Inhabitaris of zour ſaid Town: Quhairfoir we chairge zou that incontinent efter the Sicht heirof ze diligentlie inquire, ſerche and ſeik for thair Names, and delyver thame in Write to our Cuſing the Archbiſchop of* Sanctandrois, *to be uſit conforme to the Statutis of the Kirk; aſſuring zou, giff zou do not zour extrem Devoir thairin to bring the ſamyn to Lycht, that ze ſalbe na utherwayis eſtemit be us nor as Favoraris and Mainteinaris of ſic Perſonis, and ſall underly the ſamyn Puniſchment that thai aucht to ſuſtene, in cais we gett Knawledge heirof be* * *zou. Subſcryvit with our Hand and under our Signet at* Aberdene (b) *the* xxi *Day of* September 1556 (c).

* *without.*

Item, p. 69. By the Authority of Bp. *Leſlie* I was led to place the Negotiation and Indenture of Peace there mentioned, ſome time after the Advancement of the Queen Dowager to the Regency: But by inſpecting Bp. *Nicolſon*'s Border-Laws, we are aſſured this *Indenture* was made on the 4th Day of *December* in the Year 1553. The *Indenture* is there ſet down at full length; and by looking it over, the Complaint contained *p.* 68, &c. *Appendix*, will be ſtill the better underſtood.

Item, p. 70. It was in the Month of *June* (not *July*) 1555, that the Queen Regent held a Parliament: See the printed Acts. And that her Highneſs went thereafter into the Southern-Shires to hold Juſticiary-Courts, is confirmed by the Act of Privy-Council 23d *June* 1555, *p.* 71 *Appendix*, contrary to what Mr. *Strype* ſeems to ſay of the Year 1554. However it may not be improper to ſet down here the Shreds of two Letters which that Gentleman gives, from the Lord *Conyers* to the Earl of *Shrewsbury*. The one is 19th *July*, " So far as I can learn, the *Scotch* Queen doth greatly deſire that Juſtice be miniſtred on the Borders. And, for the more Appearance thereof, ſithence her Repair to *Jedworth*, I do well underſtand, that ſhe hath called before her divers of the moſt and greateſt Faulters both of *Tividale* and the *March*, and doth puniſh them in Ward: So that by mine Intelligence I cannot wit that ſhe meaneth any thing at this

" Time

(a) By a Repreſentation in Name of the Archbiſhop of St. *Andrew*'s to the Town-Council the Day before, they were the Images of the *Trinity*, of our *Lady*, and of St. *Francis*.

(b) As this aſcertains the Time of the Queen Regent's Progreſs to the North-Parts, ſo it quite confounds *Buchanan*'s Story of the Queen's being preſent at the Time of the Riot.

(c) Regiſter of the Town-Council of *Edinburgh*. And *Nota*, There is nothing reſembling this Outrage to be ſeen at all in this Regiſter under the Year 1558.

“ Time towards theſe Pieces, ſaving only the Adminiſtration of her Laws, and the pacifying the deadly Feuds which are among divers Surnames of her Borders.” Th'other Letter is 28th *July*, “ That the *Scotch* Queen departed from *Jedworth* the 13th inſtant, and came the ſame Night into *Kelſay*, and the next Day to *Hume-Caſtle*; and ſo along the Borders into *Langton*, *Haymouth*, *Donbarr*, and *Addington*: And that ſhe had travailed very earneſtly to bring her Subjects into Amity and Love one with another; and took, of divers Surnames, Pledges for the obſerving and keeping of good Rules, as of the *Carrs*, the *Scots*, with divers others. And that for the Redreſs of theſe Marches between him [the Lord *Conyers*] and the Wardens of *Scotland*, he was well anſwered, and as to Equity and Juſtice appertained; and as good Delivery made on both Parts as had been done in a great while before.”

Item, *p*. 71. Bp. *Leſlie* gives Authority for both the Treaties mentioned on this Page, *viz.* in the Year 1556 and 1557; and Mr. *Buchanan* likewiſe ſpeaks of the latter: Yet of neither of the two is there the leaſt Veſtige in *Rymer*'s *Fœdera*, or the *Border-Laws*; only in the *Fœdera* there is a Safe-conduct by the King and Queen of *England*, for Sir *Robert Carnegie* of *Kinnaird* to come into *England* as Ambaſſador from the Queen of *Scots*, of the Date the 10th Day of *February* 1557, (*i. e.* 1556-7.) Nevertheleſs this is no deciſive Mark that no ſuch Treaties ever were; foraſmuchas in the *Fœdera* there is no Notice taken at all of the *Indenture* ſet down by Bp. *Nicolſon* *Anno* 1553. *Note*, In the Middle of this Page ſhould be placed on the Margin, *Anno* 1557.

Item, *p*. 72. By an Act of the Town-Council of *Edinburgh* 10th *April* 1557, I ſee the Lords are ſaid to have been aſſembled in a Convention at *Edinburgh* the laſt Day of *March*, at which Time they had appointed a Taxation of 60000 *l*. to be uplifted for defraying the Expences of the Nobility who ſhall happen to go into *France* to the Solemnization of the intended Marriage between the Queen and the Dauphin of *France*; and the other neceſſary Charges to be expended on that Occaſion; 10000 *l*. of which Taxation the Town-Council (in whoſe Hands was lodged in thoſe Days the Aſſeſſment of the other Burrows) appoints to be taken from the ſeveral Burghs of the Kingdom. It would appear however that the foreſaid Sum of 60000 *l*. has not been deemed ſufficient for clearing all the Charges of the Queen's Marriage, Ambaſſadors, *&c.* and therefore on the 14th of *December* following an additional Taxation of 15000 *l*. has been judged neceſſary likewiſe to be uplifted. See *p*. 72 *Appendix*.

Item, *p*. 74. Copies of the ſame Inſtruments are likewiſe to be ſeen in the printed Collections of the *Treaties*, *&c.* Ibid. *in place of a Gift in Gold*; means only, any other *valuable* Gift which Princes are pleaſed ſometimes to beſtow on publick Miniſters.

Item, *p*. 92. This *Paper* was taken from Mr. *Knox*'s *Octavo* Book; but ſee the Subſcription in the late Edition 1732.

Item, *p*. 94, *&c.* For a larger Illuſtration of this Part of the Hiſtory, the Readers may be pleaſed to take the following Records from the Town-Council of *Edinburgh*.

12. *Julij* 1559.

THe quhilk Day, Mr. *Jhone Spens*, *David Forreſtar* and *James Curle* Baillies of the Burgh of *Edinburgh*; *James Carmichael*, *James Barroun*, *William Lawſon*, *Andro Sklatter*, *Thomas Thomſoun* and ——— *Zoung* of the Counſall of the ſaid Burgh, Mr. *James Lindeſay* Theſaurar, with ane certaine of the Deikynnis, and ane gryt Part of the Communitie of the ſamyn, being convenit within thair Tolbuith for reſſoning upon the Cauſis of thair commoun Weill, comperit befoir thame ane nobill and mychtie Lord, *Patrik* Lord *Ruthven*, *Jhone Sandelands* of *Calder* zoungar, direct frome the Lordis of the Congregatioun to the Baillies, Counſall and Communitie foirſaid, and deſyrit of thame

to be harde to declair ſic Thingis as wes gevin thame in Commiſſioun be the ſaidis Lordis; of the quhilk the Tenour followis, *Beluffit Brethering, we think ze ar not ignorant quhat hes movit my Lordis of this preſent Congregatioun to convene within this Burgh at this tyme; and in cais ze be, thair Lordſchipis, be quhome we ar direct to zou, hes gevin us ane ſpeciale Charge and Command to declair and oppyn to zou the ſamyn; that is, to mak it knawn to zou, and every ane of zou, that thai pretend na ſic thing as the commoun Brute is, tuiching the Inobediance of the Prynce, or uſurping of hiear Powars (a), bot that thai ar onlie convenit for the Awanciement and Furthſetting of Godis Glore, according to the trew and pure Evangell, and thairwith evir mening the dew Obediance of the Princes to be mentenit be thame, thair Bodye and Gudis, at thair uter Powars: Requering alſwa the ſamyn of zou, and that zou will adjoine zou with thame unfenziet, as thai ſall with zou, to the furthſetting of Godis trew Worde and dew Obediance of the Prince, as ſaid is; and that ze will heir plainlie, and in all tymes cummyng, tak upon zou the Mantenance and Defence of the ſamyn; and ſwa mony of zou as will glaidly conſent heirto, to bynd and obleis zou, be uphalding of zour Handis, and to ſend thame zour Names in Writt.*

29. *Julij* 1559.

THe quhilk Day, in Preſens of the Proveſt, Baillies, ane Part of the Counſall, Dekynnis, and ane greit Number of the Communitie, comperit the nobill and mythty Lordis, *viz. James* Duke of *Catelheraulte*, Erle of *Arrane*, &c. ——— Erle *Huntlie*, &c. and *Jhone* Lord *Erſkein*, and declairit, That anent the Appointment maid betwix thame as Commiſſionaris for our Soverane Lady Queine *Marie* Dowriar and Regent of this Realm and the Lordis of the Congregatioun the ——— Day of *Julij* inſtant, it wes appointit and contenit thairin that the Town of *Edinburgh* ſould without Compulſioun uis and cheis quhat Religioun and maner thairof thai pleiſit to the tent Day of *Januar* nixt to cum, ſwa that every Man may have Fredome of his Conſcience unto the ſaid Day. For ſatefeing of the quhilk Artikle, it wes the Quenis Graces Will that the Inhabitantis of the Burgh wer convenit, and every ane to be examined quhat Religioun he wald be of, and *that* Religioun to be mainteneid to the ſaid Day that the greitaſt Number conſentit to; and deſyrit the Communitie preſent, quhider thai wald voit ſeverallie, or remit the ſamyn to the Voitis of the Proveſt, Baillies, Counſall and Dekynnis, as hes bein uſit in Ordour taking of civill Cauſis befor. And thairefter comperit *Adame Foullertoun*, for himſelf and in Name and Behalf of the haill Brethir of the Congregatioun within this Town, being perſonallie preſent, and preſentit to the ſaidis Lordis the Supplicatioun efter following; and the ſamyn being red and conſiderit be thame, deſyrit the Supplicatioun to be inſertit in thair Bukis, of the quhilk the Tenour followis, *My Lordis, unto zour Lordſchipis humlie meinis and ſchawis the faytfull Brethren of the Congregatioun within* Edinburgh, *Indwellaris thairof, That quhairas we ar informit zour Lordſchipis ar heir convenit, of Mynd and Purpois to tak every Mannis Voit quhat Religioun he will be, and quhair the Miniſtratioun thairof ſalbe uſit: And we for our Partis knawand the Religioun quhilk we have preſentlie to be of God, and conforme to his Word; and on the uther Part knawand the Meſs and the Papis haill Religioun to be without the Word of God, alltogether ſuperſtitious, dampnable Idolatrie, and of the Devill, can nocht conſent for oure Partis, that Godis Treuthe, and that oure Religioun now eſtabliſchit conforme to his Worde ſalbe ſubject to voiting of Man, as gif the maiſt part of Men allowit it nocht, it ſould be rejectit; for it is na new Thing, bot mair nor notoir that fra the begynnyng of the wyd Warld to this Day, and evin now in all Countries, Townis, and quhair the maiſt part of Men hes ever beine*

(a) Compare this *Profeſſion* with their depoſing the Queen-Regent in *October* following.

beine aganis God and his Houſe, at the leiſt hes not plainlie embraced the ſamyn (a). Secoundlie, Anent the Place we ſay that in the Appointment maid betwix zoure Lordſchipis and the Lordis of the Congregatioun, it is in ſpeciall provydit that oure Prechers ſall nocht be moleſtit nor troublit, nor zitt thair Miniſteris, nor that the ſaid Congregatioun ſall nocht be troublit in thair Gudis, Bodyis, Landis or Poſſeſſionis quhatſumevir unto the tent Day of Januare: *Bot ſwa it is that we the Congregatioun of this Town, the tyme of the making of the ſaid Appointment lang of befor, and continewlie ſenſyne wer in Poſſeſſioun, lyk as we ar zit, of the hie Kirk of this Town callit* Sainct Geillis Kirk, *haveand oure commoun Prayeris, preiching of the Word, and the Miniſtratioun of the Sacramentis, and haill uther Miniſterie thairintill bot Interruptioun, and thairfor aucht and ſould to poſſeſs the ſamyn unto the ſaid Day bot ony Voiting, Controverſie and Troubill, and ſwa can na way conſent to ſubmit* that *to voiting quhilk the ſaidis Lordis left us poſſeſt in, and ſwa in effect zour Lordſchipis of zour Honours can nocht ſuffer us to be trublit in oure maner of Religioun, nor zit in the Place of Miniſtratioun thairof quhilk we peciabillie poſſeſs, mekill leſs troubill us zourſelfis, be compelling of us upoun the Thingis quhilkis we have ellis bot Contraverſie, as ſaid is, without ze will plainlie contravene the ſaid Appoyntment; beſeikand zour Lordſchipis that ze will have Regarde to the ſaid Appoyntment, and to zour awin Honouris: And ſeing that we can na way conſent to ony voiting in the Caiſis foirſaidis, except we will, by the Appoyntment ellis maid, mak new Tranſactioun, or be oure awin Conſent putt the Thingis in doubt quhilkis be the ſaid Appoyntment ar to us fre; and in reſpect that we can on nawayis do the ſamyn without the ſaidis Lordis of Congregatioun wer heir preſent to conſent thairto, that zour Lordſchipis will mantene and defend, at the leiſt nocht troubill nor ſuffer us to be troublit, in oure Maner of Religioun and Place of Miniſtratioun quhilk we now poſſeſs, and poſſeſt the tyme of the making of the ſaid Appoyntment: Proteſting heir in zour Preſens befoir God, gif ze do in the contrare, and ſubmit the ſamyn to voiting, the voiting of the Wikkit (as for us we aucht nocht, nor cannocht conſent thairto, nor voit thairintill) that ze do us plane Wrang and Injurie, and plainlie contravenis zour ſaid Appoyntment; beſyde the opponying of zourſelfis to God and his Treuth, quhilk we ſurelie and ſtedfaſtlie beleif he will nocht leiff ſudainlie unrevengit. And zour Lordſchipis Anſwer humelie we beſeik.* Quhilk Supplicatioun being opinlie red, the ſaidis Lordis declarit that thai wald compell na Man to do * by his Conſcience, nor do ony thing that mycht contravene the ſaid Appoyntment; and thairupoun askit Inſtrumentis.

* *beſide;*
contrary to;

29. Julij 1559.

THe quhilk Day, in Preſens of the Baillies, Counſall, Dekynnis and Communitie foirſaid, my Lord Proveſt declarit, That all the commoun Queſtionis and Cauſis of this Burgh were in tymes paſt referrit to the Deciſioun of the Counſall, as for the Merchantis and Dekynnis, as for the Craftis *reſpective*; and in cais the Mater proponit be the Lordis, contenit in the Act above-wryttin, come to voiting, deſyrit the ſaid auld Ordour to be obſervit thairin: Proteſtand alwayis, in cais Novatioun wer inbrocht, and that the haill Communitie voitit thairin, that the ſamyn wer nocht imputt to him, and that he wer nocht accuſit be the Authoritie as negligent in his Office thairanent.

Item, p. 103. The *Credit*, or Commiſſion which was intruſted by the Queen-Regent to be declared to the Nobility, *&c.* by the Lyon-Herauld, is taken from Mr. *Knox*, who I make little doubt has curtailed the ſame, and fram'd it ſo as to ſerve his own Purpoſes: And had this Credit been contained in as few Words as this Author relates it, the Regent might have eaſily inſerted

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(a) By this it would appear the Retainers to the old Religion had been moſt numerous as yet within the Town of *Edinburgh*;

the whole of it in her Letter, without any unbecoming Prolixity. I do therefore recommend to my Readers not to ſatisfy themſelves with this Account of the *Credit*, but to look into *that* which Abp. *Spottiſwood* narrates; which, as it is much more diſtinct in anſwering to each Point of Complaint for the Congregationers, ſo it has all the Air of Ingenuity, and ſeems fully to anſwer the Character of that wiſe and worthy Princeſs. And ſince this Prelate has adjected ſomething in the MS. of his Hiſtory, written (as far as I can gueſs by comparing) with his own Hand, concerning the Depoſition of the Queen-Regent, which immediately followed the preceeding Meſſage by the Lyon-Herauld, I judge it not amiſs to be here inſerted. “This (ſays the *Archbiſhop*) was a Buſineſs wherein Preachers ought not to have medled: And when their Judgments were asked, lawfully they might have excuſed themſelves; which had been the wiſer Part in them, and furniſhed the Adverſaries leſs Occaſion of ſlandering true Religion. Alſo the Inference they make is upon Grounds moſt untrue; and the Examples they bring do noway fit the Purpoſe. That the Power of Magiſtrates is limited by the Word of GOD, and their Office in ruling their Subjects preſcribed by the ſame, none will deny: But that Subjects may deprive Princes from their Authority when either they offend, or that it ſeemeth to them they do ſo, is directly contrary both to Scripture and Reaſon; GOD having reſerved the Puniſhment of ſovereign Princes to Himſelf, and no where granted the People Power over them. The Example of *Aſa* is quite miſalledged; for he was King of *Judah*, and in Poſſeſſion of the Crown: And *Maacha*, though in Nature his Mother, was in *Condition* his Subject, and might lawfully be put from the Authority or Dignity which by his Favour ſhe enjoyed, when ſhe fell to the erecting and worſhipping of Idols. The Allegation of *Jehu* his Fact, ſerveth them as little; for that which he did was by GOD's Commandment, who may take and give Kingdoms as He will: But no Man nor Men may do it; and to believe or practiſe otherwiſe, is utterly againſt the Religion of CHRIST.” Theſe are the preciſe Words of the MS. which by all the Marks appears to be the very ſame which Bp. *Burnet*, *Hiſt. Reform. Vol.* 3. *p.* 285. ſays belonged once to himſelf, and was preſented by him to the Duke of *Lauderdale*. There is indeed a Score drawn over the firſt four Lines, ending at the Words *is upon Grounds*; and there is a Correction on the Margin in a very wretched Hand: But the Correction is not at all what we have in the Print, nor am I able to read it, ſo vilely is it written. And yet I muſt acknowledge that ſeveral Places of the Print are done after Corrections made by the ſame bad Writer, which I am there enabled to read by the help of the Print. I have been at Pains to get into my Cuſtody ſeveral Samples of Abp. *Spottiſwood*'s Hand-writing, (which is very fair and neat) and as far as I can gueſs by the Reſemblance, this MS. of his Hiſtory is written by himſelf; but moſt certainly the Corrections on the Margin are by another Hand. I cannot therefore *juſtify* Bp. *Burnet* (otherwiſe my *Blood-Relation*) in the Narration he gives of this Fact in the Place referred to; and I ſhall be ready to afford any Perſon ocular Inſpection into the Truth of what I here affirm: However the Space of forty Years might naturally deprive a Man of the exact Remembrance of ſuch a Matter. *Note*, That the Readers mayn't imagine this Depoſition of the Regent to have been a ſudden Reſolve, or that *Knox* and *Willocks* delivered their Sentiments here unforethought and unprepared; I can aſſure, that I have ſeen a Letter written by Mr. *Henry Balnaves* from *Stirling* ſometime in the Month of *Auguſt* or *September* before, (my Memory ſerves me not which) when the Lords no doubt were met in that Town; in which Letter that Gentleman, after obſerving the Diſorders in the Affairs of his own Faction, has this ſort of Expreſſion, *We muſt get rid of this Authority*, meaning the Royal Authority lodged in the Queen Dowager, whoſe Proclamations the Generality of the Subjects thought themſelves obliged to obey. A Copy

of

of this Letter from the *Cotton* Library I may perhaps afterwards impart to the Publick.

Item, p. 107, 108. In the *Shatter'd MS.* (which I often mention afterwards) are ſeveral Letters exchanged concerning the Peace between the Queen-Regent and Queen of *England*, the ſaid Queen-Regent and Earl of *Northumberland*, Lieutenent in the North of *England*. By a Letter from the Queen of *England* we learn that the young Laird of *Lethington* had been employed to negotiate the Affairs of *Scotland* at the *Engliſh* Court, before the Concluſion of the Treaty of *Cambray*. Of this Treaty there is in the ſame MS. a Proclamation iſſued at *Stirling* on the 15th Day of *April* 1559. The Earl of *Northumberland*'s Letters are much filled with Complaints againſt the *Scottiſh* Subjects, and even againſt the Wardens of *Scotland*; and he ſpeaks of his having met with the Earl of *Bothwell*, Lieutenant on the Marches of *Scotland*, at the *Riding-burn*, for ſettling of all Differences on either Side. The Queen-Regent makes likewiſe Complaints on her Part: And perhaps it was indeed no eaſy Matter to keep the unruly Borderers in any tolerable Order.

Item, p. 113. 'Tis certain that none of the other four Perſons who had the Deſignation of *Biſhops*, were in their nominal Sees at the Time of the great Alteration; and 'tis even a Queſtion whether any ſingle Man of them was ever conſecrated a Biſhop; the Probability is greatly againſt them: Theſe were, *James Hamilton* Biſhop of *Argile*, *Alexander Campbell* of *Brechin*, *John Campbell* of the *Iſles*, and *Adam Bothwell* of *Orkney*. *Robert Stewart* was only Elect of *Cathneſs* at the time of his Brother the Earl of *Lenox*'s Misfortune, and ſo was forced to quit the Kingdom together with him.

Item, p. 117. 'Tis proper that the Readers look into the Inſtructions given the Commiſſioners who went to *Berwick* at this Time: They are ſet down by Mr. *Knox*.

Item, p. 128. Tho' the Character of Queen-Dowager the Regent be ſufficiently declared, yet Abp. *Spottiſwood* having added ſomewhat to his Diſcourſe concerning that Princeſs, as the ſame is contained in the MS. Copy, which is not to be found in the Print, I inſert it here for the farther Confirmation of this Queen's Character: It is thus, ——*Realm, and ſettle the ſame upon good Conditions in a perfect Tranquillity.* "Theſe Things I have heard "my Father often affirm, whoſe Teſtimony deſerved Credit; and have many "times received the like from an honourable and religious Lady, who had "the Honour to wait near her Perſon, and often profeſſed to me that the "Queen-Regent was much wronged in *John Knox* his Story. The Author, "whoſoever he was (for I am perſwaded it was none *(a)* of *Knox* his Writ-"ings) in his whole Diſcourſe ſheweth a bitter and hateful Spite againſt her, "forging diſhoneſt Things," &c. as in his printed Hiſtory.

Item, p. 145. Of thoſe Preachers Mr. *Petrie* tells us, *p.* 352, that *John Row* had been a Friar at *Rome*, and was ſent *Anno* 1559 as Nuncio into *Scotland*; and that when he ſaw the Differences in the Country, inſtead of agenting the Pope's Buſineſs, he turned Preacher. *John Craig* was a *Dominican* at *Bononia* in *Italy*; in which City chancing to ſee Mr. *Calvin*'s Book of the *Inſtitutions*, he embraced the Faith delivered in them; for which he was ſent to *Rome*, and was there condemned to be burnt the 19th Day of *Auguſt*: But a Tumult happening the ſame Night by the Occaſion of the Death of Pope *Paul* IV. and the Priſon-doors having been broke open; he with other Priſoners made his Eſcape, and came into *Scotland*. *John Dury* had been a Monk in *Dunfermline*. *John Knox* he only calls a Follower of Mr. *Wiſhart*: But he might have added, that he likewiſe was in the *Order* of *Prieſthood*, as moſt certainly he was; the Inſtruction whereof I will

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(*a*) This good Prelate has elſewhere aſſigned his Reaſons why this Book could not be written by *John Knox*; but theſe Reaſons are now without all Controverſy found to be groundleſs. Beſides, Mr. *Knox*'s Friends are at the utmoſt Pains to ſecure to him the Right of his Labours in penning this Work; and it is ſurely a Matter beyond all farther Doubt.

have occaſion afterwards to notice. But at this Diſtribution of the Preachers, I miſs *William Harlaw* by Occupation a Taylor. However that he has been one of the Men of *Renown* about this Time, the following Paper is an aſſured Evidence.

23. *October* 1558.

Mem. Glaſg. in Colleg. Scot. Pariſ. F. 157. an Original.

THe quhilk Day, Maiſter *Archbald Menzies* Officiall of *Nycht* beand adverteiſt that ane *Williame Harlo* Tailzour, ſometyme Burgeſs of *Edinburgh*, wes conduced be *Alexander Steward* of *Garles* zoungar (a) to preach in his *Maner*, and preacht allreadie this ſaid inſtant Day plainlie in the Fore-hall of *Herbert Cuninghame* within the Burgh of *Dunfreſe*, at Nine Houris afore None: The ſaid Officiall conſidering that the ſaid *Harlo* had na Commiſſioun to mak ſic Preaching, bot [wes] an Lauit-man *, and againſt the Actis of Parlement, paſt incontinent thairefter to the Preſence of the ſaid *Alexander Steward* of *Garles*, and the ſaid *Harlo*, within the ſaid Burgh, and required him, of quhais Authoritie, and quha gaif him Commiſſioun to preach, he beand ane Lauit-man, and the Quenis Rebald, and excommunicate, and wes repelled furth of uther Partis for the ſaid Cauſis? To the quhilk the ſaid *Alexander Steward* anſwered and ſaid, I will avow him, and will mantain and defend him againſt zou, and all uther Kirkmen that will putt at him. Of the quhilkis the ſaid Officiall asked frae me Notar under-wryttin, Inſtrument and Inſtrumentis: The quhilk Inſtrument wes tain in the Lodging-place of the ſaid Laird of *Garles* at Nine Houris or thairby, before thir Witneſſes, Schir *Patrik Wallace* Curat of *Dunfres*, Schir *Jhone Ireland* Perſon of *Rewll*; Schir *Herbert Paterſon*, Schir *Oles Wilſon*, Chaplains; *Robert Maxwell*, *Williame Maxwell*, *Herbert Maxwell*, *Jhone Trude*, *Jhone Menzies*, *Mark Rewll*, and utheris diverſe.

* *Layman.*

Ita eſt, David Makgee Notarius publicus
ad præmiſſa vocatus, manu propria.

Eodem die. The ſaid Officiall paſt to the Preſence of *David Cuninghame* and *James Rig* Baillies of the Burgh of *Dunfres*, efter that Schir *Patrik Wallace* Curat of the ſaid Kirk had maid ane Sermon into the Parioch-Kirk of *Dunfres*, for the Weill and Inſtruction of his Pariochinaris, and in contrare the ſaid *Harlo*; and thare alledged and opponed that the ſaid *Harlo* wes excommunicate, and ane Rebald at our Soverane Lady the Quenis Graces Horn, and Caption directed to other Burghs upon him for ſic Enormities and Contemptions as he hath committit againſt the Privilege of haly Kirk and Actis of Parlement, and requyred thame in the Quenis Name to hald him to the Quenis Challance, and putt him in ſuir Hald: The quhilk the ſaid Baillies refuſit to do. And upon the quhilkis the ſaid Officiall asked Inſtrument, quhilk wes maid and tain in the Parioch-Kirk of *Dunfres* at Elevin Houris or thairby, before thir Witneſſes, *Williame Paterſon*, *Herbert Raning*, *Jhone Cuninghame*, Burgeſſes of the ſaid Burgh; *Jhone Menzes*, *Jhone Trude*, with utheris diverſe.

Ita eſt, David Makgee Notarius publicus
ad præmiſſa vocatus, manu propria.

Item, p. 147. When here and in ſome other Places I uſe the Expreſſion *leſſer* Barons, I think it proper to advertiſe that this is only in Compliance with the manner of ſpeaking which now prevails; for of any Diſtinction of *greater* and *leſſer* Barons, in our Law, there is no Foundation at all, nor in the Rolls of Parliaments.

BOOK II.

(*a*) *Alexander Stewart* of *Garlies* younger, mentioned in this Act, never came to the Eſtate; but having followed the Party of the Regent *Murray*, under the Name of King *James* VI. againſt Queen *Mary* his Mother, he was killed with the Regent Earl of *Lenox* at the Road of *Stirling* in *September* 1571, during his Father Sir *Alexander* his Time, who as appears by a very kind Letter of his to the Archbiſhop of *Glaſgow* of 10th *December* 1560, lived in great Intimacy with that Archbiſhop. He was ſucceeded in the Eſtate by his Grandſon Sir *Alexander*, who was Father to another Sir *Alexander*, who was made by King *James* VI. Lord *Garlies* *A. D.* 1607, and Earl of *Galloway* *A. D.* 1623.

BOOK II.

N°. I. IN the Firſt, To ſchaw and declair——Service and Obedience, that the ſaid——of *Scotland* willis to be done be——of faithfull Subjectis to thair——

Item, To ſchaw unto thair ſaidis Soverane——in the lait Treatie betwix thair Majeſties——*Valence* and *Monſ. de Randan*——upon the vi Day of *Julij* laſt bypaſt——ſuld convene togidder in Parliament the——*Julij*, and at that Day continew——*Auguſt* nixt thaireſtir, according——the foirſaid tent Day of *Julij*——ſaid firſt Day of *Auguſt*——quhilk firſt Day of *Auguſt*——Thingis ceiſit and wes diff.

Item, Ze ſall declair——Day of *Auguſt*, that——*James* Duke——[*Here follows a broken Liſt of the Parliament in* Auguſt 1560, *agreeable enough to* that *in the* Cotton *Library*, *ſome two or three Names excepted*, *for which ſee* p. 146 Hiſt. *After the Liſt a Piece of an imperfect Sentence*, *thus*] ——For thair Partis to be preſentit and deliverit to thair Majeſties, and to require and to reſſave thair Hienes Confirmatioun and Ratificatioun thairof, to be brocht in this thair Realme according to the Treatie under thair Ratificationis and Greit Seil.

Item, In likwiſs ze ſall declair to thair Majeſties, that according to ane Artikle in the ſaid Treatie, That the Eſtaittis ſall nominate twenty four gude and notable Perſonis of this Realme, of the quhilkis thair Majeſties ſuld cheis ſevin, and the ſaidis Eſtaittis fyve, quha ſuld mak the ordinar Counſall to governe the Cauſis of this Realme: And gif it wer thocht be the ſaidis Eſtaittis that XIV ſuld be cheſin of the ſaidis XXIV then the King and Quenis Majeſties to name VIII. and the ſaidis Eſtaittis VI. The ſaidis Eſtaittis hes thocht the gretar Nowmer beſt; Thairfor ze ſall preſent unto our ſaidis Soveranis Majeſties the XXIV nominat be the Eſtaittis, and deſyr and requyr of thair Hienes VIII of the ſaidis XXIV to be cheſin be thame, with Commiſſioun to the ſaid VIII. with VI of the ſaidis XXIV to be cheſin be the ſaidis Eſtaittis to governe the commoun Affairis and Eſtaittis of this Realme, and the ſaid Commiſſioun to be extendit with all Clauſes neceſſary to the Effect foirſaid, ſubſcrivit be the King and Quenis Majeſties under thair Greit Seil, ordaining the ſamin to be inſert in the Bukis of Parliament for perpetuall Memorie.

Item, Ze ſall declair to the ſaid King and Quenis Majeſties, That the—— to the Nobilitie and People of this Realme——according to thair bund Dewtie ſchaw thameſelffis——to thair Majeſties.

Item, Ze ſall deſyr to knaw our ſaidis Soveranis the Dutcheſs Dowriar of—— *Guiſs*, hir Spous, and the uther the umquhill Quene Regentis Frendis—— Myndis and Intentioun anent the burying of hir Body; quhairin we for our Part will do anent the Ceremonyis requirit quhatſumevir we may, of the Law of God, and according to the Hienes of hir Eſtait.

N°. II. *Monſieur Ambaſſadeur*,

J'Ay leu la lettre que vous m'aves eſcrite par le gentilhomme preſent porteur, & pour ce j'etant ſur mon partement de ce lieu, je ne puis vous faire reponce pluſtot qu' à Reims, où j'eſpere d'etre au Sacre de Roy. Je ne feray ce plus long que pour vous dire, quant à Lord James qui eſt devers moy, il y eſt venue pour ſon devoir, comme devers ſa ſouveraine Dame, que je ſuis, ſans charge ou commiſſion qui concerne autre choſe que ſon droit. Je prie Dieu, Monſieur Ambaſſadeur, vous avoir en ſa garde. Eſcrit à Nanci, ce 22 Avril 1562.

Voſtre bien bon amy,
MARIE.

N^o. III. IV. V. Theſe three Numbers having been erroneouſly twice marked, I have taken care to inſert them here according to the Pages where they come in.

N^o. III. *p.* 179. *A Letter from the Laird of* Lethington *to Sir* William Cecil.

SIR,

Calig. B. 10. an Original.

THat thus long I have delayed to write unto your Honour, I pray impute it only to my Abſence: I have been theſe forty Days in the North-parts of *Scotland* with my Lord *James*, where we have not been altogether unoccupied, but ſo far forth as Occaſion would ſerve, advancing the Religion and common Cauſe. Since our returning I have underſtood the Stay of *Monſieur d'Oſel*, and judge that you have wiſely foreſeen the Inconveniencies that might have followed upon his coming hither. I do alſo allow your Opinion anent the Queen our Sovereign's Journey towards *Scotland*; whoſe coming hither, if ſhe be Enemy to the Religion, and ſo affected towards that Realm, as ſhe yet appeareth, ſhall not fail to raiſe wonderful Tragedies. Although the Religion here hath in outward Appearance the upper hand, and few or none there be that openly dare profeſs the contrary; yet know we the hollow Hearts of a great Number who would be glad to ſee it and us overthrown, and if Time ſerved, would join with her Authority to that Effect: But I foreſee that the Difficulty thereof ſhall make that which is moſt principal in Intention, be laſt in Execution. Sure I am the ſuppreſſing of Religion is chiefly meant, but the ſame muſt be preſs'd at by indirect Means. Firſt of all, the Comfort which we have of the Queen's Majeſty's Friendſhip muſt be cut off by Diſſolution of the Intelligence begun of late; which being not feaſible in her Abſence, her own Preſence will make more eaſy. The Papiſts, you know, be in their Hearts, for Religion's ſake, altogether Enemies to this Conjunction. Thoſe that gave themſelves forth for Proteſtants be not all alike earneſtly bent to maintain it. Some have been accuſtomed ſo to feed upon the *French* Fare, that their delicate Stomachs cannot well digeſt any other. Some be ſo covetous, that whereſoever the Lure of Commodity is ſhowed unto them, thither will they fly. Some ſo inconſtant, that they may be eaſily carried away by the Countenance of their Princeſs's Preſence, ſometimes ſhewing them a good Viſage, and ſometimes, as Occaſion ſhall require, frowning on them. Others there be ſo careleſs and ignorant, that they will rather reſpect their preſent Eaſe, which ſhall bring after it moſt grievous Calamities, than with the hazard of a little preſent Incommodity put them and theirs in full Security afterwards: Theſe to be a great Number in our late Danger, we had large Experience; yet I doubt not but the beſt ſort will conſtantly and ſtoutly bear out that which they have begun. Mary, what Difficulty and Hazard ſhall be in it, you may judge, when the Queen ſhall ſo eaſily win to her Party the whole Papiſts, and ſo many Proteſtants as be either addicted to the *French* Faction, covetous, inconſtant, uneaſy, ignorant or careleſs. So long as her Highneſs is abſent, in this Caſe there is no Peril; but you may judge what the Preſence of a Prince, being craftily counſelled, is able to bring to paſs. Every Man once in a Year hath to do with his Prince's Benovelence: If at that Time, when his particular Buſineſs occurreth, her Countenance ſhall be but ſtrange to him, in Sight of the Peril, in what Caſe ſhall the Subject then be? Every Man hath in his private Cauſes ſome Enemy or Unfriend: What Boldneſs ſhall they not take, ſeeing an Advantage, and knowing their Adverſary to be out of the Prince's good Grace? She will not be ſerved with thoſe that bear any good Will to *England*. Some Quarrel ſhall be picked to them, not directly for Religion at the firſt; but where the Accuſation of Hereſy would be odious, Men muſt be charged with Treaſon. The like of this in that Realm I think hath been ſeen in Queen *Mary*'s Days; a few Number thus diſgraced, diſpatched or diſperſed, the reſt will be an eaſy Prey; and then may the Butchery of *Bonner* * plainly begin. I make not this Diſcourſe

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* He was a Popiſh Biſhop in *England*.

Diſcourſe as our meaning to debar her Majeſty from her Kingdom, or that we would wiſh ſhe ſhould never come home (for that were the Part of an unnatural Subject) but rather deſiring ſuch Things as be neceſſary ſo to be provided for in the mean time, that neither ſhe by following the wicked Advice of God's Enemies, to loſe the Hearts of her Subjects, neither yet ſo many as tender the Glory of God and Liberties of their native Country to be the Sons of Death. The beſt is, that Intelligence begun betwixt theſe two Kingdoms may endure and be increaſed, the Breach whereof I know will be attempted by all Means poſſible. The great Deſire I have of the Continuance, maketh me ſo earneſt to wiſh that her Majeſty may be induced by good Means to enter in the ſame Conjunction; whereunto if ſhe cannot by one way or other be perſwaded, then can I not but doubt of the Succeſs in the End. Although I do chiefly reſpect the common Cauſe and publick Eſtate, yet doth my own private not a little move me to be careful in this Behalf. In what Caſe I ſtand you will eaſily judge by Sight of the Incloſed, which I pray you return to me with Speed *. I know by my very Friends in *France* that ſhe hath conceived ſuch an Opinion of my Affection towards *England*, that it killeth all the Means I can have to enter in any Favour: But if it might be compaſſed that the Queen's Majeſty and her Highneſs might be as dear Friends as they be tender Couſins, then were I able enough to have as good Part in her good Grace as any other of my Quality in *Scotland*. If this cannot be brought to paſs, then I ſee well at length it will be hard for me to dwell in *Rome* and ſtrive with the Pope. I aſſure you this whole Realm is in a miſerable Caſe. If the Queen our Sovereign come ſhortly home, the Dangers be evident and many; and if ſhe ſhall not come, it is not without great Peril: Yea, what is not to be feared in a Realm lacking lawful Government? It is now more than two Years paſt that we have lived in a manner without any Regiment; which when I conſider ſometimes with my ſelf, I marvel from whence doth proceed the Quietneſs which we preſently enjoy, the like whereof I think, all Circumſtances being weighed, was never ſeen in any Realm. It would ſeem impoſſible that any People could ſo long be contained in Order without fear of Puniſhment and ſtrict Execution of the Laws; and indeed I cannot by ſearching find out any probable Reaſon, but only that it has pleaſed the Goodneſs of God to give this Glory to his Truth preached amongſt us; but by all worldly Judgment the Policy cannot thus long endure: So that for this reſpect her Abſence to us is moſt pernicious. Thus whether ſhe come or not, we be in a great Strait.

But you will ſay, Hath not the Council the Regiment? Yes, ſome in Appearance, but none in very Deed; and that which is, doth in a manner ſerve only for a Shadow to ſo many as do willingly obey: But to know what Authority it hath, you muſt reduce to your Remembrance the Treaty made at *Edinburgh*, wherein for the Government of the Realm was accorded an Article, That the Eſtates in Parliament ſhould nominate Twenty four Perſons of the moſt capable of the whole Realm, of whom the Queen ſhould chuſe Eight, and the Eſtates thereafter Six; which Fourteen ſo choſen ſhould be the Council. According whereunto the Eſtates in the next Parliament thereafter nominated Twenty four, whoſe Names were ſent to the Queen; but neither would her Majeſty, being required, ratify that Treaty, confirm our Proceedings in that Parliament, nor allow the Nomination of the ſaid Twenty four, but hath always deferred, and thus long fed us with hope of her own coming. It is true that ſome of the Perſons nominated have taken upon them the Management of Things ſince that Time to do the beſt they might. You may reply, Why? Doth not the whole Regiment appertain to the Nobility in Abſence of your Sovereign? Yes: But how willingly think you will ſome of the Noblemen obey, which think themſelves nothing inferior to the others? and yet being Papiſts, or otherwiſe unapt for Counſel, were neglected by the Eſtates in the Nomination, and now are ſtirred up privily and comforted by the Queen to diſallow our Proceedings: And

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* *In the Margin is added*, I pray you that the Letter incloſed come not to Light.

if the Council ſhould take the way which is moſt meet for Maintenance of their own State and forthſetting of their Authority, then fear I that eſchewing *Scylla* they ſhould fall into *Charybdis*. Many Things are requiſite to bear out a publick Authority, which cannot be done without publick Charges; and we dare not once touch any part of the Prince's Revenues: The Noblemens Eſtates be ſcarce ſufficient to maintain their own Port, ſpecially abſent from their Houſes. I believe it would be hard for a Number of Noblemen in *England* to continue always at *London* upon their own Charges, where they could have nothing but bought for ready Money. Thus if they medle with no part of the Prince's Rents, the publick Charges cannot be born; and if they ſhould but medle with ſo much as is neceſſary, thereupon ſhall the Queen take occaſion to accuſe us to all Princes as Uſurpers of the Patrimony of her Crown: So muſt we either incur in this Accuſation, or elſe ſuffer the whole Policy to be diſſolved for lack of Regiment. I pray you by your next Letters let me in this Point hear your Advice, and what the Queen's Majeſty will think in it; for if her Highneſs allow our Doings, we will the leſs care what other foreign Princes think of us. For my Opinion anent the Continuance of Amity betwixt theſe two Realms, there is no danger of Breach ſo long as the Queen is abſent; and if all Men were ſo perſwaded as I am, or did conſider the Conſequence which I foreſee, little Peril would be after her coming; but her Preſence may alter many Things. I truſt ſo many as have made Promiſe to the Queen's Majeſty ſhall ſooner be driven from your Friendſhip by Force, than they will forſake it by their good Wills. I will always at my uttermoſt ſtudy that no Seed of Diviſion take root betwixt the Duke of *Chaſtelherault* and my Lord *James*, on whoſe Concord the Weal of our Cauſe doth depend: It will ſerve as well to confirm them in the Queen's Majeſty's Devotion, as alſo to encourage them to go conſtantly and ſtoutly forward, if they ſhall underſtand from her Highneſs, that ſo long as they will continue Friends to *England*, her Majeſty will not forſake them, but will ſuccour and aid them, if Neceſſity require it, in caſe the Queen at her coming home either mean to alter the State of Religion, or yet begin to perſecute ſuch as have advanced the common Cauſe. For renewing of a League this I have thought; it would more irritate and offend the Queen our Sovereign Lady, and ſhe will worſe take it, as meant particularly againſt herſelf, if we now, being delivered from the preſent fear of Strangers, ſhould enter in a-new, than when the King her Husband was alive; and theſe that be faint-hearted amongſt our ſelves will not ſo eaſily be perſwaded. Therefore methinks it were convenient, if it could be compaſs'd, that a League were deviſed betwixt the Queen's Majeſty, the Princes Proteſtants of *Germany*, ſo many of *France* as profeſs the Religion, the Kings of *Denmark* and *Sweden*, at leaſt ſo many as would embrace it for Maintenance of Religion; in which League we alſo would deſire to be comprehended: Which Cauſe as it is moſt plauſible to the World, ſo will it of us be beſt allowed. To the end the Eſtates may be ſhortly aſſembled for anſwering of the Queen's Majeſty's Letter, which Mr. *Randolph* hath for them, we have framed a Letter for their Convocation (whereof I ſend you herewith a Copy) pretending only the Queen's coming; for if the moſt part knew it were for any Matter concerning *England*, they would abſent themſelves. It will breed ſome Jealouſy to the Queen, if we after our Aſſembly ſend any of our Nation to the Queen's Majeſty; and yet it is moſt neceſſary that the preſent Eſtate of this Realm, and apparent of the future, be imparted to her Majeſty: For which purpoſe I have thought (if you ſhall allow of it) convenient that Mr. *Randolph* ſhall come, by whoſe Report you will be more amply informed than you can by writing, and we ſhall more particularly underſtand the Queen's Intention and your Opinion in every Behalf. Let me by your next underſtand what you think hereof. In times coming when it ſhall happen the Queen's Majeſty to write to the Duke's Grace, it ſhall be well done that either her Majeſty, or at leaſt you by her Commandment, write ſomewhat to my Lord of *Arran* his Son,

Son, to further the Matter. So I wiſh your Honour to fare well. From *Edinburgh* the 10th of *Auguſt* 1560.

Yours at Commandment,

W. Maitland.

No. IV. *p.* 181. The Indent betwixt the Lord *Dacre* and the Maſter of *Maxwell*.

Cotton Library, Cal. B. 10. an Original.

Articles indented of Orders taken and agreed upon at Carlile *the 22d of* Auguſt *in the Year of our Lord God* 1561, *by the Right Honourable the Lord* Dacre, *Lord Warden of the Weſt-Marches of* England *forenenſt* Scotland, *and the Honourable Sir* John Maxwell *Knight, Lord Warden of the oppoſite Marches there, and Sir* William Cordell *Knight, Maſter of the Rolls, Sir* Thomas Gargrave *Knight, and* Thomas Garns, *the Queen's Majeſty of* England*'s Serjeant at the Law, for and concerning certain Matters, Attemptats and Offences, to be ordered and uſed as enſueth, and to be obſerved by the Lords Wardens and Subjects of the Weſt-Marches of both the ſaid Realms.*

Firſt, That Juſtice ſhall not be long protracted, to the Hindrance of the good Subjects of both Realms, and encouraging of Offenders, but ſhall proceed according to the Treaty and Amity betwixt both Realms; it is ordered and agreed, That one Day of March ſhall be kept by the foreſaid Wardens, or their Deputies, upon the 17th Day of *September* next.

Alſo it is further agreed and ordered, That at that Day either Warden ſhall make Delivery to other reciprocally, after twenty Bills or Attemptats ſeverally, and that every one of the Bills before the Principal, under the Sum of twenty Pounds, and the Double and Saughe not to be accounted in that Sum.

It is alſo further ordered and agreed, That Deliverance ſhall only be made for the ſingle Value of all Attemptats committed before the 20th Day of *September* paſt, and that Deliverance ſhall be made of Double and Saughe of all Attemptats committed ſince the ſaid 20th Day of *September*, according to the Articles and Agreement heretofore taken for both the Realms.

It is further ordered and agreed, That for all other Attemptats committed in the foreſaid Marches ſince the laſt Peace, and before the Date hereof, Deliverance ſhall be made at one Day of March to be kept in *October* next, according to ſuch Order as ſhall be appointed by the Councils of both the ſaid Realms.

It is alſo further ordered, That for all Attemptats that is or ſhall be fil'd for any Attemptat done ſince the ſaid 20th Day of *September* laſt, Deliverance and Redreſs ſhall be made with Double and Saughe; and for all Offences committed before the ſaid 20th Day of *September*, Deliverance and Redreſs to be made only with the ſingle Value, according to the foreſaid Agreement of both Realms.

It is alſo further ordered and agreed upon, That if any Subject of either Realm ſhall ſow any Corn or Grain upon the Grounds of the other Realm where he is not a Subject, that the ſame Corn ſhall be forfeited and loſt; and that the Lord Warden of the Marches where the ſaid Corn ſhall be ſown ſhall take, uſe or deſtroy the ſame at his Pleaſure: And upon the filing of a Bill upon the Party that ſhall offend to enter and ſow the Ground of the other Realm, the Offender to pay the Double and Saughe for the occupying the ſaid Ground. In witneſs whereof, as well the Parties above ſaid, Lord Wardens, as the foreſaid Commiſſioners, have to both the Parts of theſe Articles indented ſet their Hands, the Day and Year firſt above written.

William Dacre.
John Maxwell.
Wm. Cordell.
Tho. Gargrave.
Tho. Garns.

N^o. III. *p.* 237. *Apud Edinburgh* 23. *Januarij* 1562.

SEDERUNT *Jacobus Dux de Chatellarault, Jacobus Comes de Mortoun, Jacobus Moraviæ Comes, Alexander Comes de Glencarne, Johannes Dominus Erskin*; *Theſaurarius, Rotulator, Secretarius, Clericus Regiſtri, Clericus Juſticiariæ.*

Acts of Privy-Council.

IN Preſence of the Quenis Majeſtie and Lordis of ſecrete Counſale comperit *Johne Achiſone* Maiſter-Cunzer, and *Johne Aſlowane* Burges of *Edinburgh*, and gaif in this thair Band undir-writtin, and deſirit the ſamin tobe inſert in the Bukis of ſecrete Counſale, with Letteris and Executorialis of Horning or Poinding to be gevin thairupoun, for cumpelling of thame to fulfill the ſamin in Forme as efferis: Quhilk Deſire the Quenis Hienes and Lordis foirſaidis thocht reſſonable, and thairfore ordanit the ſamin tobe inſert in the ſaidis Bukis, with Letteris and Executorialis to be gevin thairupoun in maner foirſaid; of the quhilk the Tennor followis, We *Johne Achiſone* and *Johne Aſlowane* Burges of *Edinburgh*, be the Tennor heirof, bindis and obliſſis us faithfullie to the Quenis Majeſtie, and hir Hienes Theſaurar in hir Name; Forſamekill as hir Grace hes grantit and gevin Licence to us, oure Partinaris and Servandis in oure Name, to wirk and wyn in the Leid-mynis of *Glengoner* and *Wenlek*, ſamekill Leid-ure as we may gudlie, and to tranſport and carie furt of this Realme to *Flanderis*, or ony utheris Partis bezond Sey, Twenty thouſand Stane-wecht of the ſaid Leid-ure, comptand Sexskoir to the Hundreth, Trone-wecht, comprehendand thairin Five thouſand Stane-wecht of the ſaid Ure ellis ſend be us to *Flanderis*, as hir Hienes Licence grantit to us thairupoun beris: Heirfore we bind and obliſs us faithfullie to the Quenis Majeſtie, and hir ſaid Theſaurar in hir Name, to deliver to hir Graces Cunze-hous betwix this and the firſt Day of *Auguſt* nixtocum, Fourtie five Unce of uter fyne Silvir for every thouſand Stane-wecht of the ſaidis Twenty thouſand Stanes of Leid-ure, extending in the hale to Nyne hundredth Unces of uter fyne Silvir, without ony farther Delay: And heirto we bind and obliſs us faithfullie be thir Preſentis, and ar content that this oure Obligatioun be actit and regiſtrat in the Bukis of ſecrete Counſale, with Letteris and Executorialis of Horning or Poinding tobe gevin thairupoun for compelling of us to fulfill the ſamin in Forme as efferis. Subſcrivit with oure Handis at *Edinburgh* the xxiii Day of *Januar*, the Zeir of God 1562 Zeiris.

N^o. IV. *p.* 238. *Apud Edinburgh* 11. *Februarij* 1562.

Ibid.

FOrſamekill as the Quenis Majeſtie and Lordis of ſecrete Counſale undirſtanding that in the Spring of the Zeir callit *Lentryne*, all kindis of Fleſche debilitatis, dekayis, and growis out of Seaſone, ſwa that in that Tyme thai ar na wiſs commodious to be eittin: And als, that be the tempeſtuous Stormis of the Winteris paſt, the hale Gudis wer ſa trakit, ſmorit and deid, that the Prices of the Fleſche ar riſin to ſik extreme Derth, that the like hes not bene ſene within this Realme; and gif ſik Derth continew, it wilbe to the grete Hurt of the Commoun-wele thairof: For Remeid of the quhilk, it is ſtatute and ordanit be the Quenis Majeſtie, with Aviſe of the Lordis of hir ſecrete Counſale, That nane of hir Graces Liegis, of quhat Eſtait or Conditioun that evir thai be, except ſik as ar veſyit with extreme Sicknes, eit ony kinde of Fleſche in the Tyme of *Lentryne*, in ony Tyme heireftir; that is to ſay, fra the   Day of *Februar* to the   Day of *Marche*, undir the Pane of Ten Pundis for the firſt Falt, Twentie Pundis for the nixt Falt, and Confiſcatioun of all thair movable Gudis to oure Soverane Ladeis Uſs for the thrid Falt: And ordanis Letteris to be direct to Officiaris of the Quenis Sheriffis in that Part, chargeing thame to pas to the Mercat-Croces of all the Burrowis of this Realme, and utheris Places neidfull, and thair be oppin Proclamatioun in oure Soverane Ladeis Name and Autorite, command and charge all and ſindrie hir Graces Liegis, That nane of thame tak upoun hand to eit in ony Tyme heir-

eftir,

eſtir, in the Tyme of *Lentryne* foirſaid, ony maner of Fleſche, except ſik Perſonis as ar veſyit with extreme Sicknes, undir the Pane foirſaid; and that na Fleſcharis, Oiſtlaris, Cukis, Tavernaris, or ony utheris Perſonis, ſell ony maner of Fleſche, or prepair the ſamin tobe ſauld to ony of the Liegis of this Realme, undir the Pane of Confiſcatioun of all thair movable Gudis to oure Soverane Ladeis Uis, for thair Contemptioun.

N°. V. *p*. 244. This *Appendix* having ſwell'd ſo much beyond Expectation, I hope the Readers will not take amiſs that I have not inſerted here the Letter of Secretary *Lethington*, which he read before the Queen and Privy-Council at *Dumfries* the 20th of *Auguſt* 1563, in Anſwer to a Letter he had received from Sir *John Foreſter* Warden of the Middle-Marches of *England*: They that have Curioſity for ſuch Matters, may ſee the Secretary's Letter among the original Acts of Privy-Council. See this Treaty at length in the *Border-Laws*.

N°. V. *p*. 270.

MARIA Dei gratia Regina Scotorum, univerſis & ſingulis pateat per præſentes. Cum nihil nobis, ex quo in Britanniam appulimus, fuerit antiquius, quàm ut ea inter Scotos & Anglos eſſet concordia, quam & generis propinquitas, & Chriſtiani nominis charitas, & ex vicinitate regnorum tot contractæ neceſſitudines poſtulant; Idque multis & illuſtribus declaraverimus indiciis, quoties ejus rei declarandæ ſeſe obtulit occaſio, utque magis hanc noſtram voluntatem animique ad communem tranquillitatem propenſionem declararemus, de re omnium maxima, id eſt de matrimonio, à quo ſpes poſteritatis, & omnis in poſterum vitæ ducendæ ratio pendet, ſtatuiſſemus cum ſereniſſima Anglorum Regina noſtra communicare conſilia, eque noſtro erga eam amore, ſtudio & benevolentia, ejus erga nos reſque noſtras metiremur; nec tamen ratio temporum, negotiorumque pateretur, ut coram, quod maximopere cupiebamus, iis de rebus ageremus; ad eam rem conficiendam, dilectum & fidelem conſiliarium noſtrum Gulielmum Maitland à Lethingtoun, Secretarium noſtrum primarium, noſtrum Oratorem, Procuratoremque conſtituimus, & cum liberis mandatis mittimus, ut quid is cum ſereniſſima Anglorum Regina egerit, convenerit, tranſegerit, id actum, conventum, tranſactum, atque æque ratum & firmum habeamus, ac ſi nos coram eiſdem de rebus egiſſemus, conveniſſemus & tranſegiſſemus, omniaque & ſingula quæ per eum erunt acta, conventa, tranſacta confirmamus ac rata eſſe jubemus & volumus. In cujus rei teſtimonium, hoc diploma Sigillo noſtro appoſito comprobamus & confirmamus. Datum Striviling —— die menſis Marcii 1564.

Shatter'd MS.

N°. VI. *The Perils and Troubles that may preſently enſue to the Queen's Majeſty and this Realme, and in time to come follow upon the Marriage of the Queen of* Scots *to the Lord* Darnly, 2d June 1565.

IMprimis, The Minds of all ſuch as be affected to the Queen of *Scots*, either for herſelf, or for the Opinion of her Pretence to this Crown, or for the Deſire in the Change of Religion in this Realm, or for the Diſcontentation they have of the Queen's Majeſty's Succeſſion, or of the Succeſſion of any other beſides the Queen of *Scots*, ſhall be by this Marriage erected, comforted, and induced to deviſe and labour how to bring their Deſigns to paſs.

Cotton Library, Cal. B. 10. an Original.

And to make ſome Eſtimate what Perſons theſe are, to the Intent the Quantity of the Peril may be weighed, the ſame may be compriſed in theſe Sorts, either within the Realm or without. Firſt are ſuch as are ſpecially devoted to the Queen of *Scots*, or *Darnly*, by Blood and Alliance; as firſt of all, the Houſe of *Lorrain* and *Guiſe* for her Part, and the Earl of *Lenox* and his Wife, with all ſuch in *Scotland* as be of their Blood there, and have received Diſpleaſures by the Duke of *Chaſtelherault* and the *Hamiltons*. The Second are all manner of Perſons, both in this Realm and in other Countries, that are devoted to the Authority of *Rome*, and miſlike of the Religion received here. And of theſe two Sorts are the Subſtance of them comprehended that ſhall take Comfort in this Marriage.

Next is to be conſidered what Perils and Troubles theſe kind of Men ſhall intend to this Realm.

Firſt, The general Scope and Mark of all their Deſires is, and always ſhall be, to bring the Queen of *Scots* to have the Royal Crown of this Realm; and therefore though the Devices may vary amongſt themſelves, for the accompliſhing hereof, according to the Accidence of the Times, and according to the Impediments which they ſhall find by means of the Queen's Majeſty's Actions and Government, yet all their Purpoſes, Drifts, Devices and Practices ſhall wholly and only tend to make the Queen of *Scots* Queen of this Realm, and to deprive our Sovereign Lady thereof. And in theſe their Proceedings there are two Manners to be conſidered, whereof the one is far worſe than the other.

The one is intended by them, That either for malicious Blindneſs in Religion, or for natural Affection to the Queen of *Scots* or the Lord *Darnly*, do perſwade themſelves that the Queen of *Scots* hath preſently more Right to the Crown than our Sovereign Lady the Queen; of which Sort be all their Kindred on both Sides, and all ſuch as are devoted to Popery either in *England*, *Scotland*, *Ireland*, or elſewhere.

The other is meant by them, which by leſs Malice are perſwaded that the Queen of *Scots* hath the only Right to be the next Heir to ſucceed the Queen's Majeſty and her Iſſue; of which Sort few are without the Realm, but here within, and of them not ſo many as are of the contrary. And from theſe two Sorts ſhall the Devices and Practices proceed.

From the *Firſt*, which imagine the Queen of *Scots* to have preſent Right, are to be look'd for theſe Perils:

1. 'Tis to be doubted that the Devil will infect ſome of them to imagine the Hindrance of the Life of our dear Sovereign Lady by ſuch means as the Devil ſhall ſuggeſt to them; although it is to be aſſuredly hoped that Almighty God will (as hitherto He hath) graciouſly protect and preſerve her Majeſty from ſuch Dangers.

2. There will be attempted by Perſwaſions, by Bruits, Rumours, and ſuch like, to alienate the Minds of good Subjects from the Queen's Majeſty, and to conciliate them to the Queen of *Scots*; and in this Behalf the Frontiers and the North will be much ſolicited and laboured.

3. There will be attempted ſome Tumults and Rebellions, eſpecially in the North; ſo as thereupon may follow ſome open Enterprize by Violence.

4. There will be by the ſaid Queen's Counſel and Friends a new League made with *France* or *Spain*, that ſhall be offenſive to this Realm, and a Furtherance to their Title. And 'tis alſo very likely that they will alſo ſet afoot as many Practices as they can, both upon the Frontiers and in *Ireland*, to occaſion the Queen's Majeſty to increaſe and continue her Charge; thereby to retain her from being wealthy or potent. And for the attempting all theſe Things, many Devices will be imagined from time to time, and no Negligence will therein appear.

From the *Second* Sort, which mean no other Favour to the Queen of *Scots* but that ſhe ſhould ſucceed in Title to the Queen's Majeſty, is not much to be feared; but that they will content themſelves to ſee, not only the Queen's Majeſty not to marry, and ſo to impeach it, but to hope that the Queen of *Scots* ſhall have Iſſue, which they will think to be more plauſible to all Men, becauſe thereby the Crowns of *England* and *Scotland* ſhall be united in one, and thereby the Occaſion of War ſhall ceaſe. With which Perſwaſion many People may be ſeduced and abuſed, to incline themſelves to the Part of the Queen of *Scotland*.

No. VII.

No. VII. *Mr.* Tamworth's *Meſſage in* Auguſt 1565.

Shatter'd MS.

THat hir Majeſtie hes ſent me to impart with zour Hienes certane Thingis of Importance, als weill for zour Grace as for zour Eſtait at this preſent: The quhilk the Quenis Majeſtie my Soverane requireth zour Grace weill to conſider and wey, as Thingis that cummis frome ane that hes mair Regard of zour weill doing than ſum wald think that hir Majeſtie hes.

Quhair hir Majeſtie hes fund zour Graces proceeding now of lait verie ſtrange, nocht onelie in zour Graces Actionis towartis hir Hienes, bot alſwa towartis zour awin Subjectis, and that in ſic maner as gif zour Grace ſall continew the ſame, as in apperance is ſene, the Conſequens moſt be ſic as in the End hir Hienes is weill aſſurit bayth zour Grace and zour Realme moſt nedis reſſave greit Dampnage, and mair Harme than hir Hienes will now expreſs. The Strangenes quhilk hir Majeſtie conſaved in zour Grace towartis hirſelf conſiſtit in thir Pointis; *Firſt*, Scho taketh God to witnes that the Offir maid to zour Majeſtie of a Mariage in hir awin Realme, being thairto requirit be zour Graces ſelf, wes be the Quenis Majeſtie my Soverane ſincerlie, ſeriouſlie and lovinglie menit and intentit for zour Graces Weill, and to advance zour Deſyre in zour greiteſt Mater. And quhair hir Majeſtie heris ſay, That zour Grace is inducit be ſiniſter Advyſe as hir Majeſtie thinkis contrare to zour awin naturall Diſpoſitioun, to report that hir Majeſtie did nevir nathing thairin bot to abuſe zour Grace, quhairwith hir Hienes Conſciens geving hir witnes ſcho can nocht content hirſelf, bot doeth directlie affirme that all ſic that doeth adviſe zour Majeſtie ſa to report of hir Hienes, dois gif zour Grace fals Counſale thairin, do untrewlie, for thair awin privat Reſpectis, devyſe and conſave ſic fals and unfenzeit Materis.

Secundlie, Hir Hienes findis it ſtrange, that quhair zour Grace did ſend to hir Majeſtie the L. of *Lethingtoun* zour Majeſties Secretar, to requyr hir Majeſties Opinioun and guid Will in zour Graces Mariage, making Mentioun of zour Majeſties Diſpoſitioun and Favour towartis the Lord *Dernlie*, gif hir Majeſtie wald ſa thairof allow: Hir Hienes finding reſſonabill Caus to advys zour Grace to forbeir frome that, and thairfoir ſending hir Majeſties Servand Sr *Nicholace Throkmortoun* to impart unto zour Grace hir Majeſties Mynde in the ſame; hir Hienes fand that befoir his cumming, or ony Anſwer reſſaved from hir, zour Grace had enterit ſa far with the Lord *Dernlie*, as at the cumming of hir Hienes Ambaſſatour zour Grace wes not in cais to reſſave for that Mater ony Advyſe; and ſo hir Majeſtie in hir Expectatioun wes plainlie abuſit: And zit nevirtheleſs zour Grace maid Promis with greit Aſſurance, and thairupoun pleaged zour Honour that ze wald forbeir frome the Mariage the Space of thre Monethis, the End quhairof ſuld be about the xv Day of *Auguſt* now preſent; quhairupoun, evin for zour Graces Promis ſaik, hir Hienes did mak that Accompt certanelie; and ſa be hir Majeſties Occaſioun did ſum uther Princes, hir Hienes Nychbouris, perſwaid thameſelffis, quhome hir Majeſtie knawis, upoun the firſt Brute of zour Graces Love that way, thocht thairof als ſtranglie as hir Majeſtie did: And now contrare unto zour Graces Promis, hir Hienes herith that zour Majeſtie ſould nocht onlie caus the Band of Matrimonie to be askit the xxii Day of *Julij*, bot alſwa to celebrate the ſame the xxix of the ſame, without ony Caus notifeit to hir Hienes quhy zour Majeſtie ſould brek zour Promeis to hir Majeſtie, cannot but note this maner of proceeding ſumquhat ſtrange.

Thirdlie, For deteining of hir Majeſties Subjectis the Erle of *Lennox* and Lord *Dernlie*, hir Majeſtie be hir Servand Maiſter *Randolphe* alreddie haith gevin zour Grace to undirſtand quhat ſcho thinkith thairof, hes nochtwithſtanding willit me to renew the ſame to zour Majeſtie, and alſwa to requeir ſum convenient Anſwer, conſidering that the ſame is directlie aganis the Treatie of Peace betwix zour Grace and hir Majeſtie my Soverane, as nowther can zour Grace nor thai be ignorant; and thairfoir hir Majeſtie can nocht bot think hirſelf ſtrange uſit, zour Grace profeſſing ſa ſtrict ane Amitie with hir, to allure and allow of hir Majeſties Subjectis the Erle of *Lennox* and Lord *Dernlie*, under Pretens of Suit for Landis, to cum thyther, and to procede in this Mariage as thai haif done, without hir Majeſties Conſent and Licens requirit. How greit and unnaturall thair Offens is, the Warld ſeith it, and hir Hienes cannot forzet it.

Fourthlie, Quhair zour Majeſtie ſent Maiſter *Johne Hay*, Maiſter of zour Graces Requeiſtis, with Commiſſioun to demand of hir Hienes quhairwith ſcho wes offendit, and quhat mycht ſatisfie hir Hienes; and having na Commiſſioun to anſwer thairunto, bot to defer the Treatie thairupoun, with Anſwer, to Men to be appointit thairfoir: And thairby hir Majeſtie did conſave that nathing wes menit bot Delay of Tyme, conſidering that hir Hienes knew weill that zour Majeſtie could not be ignorant quhat did offend hir Hienes in the Mariage, and quhat ſcho did miſlyke thairin, as it weill apperit be Maiſter *Throkmortoun*'s Embaſſage; ſo as gif it had bene planely meanit, owther he or ſum uther mycht haif had Authorite to haif maid hir Majeſtie ſum Offeris to haif contentit hir Hienes, and that thais Offeris had not bene ſufficient for hir Hienes Satisfactioun, zit mycht hir Majeſtie haif ſene thairin a moir direct Dealing with hir Majeſtie than hes bene. And quhair it apperit be a Lettre ſent be Maiſter *Betoun*, that zour Grace will be content to offer all reſſonabill Conditionis unto hir Majeſtie, and alſwa gif it ſall lyke the Quenis Majeſtie my Maiſtres, zour Grace will ſend for that Purpois, and to ſchaw guid Reaſonis quhy zour Grace makis Haiſt to this Mariage, ſum ane of zouris weill inſtructit; and to the Intent zour Grace ſall find direct Dealling in the Quene my Soverane, hes bene the Caus quhy hir Hienes willit me to ſchaw unto zour Grace the firſt Caus of zour Majeſties Offens towartis hir.

Fyftlie, The Quenis Majeſtie peruſing the ſaid Lettre, findis the Sentens ſumquhat obſcure, the quhilk ſcho requireth to be reſolvit, quhilk is this, *Je n'eſtimeray jamais que cela vienne de vous, & ſans en chercher autre vengeance, auray recours a tous les Princes mes allies, pour avecques moy vous remonſtrer ce que je vous ſuis par parentage. Vous ſcavez aſſez ce que vous avez reſolu ſur cela.* Nixt, ſcho ſeith how all zour Subjectis Actionis, Counſallis, Practizes and Devyſis dois tend to thai Thingis quhilk ze weill knaw ſall mak Diſcord betwix thir two Realmis, and as it war a Divorce in Amitie, and how Devyſis ar ymaginit to offend hir Majeſtie, be alluring of Fugitivis and Offendaris, hir Majeſties Subjectis, to depend upoun zour Grace heir; and mony uther ſempill Devyſis within hir Majeſties Realme, quhairof hir Majeſtie is not ignorant. As for the Strangenes of zour Graces Proceidingis within zour Graces Realme, althoch ſcho knaweth ſcho hes not to deal thairin utherwayis than as zour Nichbour and guid Siſter, for Friendſchip to advyſe zour Grace, or as zour Graces Actionis at home may appearandlie touch the Repoſe and Tranquillitie of hir Majeſties Realme——hes bene thairof evident Exempill; zit for baith theſe Reſpectis at this Tyme, hir Majeſtie cannot forbeir bot friendlie and nichbourlie admoniſch zour Grace, that ze are mekill abuſit gif ze be ſa counſalled: And gif zour Majeſtie do it of zour ſelf, than dois zour Grace forzet zour ſelf marvellouſlie, to rais up ſic Factionis as be commoun and conſtant Report is underſtuid amangis zour Grace and Nobilitie, quhairof na maner of Guid can inſew to zou or zour Realme, bot rather Danger to zour ſelf, and at the leiſt Rewyne to zour guid Subjectis: And if the Materis be ſa handillit as thai ar reportit, ſuirlie zour Grace is ſeducit be Counſallouris of ſmall Underſtanding, to conſave Offens and Indignatioun aganis thame quhome zour Grace hes had beſt Tryall of thair Fidelitie towartis zour Majeſtie; and thairof hir Majeſtie requyreth zou to tak guid Regard, and not to be owre haiſtie to ymagine, throch malitious and particular Informatioun, ony Evill in thame that be thair Actis hes ſchawin thamſelffis reddie to ſpend thair Lyvis and all that thai haif for zour Majeſtie and zour Eſtait.

And in Materis of Religioun, if zour Majeſtie ſall be advyſed to mak owdir Alteratioun or Change, as thair is greit Appeirance that zour Majeſtie will, be ſic

as

as hes devyſit with thameſelffis vanelie to perſwaid zour Majeſtie, that be perſecuting of thois with quhome zour Grace is brocht to be offendit, and think thairby to ſuppres and extirpe out of zour Graces Realme the maner of Religioun alreddie reſſavit be zour Graces Subjectis, with Ordour of Law within zour Realme, and conſequentlie to ymagine ſumquhat ellis to content zour Graces Fantaſie in the Quene my Soveranis Realme, as vanelie ze may be perſwadit. My Charge thairfoir is erneſtlie to advyſe zour Majeſtie to tak guid heid to ſic Counſallis and ſic vane Ymaginationis; for quhat ſall inſew in zour Majeſties Realme to altir Religioun, I will not ſpeik, bot wiſſis zour Grace not to beleif fair Spechis thairin: But for ony Devyſis that zour Grace may be fed with that may conſerne the Quenis Majeſtie my Maiſtres and hir Realme, hir Hienes can be Goddis Grace weill aſſuir zour Majeſtie, that ze ſall find all zour Diſſeignes, Conſultationis, Intelligencis and Devyſes, frome quhairſoevir thai come to zour Grace far or neir, vayne and deceytfull. Hir Majeſtie dowtit not bot to convert thame to the Perrell and Dampnage of thame quhilk ſall credeit thame: And howſoevir zour Majeſtie dois tak thais Advyſis, the Quene my Maiſtres thinketh heirby that ſcho is diſchargeit in Honour and in Friendſchip; and according unto that quhilk zour Majeſtie ſall anſwer, ſo will hir Hienes direct hir Hienes Anſwer and Actionis as ſcho ſall find meit for hir ſelf, hir Honour, hir Suretie, Proffeit and Repoſe of hir Realme.

And towartis my Lord of *Murray*, hir Majeſtie wiſſith that zour Grace ſould nocht ſchaw zour ſelf ſo ſubject unto Change, as to conſave Evill of him, of quhome zour Grace hes this lang Tyme, upoun juſt Deſert, conſaved ſo weill, for his Trewth, his Luſe and Habilitie to ſerve zour Majeſtie and zour Realme; for in ſic Cais I may weill ſe that thair be plentie of Examplis quhair, for lak of Indifference, mony ſic nobill Men hes bene juſtlie conſtrained to ſeik ſic Meanis, for ſaving of thair Lyvis, as utherwayis thai nevir wald haif done.

This be Part of the Occaſionis quhilk I gif zour Majeſtie to undirſtand, quhilk the Quenis Majeſtie my Maiſtres hes to be offendit with: And thairfoir as zour Grace hes in Wordis offerit that all hir Grevis ſalbe reparit, ſo I truſt that ſum Overture zour Majeſtie will mak unto me thairof, quhairunto I will willinglie mak ſic Anſwer as hir Majeſtie ſall not think hir ſelf ony langar [ſoothed] with Wordis, bot performit with Dedis on zour Majeſties Part.

Anſwer for the Part of the Quenis Majeſtie, to the Propoſitioun maid be Maiſter Thomworth *upoun the Behalf of the Quene of* Ingland.

TO the *Firſt* Article, Hir Majeſtie nevir conſavit ony ſic Opinionis of hir guid Siſter, that ſcho menit ony uther Thing in the Propoſitioun of hir Mariage bot ſincerlie and uprichtlie; and nethir hes hir Majeſtie ſpokin utherwayis, nor hes ony gevin hir Counſall ſa to ſpeik: And gif the contrarie hes bene reportit, the ſamyn hes na Foundment.

To the *Secund* Article, twiching the firſt Part thairof, Hir Majeſtie hes alreddie maid ſufficient Anſwer to Sr *Nicolas Throkmortoun* at his being heir; as alſwa ſenſyne to the Quene hir guid Siſteris ſelf be hir Ambaſſatour Maiſter *Johne Hay*, purpoſlie ſent for that and uther the like Effectis.

To the later Part of the ſaid Article, quhairin is allegit a Breik of Promeis upoun hir Majeſties Part, becaus the ſame twichis hir Hienes ſumquhat in Honour bering, is [as] unwilling to violat or ſpot the ſame, as hir ſaid derreſt Siſter, or ony uther Prince in Chriſtendome. This is hir Hienes Anſwer; Trewth it is, that at Sr *Nicolas Throkmortoun*'s being in *Scotland*, hir Majeſtie did plainlie declair unto him hir full Reſolutioun to joyne in Mariage with the Kingis Grace hir Huſband, than being Erle of *Roſs*, and that for na Caus, nor na Reſpect, ſcho wald change hir Deliberatioun alreddie takin in that Mater: Nochtheles for full Declaratioun of hir Hienes ſinceir Meaning towart the Quene of *Ingland* hir guid Siſter, and Conſervatioun of the Amytie and guid Intelligence betwix thair Majeſties, ſcho wald be content to forbeir the Conſummatioun of the ſaid Mariage for a Tyme, during quhilk the Doubtis quhilk hir guid Siſter had conceivit upoun the Occaſioun of hir Choyſe in Mariage mycht be removit be convenient Meanis, and in ſiclyk that hir ſaid guid Siſter ſould haif na juſt Occaſioun of ony forder Scrupill, that be hir Matche ony thing wes intendit aganis hir ſaid guid Siſter or hir Realme; according unto the quhilk hir Majeſtie aſſures ſcho ſende with all Speid the ſaid Maiſter *Johne Hay* hir Maiſter of Requeiſtis, Ambaſſatour to the Quene hir guid Siſter, to mak Declaratioun of hir Meaning, having alſwa full Authoritie to appoint and nominat Men of Honour and guid Credeit within this Realme, Commiſſionaris for hir, and to joyne with utheris of the like Qualitie to be appointit and nominat on the Part of *Ingland* for that Purpois, to reſſave the Nominatioun of thame that ſould be appointit, as ſaid is, for the Part of *Ingland*, to aggre upoun the Tyme and Place of Meiting; quhairby albeit hir Majeſtie gaif perfyte Demonſtratioun of hir guid Will to deill juſtlie and uprichtlie with the Quene hir guid Siſter, zit was not hir Offer excepit, bot in plane Wordis refuſit: And thairfoir ſeing the Caus for the quhilk the Offer wes frelie maid to differ the Conſummatioun of the Mariage, be the Quene of *Inglandis* Refuſall to appoint Commiſſionaris, wes takin away, in vane it had bein for hir Hienes ony langar to delay or dryve Tyme, ſerving to na Purpois. And to deill planelie and franklie upoun Occaſiounis twiching hir awin Stait and the Eſtait of hir Realme, hir Hienes had guid Caus to conſummat hir Mariage, in ſic Ordour and at ſic Tyme as ſcho hes done; of the quhilk being knawin to hir ſelf and to hir awin Peopill, ſcho thinkis na uther Prince will deſyre Reckning nor Accompt. And quhair in the ſaid Article it is mentionat, that uther Princes thocht as ſtrange of hir Majeſties Choyſe as hir ſaid guid Siſter did; Hir Majeſtie hes perfyte Knawlege and Allowance of the principall and greitteſt Princes in Chriſtendome, and is abill to mak the ſamyn appeir quhen evir it ſalbe thocht meit.

To the *Third* Article, Hir Majeſtie can nocht bot marvell that the Quene hir guid Siſter ſould ony wayis inſiſt upoun that Heid; for how can it be fund ſtrange that hir Majeſtie ſould detene within hir Realme that Perſoun with quhome ſcho hes joynit hir ſelf in Mariage, or zit that ane Erle of the Realme of *Scotland*, termit be thameſelf be the Name of his Erkdome within *Scotland*, ſould remane within the ſame; and weying the haill Circumſtances of thair Perſonis, being alſwa recommendit be the Quene hir guid Siſter at thair firſt reparing towart hir Majeſtie, and uther, hir Hienes dowbtis nocht bot the Warld ſeith it, and will accordinglie juge that the detening of thame within *Scotland* is na wayis prejudiciall nor derogatorie to ony Treatie of Peace ſtanding betwix the twa Realmis; and hir Majeſtie is content to remit the ſame to the Jugement of uther Princes, ſpecialie ſeing be thair detening within *Scotland*, thair nowther hes bene, nor is intendit ony Annoyance towart the Quene of *Ingland*, hir Realme and Eſtait.

To the *Fourt* Article, The Quene of *Ingland* mycht haif had ſum Cullour to find ſtrange that the ſaid Maiſter of Requeiſtis had na Authoritie to mak hir Offeris, gif the Materis depending betwix thair Majeſties had ſtand in ſic Termis that nathing wer to be requirit to be performit to the Quenis Majeſtie for the Part of *Ingland*, and onlie Offeris to be maid for hir Majeſties Part: Bot utherwayis it is to be conſiderit, that as hir Majeſtie is weill pleſit to mak reſſonabill Aſſurance to the Quene hir guid Siſter in ſic Thingis as ſcho may juſtlie ſuſpect, ſa hes hir Hienes to require the lyke Aſſurance to be maid to hir in ſic Thingis as ſcho may lauchfullie demand: For quhilk Purpois being to entir in a reciprocus Contract, obliging the Partiis on bayth Sydis, hir Majeſtie thocht it maiſt ordourlie to proceid in the ſame be meting of Commiſſionaris, being weill inſtructit and fullie auctorizit to mak ane End of all Scrupulis aryſing on ather Part, quhairby hir Hienes gaif ſufficient Significatioun that ſcho intendit na Drift of Tyme, bot ſincerlie to proceid be the Ordour accuſtumat amangis Princes in ſemlable Caiſſis; and zit nochtwithſtanding the Thingis paſt, is of the ſame Mynd, gif ſa ſall pleis the Quene hir guid Siſter: Or utherwayis, gif Maiſter *Thom-*

worth haif Commiſſioun to require and heir Offeris, and to anſwer the ſame accordinglie, hir Hienes, for Declaratioun of the Sinceritie of hir Meaning, will not refuſe preſentlie to mak Offeris.

To the *Fyſt* Article, Hir Majeſtie be the haill Lettre and Wordis thairof, meanis na uther Thing bot to deſyre to remane in perfyte Amytie and guid Intelligence with the Quene hir guid Siſter, and to be delt withall as Reſſoun and Nature requiris a Princeſſe to deill with ane uther being hir nixt Cuſing: And gif, as God forbid, and as hir Majeſtie will nocht zit ſuſpect without forder Caus be offerit, the contrarie ſould fall out, hir Hienes can do na les nor mene hir Cais to uther Princeſſe hir Hienes Freindis, Allyas and Confidderatis, to quhome thair ſaid Cuſinage and hir Hienes Intereſt is weill knawin.

To the firſt Part of the *Sext* Article, Hir Majeſtie is altogidder ignorant of ony ſic Practizes or Devyſis, and being particularlie informit thairof, ſall anſwer the ſame particularlie; alwayis hir Majeſtie will not beleif that hir guid Siſter dois ſa diſdanefullie juge of hir, or hes hir in ſa ſmall Eſtimatioun, that ſcho will meddill with ſempill Devyſis; for ſcho willis it be knawin that ſcho is not of ſo low a Birth hir ſelf, nor hes ſa ſmall Moyens in uther Partis, that quhen ſcho may be dryven to Extremities in Practizes, ſcho ſall not be abill to mak it appeir to the Warld be this, that hir Devyſis aucht not to be ſet at ſa ſmall a Pryis. To the lattir Part of the ſaid Article, concerning hir Majeſties Proceidingis within hir awin Realme, Hir Majeſtie hes nevir bene curious in Tymes bypaſt to inquire quhat Ordour of Governament hir guid Siſter obſervit within hir Realme, nor zit menis to do, thinking it not the Cuſtum amangis Princes that ony of thame ſould put Fute in the Regiment of uther Princes thair Nychtbouris, knawing thame to be ſubject immediatlie to God, and to aw Accompt or Reckning of thair Doingis to na uther bot to Him; and ſwa hir Majeſtie lukis for the ſame at the Quene hir guid Siſteris Handis, that ſcho will na wayis meddill with ony Materis within the Realme of *Scotland*, bot truſt hir Diſcretioun with the handilling thairof to quhome it onelie appertenis.

To the firſt Part of the *Sevint* Article, twiching the Alteratioun of Religioun in *Scotland*; Hir Majeſtie mervellis quhat Report ſould be maid thairof, conſidering hir Majeſtie hes maid na Innovatioun of ony Thing, nor zit heireftir menis to do ony Thing thairin bot that quhilk ſall be maiſt convenient for the Stait of hir Majeſties ſelf and of hir Realme, and that be the Advyis of hir guid Subjectis. As for the uther Part of the Article twiching Devyſis concerning the Realme of *Ingland*, Hir Majeſtie knawis nane ſic; and being condiſcendit upoun in particular, ſall do guid Will to cleir hir guid Siſter thairin alwayis as of befoir: Hir Majeſtie doeth planelie anſwer, That ſcho can nocht weill degeſt ſum Termis uſit in the pennyng of the ſaid Article, ſic as hir Fantaſie to be fed with vane Ymaginationis, and hir Vanetie to be perſwadit, with uther like; and be Goddis Grace it ſall weill appeir to the Warld be all hir Proceidingis, that hir Deſignis, Conſultationis, Intelligencis and Advyſis ſall prove als ſubſtantiall, and na mair vane and deceptfull than ſic as hir Nychtbouris thameſelffis hes at ony tyme takin in hand.

To the *Aucht* Article, twiching the Erle of *Murray*; Hir Majeſtie deſyris maiſt hartlie hir guid Siſter to meddill na furder with thair privat Caiſſis concerning him, or ony utheris Subjectis of *Scotland*, than hir Majeſtie hes heirtofoir meddillit with ony Caiſſis concerning the Subjectis of *Ingland*, quhilk doing ſcho ſall do the verie Office of a Prince and of a guid Nychtbour, as ſcho ſall find the lyke upoun hir Majeſties Part: And in the mene tyme ſcho prayis hir ſaid guid Siſter to conſider how moderatlie hir Majeſtie hes uſit hir ſelf in a Cais quhairin for mony Reſpectis ſcho had guid Occaſioun to haif medlit mair erneſtlie, that is in the Cais of hir Modir in Law the Lady *Margaret* Countes of *Lennox*, being alſwa ſa tendir of Blude to hir Majeſtie, quhome being inducit be hir Exempill, ſcho dois maiſt erneſtlie and effectuouſlie requeiſt hir guid Siſter to releif furth of Captivitie, as alſwa to reſtoir hir to hir Landis, Poſſeſſionis, Libertie and formar Favour; quhairin as ſcho ſall nowther offend aganis

Juſtice nor hir awin Honour, ſa ſall ſcho do hir Majeſtie maiſt acceptabill Pleſour.

Finalie, Gif thair be ony uther Occaſionis quhilk the Quene hir guid Siſter hes to be offendit with, the ſamyn being declarit to hir Hienes, ſalbe anſwerit accordinglie.

This next Paper following cloſe upon the preceding Anſwers of the Queen in the broken MS. without any Stop, Date or Title but what it here bears, I have thought fit to ſubjoin it becauſe of the Matter it contains.

Thir ar the Offeris to be proponit to the Quene of England *upoun the Behalf of the King and Quenis Majeſties.*

IT is verie hard to thair Majeſties to mak ony Offeris to repair the Quene of *Inglandis* Greiffis, the Occaſionis of the ſame nevir being knawin to thair Majeſties ſelffis, nor zit declarit at ony Tyme, nor be ony Perſoun, to hir Majeſtie in particular, albeit at Sr *Nicolas Throkmortoun*'s being in *Scotland*, he wes erniſtlie inquirit thairof, alſweill be the Quenis Majeſties ſelf, as eftirwart be the Lordis of hir Hienes Counſall, quhais Anſwer wes, That he wes na wayis inſtructit to gif Reſſoun of his Maiſtres Miſcontentment, bot onelie ſimpillie to declair that hir Choyſe in Mariage wes to the Quene his Maiſtres and hir Counſall intolerabill; and ſiclyke ſenſyne it wes a ſpecial Poynt of Maiſter *Johne Hayis* Commiſſioun, hir Maiſter of Requeiſtis, to inquire particularlie the ſaidis Occaſionis, quhilkis alſwa the Quene hir guid Siſter wald not oppin unto him: Nochtheles, for Declaratioun of the guid Will thair Majeſties hes to continew the guid Intelligence betwix thair Majeſties, and guid Nychbourheid betwix the twa Nationis, and conſequentlie to lat the Quene of *Ingland* underſtand that the Quenis Majeſties Choyſe in Mariage ſall rather be proffitabill than dangerous to the Quene and Realme of *Ingland*, the Articles following ſall ſerve.

In the *Firſt*, Thair Majeſties being aſſurit of the Quene thair guid Siſteris Amytie and Freindſchip towartis thame in ſic ſort as eftir ſalbe ſpecifiit, is content to aſſuir the Quene thair guid Siſter, that during the Terme of hir Lyff, as alſwa the lauchfull Iſſue of hir Body, thair Majeſties ſall nocht directlie or indirectlie attempt ony Thing prejudiciall to thair ſaid guid Siſteris awin Tytill, or the lauchfull Iſſue of hir Body; or zit be ony Act proceiding of thame diſturb the Quietnes of *Ingland*.

Secundlie, Thair Majeſties ſall not medill with ony Practize or Devyſe, to haif Intelligence with ony Subject or Subjectis of the Realme of *Ingland*, in Prejudice of thair ſaid guid Siſter and the lauchfull Iſſue of hir Bodie, or zit reſſave in thair Protectioun and Maintenance ony ſic Subjectis of the Realme of *Ingland*, as thair ſaid guid Siſter ſall haif Occaſioun to be offendit withall.

Thridlie, Thair Majeſties ſall nocht entir in ony League or Confederatioun with ony foreyne Prince, to the Hurt, Dampnage or Diſpleaſour of the Quene and Realme of *Ingland*.

Ferdlie, Thair Majeſties ar content to entir in ſic League and Confederatioun with the Quene and Realme of *Ingland*, as ſalbe fund fit for the Weill of the Princes and Subjectis on baith Sydis.

Fyftlie, Thair Majeſties ſall not ga about or procure in ony ſort the Alteratioun, Innovatioun or Change of the Religioun, Lawis or Liberteis of the Realme of *Ingland*, albeit it ſall pleis God at ony Tyme heireftir to call thame to the Poſſeſſioun of That, to the Succeſſioun quhairof thai haif Intereſt.

Be it allwayis underſtud that thir Offeris ar maid in reſpect of a perfyte Amitye to be had with thair ſaid guid Siſter; and upoun Conditioun of the lyke reſſonabill Hedis to be performit to thair Majeſties upoun the Part of *England*: That is to ſay;

Firſt,

Firſt, That the Quene thair guid Siſter ſall be Act of Parliament, Proclamatioun, and utherwayis, as ſalbe fund expedient be thair Majeſties lernit Counſall in the Law, eſtabliſche the Succeſſioun of the Crown of *Ingland*, and Appertinentis thairof, failzeing be Deceiſe the Quene thair guid Siſter and lauchfull Iſſue of hir Bodie, firſt in the Perſoun of the Quenis Majeſtie, and the lauchfull Iſſue of hir Bodie; and failzieing of the ſame, in the Perſoun of the Lady *Margaret* Countes of *Lennox*, Modir to the King hir Majeſties Husband, and lauchfull Iſſue of hir Bodie, as the Perſonis be the Law of God and Nature nixt inheritabill to the Crown of *Ingland*, and Appertinentis thairof; and that the Quene thair guid Siſter ſall not do or procure, or ſuffir be done or procurit be ony hir Subjectis, be Law or utherwayis, ony Thing prejudiciall or derogatorie to thair Majeſties, and the ſaid Lady *Margaret* hir Graces Modir, and thair Airis Intereſt foirſaid.

Secundlie, The Quene thair guid Siſter ſall not meddill with ony Practiſe or Devyſe to haif Intelligence with ony Subject or Subjectis of the Realme of *Scotland* in Prejudice of thair Majeſties, nor zit reſſave in thair Protectioun and Maintenance ony ſic Subjectis of the Realme of *Scotland* as thair Majeſties ſall haif Occaſioun to be offendit withall.

Thirdlie, Thair ſaid guid Siſter ſall nocht entir into ony League or Confideratioun with ony foreyne Prince, to the Hurt, Dampnage or Diſpleſour of thair Majeſties and the Realme of *Scotland*.

And *Finalie*, Thair Majeſties wilbe content to aggre to quhatſumevir Thing ſalbe furder fund expedient for eſtabliſching of perpetuall Amytie betwix the twa Realmis, the Honour and Commoditie of the Princes on bayth Partis, as ſalbe particularlie condiſcendit upoun be the Commiſſionaris to be appointit for that Purpois, or utheris the Princes Miniſteris.

No. VIII. 23. *Auguſt* 1565.

Acts of the Town-Council of *Edinburgh*.

THe quhilk Day, the Proveſt *Archibald Douglas* of *Kilſpindie*, *Johne Syme*, *David Forreſter*, *Allan Dickſon* and *William Paterſon*, Baillies; *Alexander Park* Dean of Gild, Mr. *Robert Glen* Theſaurer; *David Somer*, *Robert Kar*, Mr. *Johne Spence*, *Alexander Guthrie*, *Archibald Grahame*, *James Macfell*, *Alexander Clark*, *James Lowrie*, *William Fouller*, *Alexander Vddert*, *Alexander Samſone* and *Mungo Hunter*, of the Councill; *Allan Purves* Skinner, *Johne Cuninghame* Wright, *Archibald Gray* Maſſon, *Johne Purves* Taylor, *William Gauſton* Cordiner, *George Heriot* Goldſmith, *Johne Crichtoun* Baxter, *Nicoll Purves* Hammerman, *Thomas Dobie* Fleſcher, *Johne Scot* Wobſtar, *George Hunter* Walker, *James Lawſon* Bonetmaker, and ——— *Wauchop* Furrier, all Dekynnis, beand convenit in the Nether-Councill-houſe of this Burgh; Compearit *George Drummond* Servand to my Lord *Atholl*, and producit the King and Quenis Majeſties Wrytting, of the quhilk the Tennour followis, REX & REGINA, *Baillies, Councill and Communitie of our Burgh of* Edinburgh, *wee greit zou weill; And for diverſe reſſonabill Cauſes and Conſiderationis moving us, wee charge and command zou, That zee depoſe and diſplace zour preſent Proveſt of our ſaid Burgh, and in his Place that zee elect, receive and admit our Lovit* Symon Preſtoun *of that Ilk in Proveſt thairof, and readilie anſwer and obey him in all Thingis belanging and concerning the ſaid Office as appertenis, as zee will anſwer to us thairupoun. Subſcryvit with our Hand at* Edinburgh *the* ——— *Day of* Auguſt, *the Firſt and Twenty third Zeiris of our Reignis.* The quhilk Wrytting beand read in Preſence of the Proveſt, Baillies, Councill and haill Dekynnis foirſaid, the ſaid Proveſt of his frie Will reſignit and gaif ovir in thair Handis his ſaid Office of Proveſtrie, and of his frie Will diſchargit himſelf thairof, and all that mycht appertene thairto; craveing Inſtrumentis and Documentis, That nather the King nor Quenis Majeſties had ony juſt Caus of

Offence to imput to his Charge quhairfoir he ſould be depoſit: And further deſyrit of the ſaid Baillies, Councill and Dekynnis, gif ony of thame mycht wordilie burden him with ony ſic Wrang done be him the Tyme of his Office paſt, as mycht merit the Puniſchment of Deprivatioun befoir the Councill-Terme; quha all in ane Voce declarit thai had na Fault to lay to his Charge: And gif it micht pleaſe the King and Quenis Majeſties, it wer thair Pleſſour that he ſould joiſe the ſaid Office quhill *Michaelmas* nixt; quhairupoun he askit Inſtrumentis as of befoir, and that he obeyit the Quenis Majeſties Wrytting, and ſwa removit himſelf.

THe ſaid Day, the Baillies, Councill and Dekynnis foirſaid ordanis *Johne Syme*, *David Forreſter* and *Allan Dickſon* Baillies, Mr. *Robert Glen* Theſaurer, *James Macfell* and *William Fouller* of the Councill, this Efternoon to pas to the King and Quenis Majeſties, deſyring to be heard of thame twiching the diſchargeing of *Johne Knox* Miniſter of furder Preaching (a), the depoſeing of *Archibald Douglas* Proveſt, and to deſyre Licens to remane at hame fra the Armie or , to convene in this Town the xxv of *Auguſt* inſtant, and fra thence to pas forwart for the Perſuit of the Erle of *Murray* and his Complices, and to report thair Anſwer the Morne.

24. *Auguſt* 1565.

THe quhilk Day, in Preſence of the Baillies and Councill foirſaid, compearit Mr. *Johne Spence* of *Condie*, Advocat for the King and Quenis Majeſties, and in thair Names deſyrit the Laird of *Craigmillar* to be electit Proveſt, conforme to hir Hienes Wrytting ſend with *George Drummond*. To the quhilk Deſyre it wes anſwerit, That gif thai electit befoir the Feaſt of *Michaelmas* ony Magiſtrat, it muſt appear to be prejudiciall to the Act of Parliament ſtatut for electing of Officiaris within Burgh, and thai abill to incur Danger thairthrow: Notwithſtanding, thai knawing it to be the King and Quenis Majeſties Will and Pleſour, thai wald accept the ſaid Laird of *Craigmillar* in the Office of Proveſtrie quhill *Michaelmas* nixt, and obey and ſerve him according to the Deſyre of the ſaid Wrytting; and the ſaid Mr. *Johne Spence* askit Inſtrumentis.

THe ſamen Day *Symon Preſtoun* of that Ilk is made Burges and Gild-Brother, acceptit and admittit Proveſt to the Feaſt of *Michaelmas* nixt, and hes gevin his Aith for trew Miniſtratioun of Juſtice, and forder, *in communi forma*.

N° IX. *Apud Edinburgh* 12. *Julij*, 1565.

Acts of Privy-Council, *R. M.*

SEDERUNT *Matthæus Comes de Lennox*, *Jacobus Comes de Mortoun Cancellarius*, *Joannes Dominus Erskin*, *Richardus Maitland de Lethingtoun Miles*, *cuſtos ſecreti Sigilli*; *Secretarius*, *Theſaurarius*, *Computorum Rotulator*, *Clericus Juſticiariæ*, *Advocatus*.

Aſſurance towart the Stait of Religioun.

FOrſameikle as divers evill gevin Perſonis, Subjectis of this Realme, irkit of the guid Tranquillitie, quhilk ſen the Arryvall of our Soverain Lady the Quenis Majeſtie within the ſame, and during hir gracious Government, hes continewit; wickatlie and ungodlie hes pretendit be untrew Reportis to alienat the Hartis and Luif of the guid Subjectis fra hir Hienes, and that hir Majeſtie had begun or intentit to impede, ſtay or moleſt ony of thame in uſing of thair Religioun and Conſcience frelie; quhilk as in deid it nevir enterit in hir Majeſties Mynd, ſa can nocht hir Hienes mervel aneuch of it, ſeing the Brute ſpred ſa far, contrarious to hir Expectatioun, and guid Pruif that all hir Hienes Lieges

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(a) This Matter is touch'd in our Eccleſiaſtick Part.

ges hes had of hir Clemencie in tyme bypaſt: Quhairfoir, and to the Effect that nane of hir Majeſties guid Subjectis, owthir be thair vane Brutis, or be ony ſeditious Perſonis Soliſitatioun, ſuffer thameſelffis to be perſwadit utherwayis nor the verrie Trewth is, ordanis Letteris to be direct to Officiaris of the Quenis Sheriffis in that Part, charging thame to pas to the Mercat-Croces of all Burrowis of this Realme, and utheris Places neidfull, and thair be opin Proclamatioun to mak Publicatioun of this hir Majeſties Mynd and Meining; certifying and aſſuring all hir guid Subjectis, that as thai nor nane of thame hes hiddertillis bene moleſtit in the quiet uſing of thair Religioun and Conſcience, ſa ſall thai nocht be inquietit in that Behalf in ony tyme tocum; bot behavand thameſelffis honeſtlie as guid Subjectis, ſall find hir Majeſtie thair guid Prince, willing to do thame Juſtice, and to ſchaw thame Favour and Clemency, bot Innovatioun or Alteratioun in ony ſort.

Apud Edinburgh 15. Julij, 1565.

SEDERUNT *Domini ut in die prædict.*

Proclamatioun to cum to Edinburgh.

FOrſameikle as eftir divers wickit, ungodlie and ſeditious Perſonis, irkit of the guid Tranquillitie quhilk ſen the Arryvall of the Quenis Majeſtie, and during hir gracious Government hes continewit, had wickatlie and ungodlie ſpred untrew Reportis amangis the Subjectis, as that hir Majeſtie had intentit to impede, ſtay or moleſt ony of thame in uſing thair Religioun and Conſcience frelie; the Succeſs of the untrew Report hes takin Effect, to the greit Greif of hir Hienes, ſeeing a greit Nowmer of hir Lieges cauſſes to tak on Armis, and thairby to miniſtrat ſufficient Occaſioun of Jealoſy and Miſlyking; quhairas in deid hir Majeſtie nevir preſumit Alteratioun of the Quiet and guid Eſtait of the Common-weill: And ſen this Defectioun is enterit altogidder contrarious to hir Graces Expectatioun, hir Majeſtie baith gaif plane Declaratioun of hir Will and Meaning to hir guid Subjectis, and with that provydis for the dew Saiftie and Preſervatioun of the Eſtait quhairin God hes placeit hir Hienes; Ordanis thairfor Letteris to be direct to Officiaris of Armis, charging thame to pas to the Mercat-Croces of all Burrowis of this Realme, and utheris Places neidfull, and thair be opin Proclamatioun to mak Publicatioun of hir Hienes Will and Meaning; certifying and aſſuring all hir guid Subjectis, that as thai nor nane of thame hes hiddertillis bene moleſtit in the uſing of thair Religioun and Conſcience frelie, ſa ſall thai nocht be unquietit in that Behalf in ony tyme tocum; bot behavand thameſelffis honeſtlie as guid Subjectis, ſall find hir Majeſtie thair guid Prince, willing to do thame Juſtice, and ſchaw thame Favour and Clemency, bot Innovatioun or Alteratioun in ony ſort: And to charge all and ſindrie hir Subjectis, alſweill to Burgh as to Land, Regaltie as Roaltie, That thai, and ilk ane of thame, weil bodin in feir of Weir, addres thame to cum to hir Majeſtie, furneiſt to remaine for the Space of xv Dayis eftir thair cuming, for attending and awayting upoun hir Hienes, and that with all poſſibill Dilligence eftir thai be chargit thairto, under the Pane to be reput and haldin Aſſiſtaris and Partakaris with the Diſobedientis, and to be puneiſt thairfor accordinglie. R. M.

Apud Edinburgh 17. Julij, 1565.

SEDERUNT *Matthæus Comes de Lennox, Jacobus Comes de Mortoun Cancellarius, Joannes Dominus Erſkin, Cuſtos ſecreti Sigilli, Secretarius, Theſaurarius, Computorum Rotulator, Clericus Regiſtri, Clericus Juſticiariæ, Advocatus.* Extraordinarii, *Joannes Dominus Fleming, Decanus de Reſtalrig Preſidens Seſſionis, Robertus Carnegy de Kinaird Miles, Magiſter Jacobus Balfour Rector de Flyſk.* Ibid.

Maiſter of Requiſtis and Advocat direct towart the Erlis of Ergyle and Murray.

THe quhilk Day, the Quenis Majeſtie being informit how *James* Erle of *Murray* and *Archibald* Erle of *Ergyle* hes planelie ſaid, and perſwadit all Men ſa far as in thame lyis to beleif, that the Deid of the ſaid Erle of *Murray* wes conſpyrit and devyſit in the Back-Gallerie of hir Hienes Ludging in *Sanct Johnſtoun*, be *Henrie* Erle of *Roſs*, and utheris being in hir Majeſties Company: Quhilk Taill and Brute, beſydes the Sclander that it importis to thame, quhilk ar allegit to haif bene the Authoris and Devyſaris, is to hir Hienes ſelf verie prejudiciall, and ſic a Mater as hir Majeſtie can nocht ſuffer untryit; and thairfoir hes preſentlie thocht guid, with Advyſe of the Lordis of hir Privy-Counſall preſent, to ſend and direct Maiſter *Johne Hay* Commendator of *Balmerinoch*, hir Hienes Maiſter of Requeiſtis, and Maiſter *Robert Creychtoun* of *Elyok*, hir Graces Advocat, towart the ſaidis Erlis of *Murray* and *Ergyle*, or ather of thame, quhome thai ſall apprehend; and that thai command, and in the Quenis Majeſties Name and Autoritie, requeir the ſaidis Erlis of *Murray* and *Ergyle*, or ather of thame, upoun thair Alledgiance, and as thai will declair thame guid and faythfull Subjectis to hir Grace, and nobill Men, to declair planelie and uprichtlie the Wordis and Brute maid to thame of the ſaid alledgit Conſpiracie, the Forme and Maner of it, and the Name of the Reporter; and that thai put thair ſaid Declaratioun in Write, and ſubſcryve it with thair Handis, ſend it againe with hir ſaid Maiſter of Requeiſtis and Advocat to hir Majeſtie; certifying and aſſuring thame, gif thai uſe Delay heirin, or in ony wayis conceilis the ſempill Trewth of the ſaid Brute and Report maid, to the Effect that the ſamyn may cum to a clear Tryall, than hir Majeſtie will think na utherwayis of thame, bot that thai thameſelfis hes forgit and inventit this Brute and Taill of thair awin Heidis, thairby to raiſe Tumult, and be ſic untrew Report to bring hir Hienes and the ſaid Erle of *Roſs* in hatrent of hir guid Subjectis.

Apud Edinburgh 19. *Julij*, 1565. *Præſente Regina*,

R. M. SEDERUNT *Matthæus Comes de Lennox*, *Jacobus Comes de Mortoun Cancellarius*, *Joannes Dominus Erskin*, *Cuſtos ſecreti Sigilli*, *Secretarius*, *Theſaurarius*, *Clericus Regiſtri*, *Clericus Juſticiariæ*, *Advocatus*, *Decanus de Reſtalrig Preſidens Seſſionis*. Extraordinarii ratione conventus, *Alexander Dominus Hume*, *Joannes Dominus Fleming*, *Wilielmus Dominus Levingſtoun*, *Patricius Dominus Lyndſay*, *Hugo Dominus Lovet*, *Jacobus Dominus Somervell*, *Joannes Dominus Borthick*, *Andreas Magiſter de Erroll*, *Robertus Commendatarius de Dumfermling*, *Robertus Commendatarius Sanctæ Crucis*, *Wilielmus Commendatarius de Kelſo*, *Andreas Commendatarius de Jedburgh*, *Marcus Commendatarius de Newbottill*, *Robertus Commendatarius de Deir*, *Alexander Stewart de Garleis*, *Walterus Ker de Ceſfurd*, *Thomas Ker de Pharnyhirſt*, *Joannes Stewart de Traquair*, *Wilielmus Edmiſtoun de Duntreth*, *Milites*.

Aſſurance to the Erle of Murray.

THe quhilk Day, the Quenis Majeſtie having underſtandit be the Report of Maiſter *Johne Hay* Commendator of *Balmerinoch* hir Hienes Maiſter of Requeiſtis, and Maiſter *Robert Creychtoun* of *Elyok* hir Graces Advocat, quhilkis be hir Majeſties Commandment were direct towart the Erlis of *Ergyle* and *Murray*; amangis uthir Purpoſis haldin with thame, had declarit that he wes contentit to cum to hir Majeſtie, for Declaratioun of the Trewth of the Report maid to him towart the allegeit Conſpiracie of his Slaughter in *Sanct Johnſtoun*, ſa that he mycht be aſſurit of his Lyfe: And hir Majeſtie willing that the Trewth and ſempill Veritie of the ſaid untrew Brute may be tryit, and that the ſaid Erlis Suſpitioun and Feir may be removit; To the Effect that he

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may be preſent, and that he be put in full Aſſurance alſweill of his Lyfe, as be frie of all uthir bodilie Harme, or of Diſpleaſour quhatſumevir be quhatſumevir Perſon; hir Majeſtie hes aſſurit, and be the Tenour heirof, in the Word of a Prince, aſſuris and takis undir hir Graces Protectioun and Defence, aganis all deidlie, the ſaid Erle of *Murray*, and ſic Perſonis as ſalbe in his Cumpany: Lykeas alſwa the Lordis of hir ſecrete Counſall, and utheris of hir Nobilitie preſent, upoun thair Honouris, Credeit and guid Fayth, hes aſſurit and aſſuris thame, that thai may ſaiflie cum and repair towart hir Majeſtie upoun the third Day nixt eſtir the Reſſet and Sycht heirof, to the Effect that the ſaid Erle may frelie diſcharge him of the ſaid Brute allegit be him, as appertenis, on his Honour, and cum fullie inſtructit with all Thingis neceſſar for Verificatioun thairof, and nowthir he nor thai of his Cumpany ſalbe moleſtit, inquietit, or in ony ſort grievit or troublit in Bodies or Gudis in thair cuming and repairing towart hir Majeſtie, remaining, departing, and quhill he and thai be at the ſame Place and Rowme he cumis fra in full Libertie at thair Pleaſour: And in Fayth and Securitie heirof, the Quenis Majeſtie hes ſubſcryvit thir Preſentis with hir Hand; lykeas alſwa the Lordis of hir ſecrete Counſall, and utheris of hir Nobilitie preſent, at hir Hienes Commandment, hes lykwayis ſubſcryvit the ſamyn.

Eod. die. **Charge on the Erle of Murray.**

THe quhilk Day, Forſameikle as the Quenis Majeſtie directit hir Charge of befoir, with Advyis of hir Counſall, commanding *James* Erle of *Murray* to ſend his Declaratioun in Write, twiching the Report maid to him of the Conſpiracie of his Slaughter allegit devyſit in *Sanct Johnſtoun*; quhilk being brocht to hir Majeſtie be hir Servandis ſend for that Purpoſe, it apperis be hir Hienes and hir Counſall that his Purgatioun in that Behalf is nocht ſa ſufficient as the Mater requirit; Thairfoir hir Majeſtie, to the Effect the ſaid Erle of *Murray* may pretend na Excuſe, bot that he may ſurelie repair towart hir Grace, for making of his Purgatioun and farder Declaratioun of the Trewth anent the ſaid Alleadgance, ordanis ane Officiar of Armis to pas, command and charge the ſaid Erle zit, as of befoir, That he within three Dayis nixt eſtir the ſaid Charge preſent himſelf befoir the Quenis Majeſtie within hir Graces Palace of *Halyroodhous*, to the Effect above-wryttin; with Certificatioun to him, and he failzie thairin, that hir Hienes will uſe ſic Rigour aganis him in bringing of the ſaid Alleadgance to Lycht, as hir Grace may of the Lawis of hir Realme. *R. M.*

Apud Edinburgh 22. Julij, 1565.
SEDERUNT *ut in die prædict.*

FOrſameikle as eſtir divers wickit, ungodlie and ſeditious Perſonis, irkit of the guid Tranquillitie quhilk ſen the Arryvall of the Quenis Majeſtie, and during hir gracious Government hes continewit, had ſpred untrew Reportis amangis the Subjectis, as, that hir Majeſtie had intentit to imped, ſtay or moleſt ony of thame in the uſeing of thair Religioun and Conſcience frelie; the Succeſs of the quhilk untrew Report hes takin Effect, to the greit Grief of hir Hienes, ſeing a greit Nowmer of hir Liegis cauſſes to haif takin on Armis, and thairby to miniſtrat ſufficient Occaſioun of Jeloſy and Miſlyking, quhairas indeid hir Majeſtie nevir preſumit Alteratioun of the guid and quiet Eſtait of the Commounweill: And ſen this Defectioun is enterit altogidder contrarious to hir Graces Expectatioun, hir Majeſtie man proveyd for the dew Saiftie and Preſervatioun of the Eſtait quhairin God hes placeit hir Hienes; Ordanis thairfoir Letteris to be direct to Officiaris of Armis, Sheriffis in that Part, charging thame to pas to the Mercat-Croces of the Burrowis of *Edinburgh*, *Haddingtoun*, *Duns*, *Lawder*, *Peebles*, *Lanerk*, *Linlythgow*, *Striviling*, *Clakmanan*, *Kulros*, *Cuper*, *Dumbartane*, *Renfrew*, and thair be opin Proclamatioun to command and charge all and ſindrie hir Hienes Liegis, alſweill to Burgh as to Land, Regalitie as Roaltie, That thai, and ilk ane of thame, weill bodin in feir of Weir, with *Ibid.*

xv Dayis Proviſioun eftir thair cuming, addres thame to cum to hir Majeſtie with all poſſible Haiſt and Dilligence, eftir thai be chargeit thairto for awayting and attending upoun hir Hienes, under the Pane of Tinſall of Lyff, Landis and Gudis.

Apud Edinburgh 28. Julij, 1565.

R. M. SEDERUNT *Matthæus Comes de Lennox, Jacobus Comes de Mortoun Cancellarius. Joannes Comes de Atholl, Joannes Dominus Erskin,* [this is the laſt Time this Nobleman ſits in Council under that Title] *Patricius Dominus Ruthven; Secretarius, Theſaurarius, Computorum Rotulator, Clericus Regiſtri, Clericus Juſticiariæ.*

THe quhilk Day the Quenis Majeſtie having underſtuid be the Report of hir traiſt Cuſingis and Counſallouris *Johne* Lord *Erskin* and Sr *Johne Maxwell* of *Terreglis* Knycht, Wardane of the Weſt-Marches of hir Realme, the ardent Deſyre quhilk *James* Erle of *Murray* beris to declair the dewtifull Obedience aucht be him to hir Majeſtie, with quhat erneſt Will he deſyris to ſpeak with hir Majeſtie, and for diſcharging of himſelf of ſic Brutis as hes bene reportit be him towart the allegeit Conſpiracie of his Slauchter: And to the Effect that he may be preſent for Demonſtratioun thairof, and be put in full Aſſurance alſweill of his Lyfe, as be frie of all uthir bodilie Harme or Diſpleaſour quhatſumevir, be quhatſumevir Perſon; Hir Majeſtie hes aſſurit, and be the Tenour heirof, in the Word of a Prince, aſſuris and takis under hir Graces Protectioun and Defence, aganis all deidlie, the ſaid *James* Erle of *Murray*, and Fourſcoir utheris Perſonis with him in Cumpany, or within, of quhatſumevir Eſtait, Degrie, Qualitie or Conditioun thai be of: Lykeas alſwa, the Lordis of hir ſecrete Counſall, and utheris of hir Nobilitie preſent, upoun thair Honouris, Credit and guid Fayth, hes aſſurit and aſſuris thame, That thai may ſaiſlie cum and repair towart hir Majeſtie betwix the Dait heirof and the laſt Day of *Julij* inſtant at ony tyme, to the Effect above-wryttin; and nowthir he, nor thai of his Cumpany ſalbe moleſtit, inquietit, or in ony ſort grevit or troublit in Bodies or Gudis in thair cuming and repairing towart hir Majeſtie, remayning, departing, and quhill thai be at the ſame Place and Rowme thai came fra, in full Libertie at thair Pleaſour, and 48 Houris thaireftir: And in Fayth and Securitie heirof, the Quenis Majeſtie hes ſubſcryvit thir Preſentis with hir Hand; lykeas alſwa the Lordis of hir ſecrete Counſall: and utheris of hir Nobilitie preſent, at hir Hienes Commandment, hes lykwayis ſubſcryvit the ſamyn, Day, Zeir and Place foirſaid.

Apud Edinburgh 22. Auguſti, 1565.

Ibid. SEDERUNT *Jacobus Comes de Mortoun Cancellarius, Joannes Comes de Atholl, Joannes Comes de Marr,* [formerly Lord *Erskine*] *Patricius Dominus Ruthven; Secretarius, Theſaurarius, Clericus Regiſtri, Clericus Juſticiariæ, Advocatus.*

Proclamatioun anent the Stait of Religioun.

FOrſamekill as the King and Quenis Majeſties remembering that ſone eftir hir Majeſties firſt Arryvall and Hame-cuming in this Realme, the greit Inconvenientis being perſavit quhilk might follow of the Diviſioun ſtanding in the ſamyn be difference in Materis of Religioun, and being deſyrous to ſee the ſamyn pacifiit be ane guid Ordour, to the Honour of God and Tranquillitie of the Realme, mynding to tak the ſamyn be Advys of the Eſtaittis, ſa ſone as convenientlie thai mycht be aſſemblit, directit Letteris, Proclamationis and Chargis throchout hir haill Realme, ſtraitlie commanding all hir Lieges, That thai, and everie ane of thame, ſould content themſelffis in guid Quietnes, and keip Peace and comelie Societie amangis thameſelffis: And in the mean tyme, quhill the Eſtaittis of the Realme mycht be aſſemblit, and that ane finall Ordour be thair Advyis and publict Conſent mycht be takin in the ſaidis Materis, that nane of the ſaidis Liegis ſould tak upoun hand, privatlie or opinlie, to mak ony Alteratioun of the Eſtait of Religioun, or attempt ony thing aganis the Forme quhilk

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hir Majeſtie fand publictlie and univerſallie ſtanding at hir firſt Arryvall within the Realme, under the Pane of Deid; with Certificatioun, that gif ony ſould cum in the contrair thairof, he ſould be haldin ane ſeditious Perſoun and Raiſar of Tumult: And albeit the ſamyn hes bene diverſe tymes dewlie proclamit, ſwa that nane can pretend Ignorance thairof; nochtheles ſum forzettand thair Dewtie, it is murmurit that thai haif contravenit, and purpoſlie intendis to contravein the ſamyn, innovating of the Religioun and Miniſtratioun of the Sacramentis utherwayis then be publict Forme quhilk wer fund at hir Hienes Arryvall, as ſaid is; utheris Perſonis having alreddie diſobeyit diverſe thair Majeſties Chargeis and Commandmentis, and ſwa worthelie denuncit Rebellis and put to the Horne, to covir thair Rebellioun, dois quhat in thame lyis to perſwad and mak all the guid Subjectis to beleve that thair Majeſties in the condigne Proſequutioun of the ſaidis Rebellis Reſiſtaris of thair Authoritie, preſſis to nocht ellis bot to the plane Subverſioun of the Eſtait of Religioun fund be thame at hir Arryvall publictlie ſtanding, as ſaid is; and be ſic untrew Reportis, to alienat the Hartis of the guid Subjectis fra the Obedience of thair Hieneſſes, thair naturall and rychteous Princes and Soveranes under God, albeit thair bigane Proceidingis and preſent Clemencie makis a plane Declaratioun of the contrair: For eſchewing of the quhilk untrew Brute and fals Rumour, thair Majeſties ordanis Letteris to be direct to Officiaris of the King and Quenis Majeſties, Sheriffis in that Part, chargeing thame to pas, and in thair Majeſties Name and Authoritie, command and charge all and ſindrie thair Lieges of quhat Eſtait, Qualitie or Conditioun that evir thai be of, That thai, and everie ane of thame, ſa far as in thame lyis, endevoir thameſelffis to obſerve and keip the ſaid formar Proclamatioun in everie Point and Conditioun; and that nane of thame preſume to attempt to do any thing that may tend to the Violatioun and Breking thairof, be the Meanis foirſaid, or utheris, prevatlie or opinlie, under the Panes conteint in the ſamyn.

Apud Callendar 2. *September*, 1565.

The Army callit back.

FOrſamekill as the King and Quenis Majeſties departis this Nycht towart *Strivling*, for repoſing of thair Hieneſſes; Thairfoir ordanis ane Herauld, or uthir Officiar of Armis, to pas to the Mercate-Croces of *Falkirk*, *Linlythgow*, *Edinburgh*, and all utheris Places neidfull, and thair be opin Proclamatioun in thair Majeſties Name and Authoritie, command and charge all and ſindrie thair Liegis and Subdittis preſentlie convenit with thair Hieneſſes at this preſent Raid, That thai, and ilk ane of thame, meit thair Majeſties to Morne, the 3d Day of *September*, at *Kilſyth*, be Sun-ryſing, and on nawayis depairt during the Tyme preſcryvit in the formar Proclamatioun maid to that Effect, under the Pane of Tinſall of Lyff, Landis and Gudis. R. M.

Apud Glaſgow 5. *September*, 1565.

SEDERUNT *Matthæus Comes de Lennox*, *Jacobus Comes de Mortoun*, *Joannes Comes de Atholl*, *Joannes Comes de Marr*, *Patricius Dominus Ruthven*. Extraordinarii, *Gilbertus Comes de Caſſillis*, *Hugo Comes de Eglintoun*, *Robertus Dominus Sempill*, *Jacobus Dominus Roſs*, *Jacobus Dominus Somervell*, *Alanus Dominus Cathcart*. Ibid.

Charge on the Liegis to put thameſelffis in Reddines.

FOrſamekill as the King and Quenis Majeſties hes now perfyte Knawlege of the manifeſt Defectioun and Rebellioun of diverſe thair Subjectis, quhilk hes nocht onlie armit thameſelffis, and with greit Convocatioun riddin and paſt to and fra in the Realme, doand that in thame lyis to ſubvert the haill Stait of the Commoun-weill, bot als hes fortifiit and withhaldis diverſe Houſis, Caſtellis and Fortaliceis aganis thair Majeſties and thair Authoritie, mynding, as may weill appeir be thair Proceidingis, to abſtract all debtfull Obedience, and to draw in

Strangeris and utheris to participat with thame in thair Attemptis: And thairfoir it is neidfull and convenient that all thair Majeſties guid, faythfull and trew Subjectis be in reddines to cum to thair Hieneſſes upoun Adverteiſment, owther for Perſute of the ſaidis Rebellis, or Reſiſtance of *Ingland*, in cais it ſall happin to invaid; Ordanis Letteris to be direct to Officiaris of Armis, Sheriffis in that Part, chargeing thame to pas to the Mercate-Croces of all the heid Burrowis of this Realme, and thair be opin Proclamatioun in thair Hieneſſes Name and Authoritie, command and charge all and ſindrie thair Liegis betwix LX and XVI Zeiris, and utheris ſenſabill Perſonis, alſweill dwelland to Burgh as to Land, within Regalitie as Rialtie, That thai, and ilk ane of thame, prepair thameſelffis and put thame in reddines, with XX Dayis Proviſioun, as thai ſalbe commandit, upoun three Dayis warning, to cum to thair Majeſties, to the effect above-wryttin, to ſic Part and Place as thair Hieneſſes ſall happin to appoint, under the Pane of Tinſall of Lyff, Landis and Gudis.

☞ *In a Gentleman's private Abſtract I ſee marked at this ſame Place and Date, an Act in favours of the Heirs of ſuch as ſhould be ſlain in this Expedition, under Command of* Matthew *Earl of* Lennox, *to whom Commiſſion of Lieutenandry was granted. Mr.* Miln *has tranſcribed this Commiſſion at full length: It bears no Date, but is added after another Paper at* Glaſgow *the 6th* September 1565; *and gives that Lord, whom the King and Queen call their* Fadir, *a very large Power in theſe following Sheriffdomes,* viz. Lanerick, Strivling, Dumbartane, Renfrew, Air, Wigtoun; *Stewartrie of* Monteith, *and Bailliaries of* Kyle, Carrick *and* Cuninghame; *Sheriffdome of* Drumfreiſs, *and Stewartries of* Kirkcudbryght *and* Annandirdaill. *Which Commiſſioun to indure quhill thair Majeſties expreſlie diſcharge the ſamyn.*

Proclamatioun befoir the Army quhilk paſt to Drumfries.

R. M. FOrſamekill as the King and Quenis Majeſties hes now perfyte Knawlege of the manifeſt Defectioun and Rebellioun of diverſe thair Subjectis, quhilk hes nocht onlie armit thameſelffis, and with greit Convocatioun riddin and paſt to and fra in the Realme, doand that in thame lyis to ſubvert the haill Stait of the Commoun-weill, bot als hes fortifiit and withhaldin diverſe Houſis and Caſtellis aganis thair Majeſties and thair Authoritie: For repreſſing of quhais temerarious Attemptis, and reduceing of thame to Obedience, or expelling thame furth of the Realme, thair Majeſties intendis, God willing, to leif nathing undone that to thair Honour appertenis; and to the Effect that thai may be weill and and ſubſtantiouſlie accumpaneit, ordanis Letteris to be direct to Officiaris of Armis, chargeing thame to pas to the Mercate-Croces of the Burrowis of *Perth*, *Forfar*, *Kincardin*, *Aberdein*, *Bamff*, *Elgin*, *Forreſs* and *Nairne*, and thair be opin Proclamatioun command and charge all and ſindrie thair Majeſties Liegis betwix LX and XVI Zeiris, and utheris ſenſabill Perſonis, alſweill dwelland to Burgh as to Land, within Regalitie as Rialtie, dwelland within the Boundis of the Sheriffdomes of *Perth*, *Forfar*, *Kincairdin*, *Aberdein*, *Bamff*, *Elgin*, *Forreſs* and *Nairn*, and Stewartrie of *Stratherne*, That thai, and ilk ane of thame, weill bodin in feir of Weir, with Palzeonis and uthir neidfull Proviſionis to ly on the Feildis, prepair and addres thame to meit thair Majeſties at *Strivling* the laſt Day of *September* inſtant, and providit to remane for XX Dayis eſtir thair cuming thairto, pas furthwart and attend upoun thair Hieneſſes as thai ſalbe commandit, under the Pane of Tinſall of Lyff, Landis and Gudis; and that nochtwithſtanding the formar Proclamatioun, commanding the Inhabitantis of the ſaidis Boundis to haif convenit with *Johne* Erle of *Atholl* Leuetennent of the North-Partis of this Realme in *Lorne* upoun the XXVIII Day of the ſaid Moneth of *September*; quhilk Vyage, for the above mentioned Reſpectis, thair Majeſties hes delayit and preſentlie omittit.

Apud

R. M.

Apud St. Androis 12. *Septembris*, 1565. *Præſentibus Rege & Regina*, SEDERUNT *Jacobus Comes de Atholl, Joannes Comes de Marr, Patricius Dominus de Ruthven; Secretarius, Wilielmus Murray de Tullibardin, Computorum Rotulator, Magiſter Jacobus Balfour Rector de Flysk.*

Band in Fyffe.

WE the Baronis and Gentillmen under-ſubſcrivand bindis and oblieſſis us, and upoun our Honouris faythfullie promittis, That we, and ilk ane of us, ſall trewlie ſerve the King and Quenis Majeſties our Soveranes, and———— quhome thair Majeſties hes conſtitute and appointit thair Leuetennent within the Boundis of the Sheriffdomes of *Fyffe*, *Kynroſs* and *Clackmanan*, and ſall ryis and pas furthwart with him in thair Majeſties Service als oft as he ſall gif Adverteiſment, owther for reſiſting thair Hieneſſes Rebellis, or perſewing thame, or expelling thame furth of the Cuntre; or to reſiſt and invaid *Ingland*, in cais it ſall happin to perſew: And gif neid be, ilk ane of us ſall concur and aſſiſt with utheris, and in that reſpect ſall lay apart all Actionis of deidlie Fied, or uthir Grudge or Contraverſie ſtanding betwix us, or ony of us, during the Tyme of thair Majeſties Service, and quhill thair ſaid Leuetennent be diſchargit, without all Affectioun or Reſpect to ony Perſon or Perſonis, under the Pane of Perjurie and perpetuall Defamatioun, as we will anſer to GOD, and upoun our Allegiance to thair Hieneſſes. The quhilk to do, we haif maid our bodilie Aithis, and in takin thairof hes ſubſcryvit thir Preſentis with our Handis as followis, at *Sanct Androis* the xii Day of *September*, the Zeir of God 1565 Zeiris. *Sic ſubſcribitur*, *Henry* Maiſter of *Sinclair*, *Kynneir*, *David Barclay* of *Cullerny*, *Burlie*, *Balvaird*, *Johne Anſtruther* of that Ilke, *Johne Boſwell* of *Balmowto* zounger, *Patrik* *David Spens*, *James Sandilandis*, *Andro Wod* of *Largo*, *Alexander Trayll*, Sr *William Bruce* of *Erlishall*, *David Myrtoun* of *Randerſtoun*, *Patrik Lyndſay*, *Johne Weims* of that Ilke, *Johne Forret* of that Ilke with my Hand at the Pen led be *Alexander Hay* Nottar, *William* *George Mowbra* zounger of *Feyfield* with my Hand at the Pen led be the ſaid Nottar above-writtin, *Andro Farny* of that Ilke with my Hand at the Pen led be the ſaid Nottar, *David Lindeſay* of *Pyetſtoun*, Sr *William Scot*.

Note, There is a Band to the ſame purpoſe by the *Baronis of the Weſt-Countrie* (ſo is the Title) ſubſcribed the 5th Day of *September* at *Glaſgow*, in Preſence of their Majeſties, by the following Perſons, *viz. Caſſillis*, *Eglintoun*, *Robert* Lord *Sempil*, *James* Lord *Roſs*, *James* Lord *Somervel*, *Alan* Lord *Cathcart*, *Edward* Lord *Sanquhair*, *Matthew Campbell* of *Lowdoun*, *Thomas Kennedy* of *Bargany*, *Johne Wallace* of *Craigy*, *William Hamilton* of *Sanchar* Knycht, Sr *James Hamiltoun* of *Crawfurd-Johne* Knycht, *William Cuninghame* of *Capringtoun*, *Johne Cuninghame* of *Glengarnock*, *Johne Muire* of *Rowallane*, *Johne Dunbar* of *Blantyre*, *William Cuninghame* of *Cuninghameheid* zounger, *Johne Boſwell* of *Auchinleck*, *William Baillie* of *Lamingtoun*, *Robert Dalzell* of that Ilke, *William Cuninghame* of *Craigains*.

Item, Another Band of the Men of *Nithſdale* and *Annandale* (ſo is the Title) dated at *Edinburgh* 21ſt *September* 1565, and ſubſcribed there by the following Perſons, *viz. Johneſtoun*, *Cloſeburne*, *Johne Jardane* of *Aplegirth*, *James Johneſtoun* of *Corre*, *William Kirkpatrik* of *Kirkmichael* with my Hand at the Pen led be *Alexander Hay* Nottar, at my Command.

Item, Band of *Teviotdale*, at *Edinburgh* 23d *September* 1565, ſubſcribed by theſe Perſons, *viz. Ceſfurd*, *Pharnihirſt*, *Thomas Turnbull* of *Bedruell*, *Johne Rutherfurd* of *Hunthill* with my Hand at the Pen led be *Alexander Hay* Nottar, *Andro Ker* of *Litilden*, *Johne Mow* of that Ilke with my Hand at the Pen led be *Alexander Hay* Nottar.

Declaratioun of the Intentioun of the Rebellis.

R. M. HENRIE and MARIE be the Grace of GOD King and Quene of *Scotis*, to all and ſindrie our Liegis and Subdittis to quhais Knawlege thir our Letteris ſall cum, Greiting; Forſamekill as in this Uprore laitlie raiſit up aganis us be certane our Rebellis and thair Aſſiſtaris, the Authoris thairof, to ſyle the Eyis of the ſympell People, hes gevin thame to underſtand that the Querrell thai had in hand wes onlie Religioun, thinking with that Clock to cover thair uthir ungodlie Deſignes, and ſwa, under Pretence of that plauſabill Argument, to draw eſtir thame a large Tale of ignorant Perſonis, eaſie to be ſeducit; now for Preſervatioun of our guid Subjectis, quhais Cais wer to be pityit, gif thai blindlie ſould be ſufferit to be trappit in ſa dangerous a Snare, it hes pleſit the Gudenes of God, be the Utterance of thair awin Mouthes and Writtingis to us, to diſcover the Poyſon that befoir thai hid in thair Hartis, albeit to all Perſonis of cleir Jugement the ſamen wes evident anewch of befoir: For quhat uthir Thing mycht move the principall Raiſaris of this Tumult to put thameſelffis in Armis aganis us ſa unnaturallie, upoun quhome we had beſtowit ſa mony Benefittis, bot that the greit Honour we did unto thame, thai being thairof maiſt unworthie, maid thame to myſknaw thameſelffis; and that thair inſaciabill Ambitioun could not be ſatisfyit, with heiping Riches upoun Riches, Honour upoun Honour, onles thai mycht receave in thair Handis us and our haill Realme to be led, uſit and diſponit at thair Pleſſour? Bot this could nocht the Multitude haif perſavit, gif God for diſcloſing of thair Hypocriſie had nocht compellit thame to utter thair unreſſonabill Deſyre to govern; for now be Letteris ſend fra thameſelffis to us, thai mak plane Profeſſioun that the eſtabliſſing of Religioun will nocht content thame, bot we mon on Force be governit be ſic Counſall as ſall pleis thame to appoint unto us: A Thing ſa far bezond all meaſour, that we think the onlie Mentioun of ſa unreſſonabill a Demand is ſufficient to mak thair nerreſt Kynsfolk thair maiſt mortall Inymies, and all Men run on thame without forder Scrupill that ar zealous to haif thair native Countrie remane ſtill in the Stait of a Kingdome: For quhat uthir is this bot to diſſolve the haill Policie, and in a maner to invert the very Ordour of Nature, to mak the Prince obey, and the Subjectis to command? The lyk wes nevir demandit of ony our maiſt nobill Progenitouris heirtofoir, zea nocht of Governouris or Regentis; bot the Prince, or ſic as occupyit thair Place, evir cheſit thair Counſall of ſic as thai thocht maiſt fit for the Purpois. Quhen we our ſelffis wer of les Aige, and at our firſt Arryvall in our Realme, we had frie Choyſe of our Counſall at our Pleſſour; and now quhen we ar at our full Majoritie, ſall we be brocht back to the Stait of Pupillis and Minoris, or be put undir Tutelage? Sa lang as ſum of thame buir the haill Swynge with us thameſelffis, this Mater wes nevir callit in queſtioun. Bot now quhen thai can nocht be langar permittit to do and undo all Thingis at thair Appetyte, thai will put a Brydill in our Mouthes, and gif us a Counſall choyſen eſtir thair Fantaſie. This is the Querrell of Religioun thai maid zou beleif thai had in hand; this is the Querrell for the quhilk thai wald haif zou haſart zour Lyffis, Landis and Gudis, in Cumpany of certane Rebellis, aganis zour naturall Princes. To ſpeik it in gud Language, thai wald be Kingis thameſelffis; or at the leiſt, leaving to us the bair Name and Titill, tak to thameſelffis the haill Uſe and Adminiſtratioun of the Kingdome. We haif thocht gude to mak Publicatioun heirof unto zou, to the end ze ſuffer nocht zour ſelffis to be deceaved, under Pretence of Religioun, to follow thame, quha preferring thair particular Advancement to the publict Tranquillitie, and having na Caire of zou in reſpect of thameſelffis, wald, gif ze will harkin to thair Voce, draw zou eſtir thame to zour utter Deſtructioun; aſſuring zou, that as ze haif heirtofoir had gud Experience of our Clemencie, and under our Wingis enjoyit in Peace the Poſſeſſioun of zour awin Gudis and Lyffis at Libertie of zour Conſcience, ſa may ze be in full Aſſurance of the lyk Honeſtie, and haif us alwayis zour gud and luſing Princes, ſa mony

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as ſall contein zour ſelffis in dew Obedience, and do the Office of faythfull and naturall Subjectis. Gevin under our Signet, and ſubſcryvit with our Handis at *Sanct Androis* the 3d *(a)* of *September*, and of our Reignis the Firſt and Twenty third Zeiris.

Apud Caſtlehill (b) in exercitu, 10. *die menſis Octobris,* 1565. R. M.

SEDERUNT, *Præſentibus Rege & Regina, Matthæus Comes de Lennox, Georgius Comes de Huntlie, Jacobus Comes de Bothwell, Joannes Comes de Atholl, David Comes de Crawfurd, Gilbertus Comes de Caſſills, Patricius Dominus Ruthven, Jacobus Dominus Fleming, Patricius Dominus Gray, Edwardus Dominus Creichtoun, Patricius Dominus Lyndſay, Franciſcus Magiſter de Forbes; Secretarius, Computorum Rotulator, Magiſter Jacobus Balfour Rector de Flysk.*

Diviſioun of the Battell.

THe quhilk Day, the King and Quenis Majeſties having thair haill Armie preſentlie in reddines to pas furthwart for Perſute of thair Rebellis, with thair Aſſiſtaris, hes thoucht convenient to devyde thair Cumpanyis in Battell as eſtir followis; that is to ſay, The Van-gard to be led be the rycht nobill and mychtie Lord *Matthew* Erle of *Lennox* Lord *Dernlie*, thair Leutennent in the Weſt-Partis of this Realme; and he to be accumpanyit with the Erlis of *Caſſillis*, *Eglintoun*, Lordis *Sempill*, *Roſs*, *Cathcart*, *Sanchar*, Sheriff of *Air*, Laird of *Garleis*, Sr *James Hamiltoun*, and remanent our Soveranes Liegis within the Boundis of his Leutennendrie: The Reir-gard to be led be *George* Erle of *Huntlie*, *Johne* Erle of *Atholl*, and *David* Erle of *Crawfurd*; and thai to be accumpanyit with the Lordis *Ruthven*, *Glamis*, *Forbes*, *Drummond*, *Innermeth*, and Commendatare of *Deer*, ſupplieand the Place of his Fader the Erle *Marſhall*, and ſic utheris as will accumpany thame. The Battell to be led be the Kingis Majeſties ſelfe, being accumpanyit with the Erlis of *Mortoun*, *Bothwell*, *Marr*; the Lordis *Ogilvy*, *Fleyming*, *Levingſtoun*, *Somervell*, *Borthwick*, *Zeſter*, *Lyndſay*, *Hume*, and haill remanent of the Realme; provyding that the preſent ordouring and diſpoſing of the Battellis foirſaidis be nawayis prejudiciall to the Erle of *Angus* his Titill and Interes quhatſumevir *(c)*.

Apud Edinburgh 19. *Octobris,* 1565. Ibid.

SEDERUNT *Jacobus Comes de Mortoun Cancellarius, Georgius Comes de Huntlie, Joannes Comes de Atholl, Joannes Comes de Mar; Secretarius, Theſaurarius, Computorum Rotulator, Clericus Regiſtri, Clericus Juſticiariæ, Advocatus, Robertus Carnegy de Kynnaird Miles, Magiſter Jacobus Balfour Rector de Flysk, Magiſter Joannes Leſlie Rector de . . .*

For attending unto the Coiſt-Sydes and Paſſages.

THe quhilk Day, the King and Quenis Majeſtics having diverſe wayis reſſavit ſum Adverteiſment, that nocht only thair Rebellis, with thair Aſſiſtaris in proper Perſonis, daylie and commounlie at thair Pleſſour repairis and paſſes be Sey and uthir wayis throw the Countreis of *Lowtheane*, *Fyffe* and *Angus*, bot als divers ſuſpect and wickit Perſonis hes nocht abſtenit planelie to pas and repas to and fra the ſaidis Rebellis, vilipendand thairthrow thair Majeſties Authoritie, and gevand evill Exampill to utheris to do the lyke, gif haiſty and tymeous Remeid be nocht provydit; Thairfoir thair Majeſties, be the Avyis of the Lordis of thair ſecreit Counſall, hes thocht meit and convenient to deput and appoynt the Keiping of the Havynis and commoun Paſſages with-

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(a) So it has certainly been in the Council-Books, becauſe it is exactly thus in another Copy I have of this Proclamation beſide Mr. *Miln*'s; but the Miſtake has been owing to the Clerk. For the Queen was not in *Fiſe* ſo early as the 3d *September*.

(b) This is a Place on the Road towards *Dumfries*, about ten Miles diſtant therefrom.

(c) By this we are aſſured the Earls of *Angus* had enjoyed the hereditary Privilege of leading the Van of our Royal Armies.

in the ſaid Boundis, to ſic Perſonis thair trew and faythfull Subjectis as thai ſall haif beſt Opinioun of: That is to ſay, for *Culros*, *Torryburn*, &c. [here follows a large Liſt along all the Coaſt] And ordanis Letteris to be direct to Officiaris of Armis, Sheriffis in that Part, chargeing thame to pas, command and charge the Perſonis *reſpectivè* above-wryttin, and every ane of thame, that thai within the Boundis appoyntit and limitat to thame, keip continwell and ſuire Watche, and diligentlie ſerche and tak Inquiſitioun quhat Schippis, Crayaris or Boittis pas furth of the ſamyn, or cumis within thame; As alſwa, quhat ſuſpect Perſonis being of the ſaidis Rebellis, thair Aſſiſtaris or Servandis, repairis, paſſis and repaſſis be the ſaidis Boundis, and tak and apprehend thame, and owther put thame to the King and Quenis Majeſties with poſſibill Dilligence, or gif tymeous Knawlege and Adverteiſment of the Apprehenſioun of thame; and in the tyme of thair taking, to ſerche and rype thame as the Perſonis above-wryttin ſall think maiſt meit and convenient; and that thai inquire at the depairting of ony Schippis, Crayaris or Boitis paſſand furth of the ſaid Boundis at ony Port or Place above-wryttin, the Caus of thair depairting, the Place thai ar frauchtit unto, the Namis of thair Cumpany and Equipage, and ſic utheris Thingis as thai ſall find neidfull and requiſit; as alſwa, to mak the lyke Serch and Inquiſitioun of quhatſumevir Schip, Crayar and Boit that ſall happin to arryve within ony of the Portis and Places above-wryttin, quhat Part and Place thai ar cum fra; and finding the Veſſchellis, or Perſonis or Gudis being thairin ſuſpitious, that thai ſtay the Schippis or Veſſchellis, tak the Sailis fra thair Rais, apprehend and impriſſoun the Perſonis quhill thai knaw the King and Quenis Majeſties Will and Pleſſour in that Behalf. And that thai charge all and ſindrie Inhabitantis within the Boundis limitat and appointit unto thame, to concur and aſſiſt with thame in the Executioun of the Premiſſis, under the Pane of Deid; with Certificatioun and thai faillie, gif ony thing beis attemptit in the contrair, Compt thairof ſalbe inquirit at thair Handis.

Apud Edinburgh 22. Octobris, 1565.

Charge on the Wardenis to attend the Paſſaige of the Rebellis.

R. M. THe quhilk Day, the King and Quenis Majeſties ar ſuirlie informit that thair Rebellis with thair Aſſiſtaris having now withdrawin thameſelffis in *Ingland*, daylie and continwallie at thair Pleſſour reſſortis and reparis within this Realme as thai wer thair Hieneſſes frie Liegis, perſwadand and ſeduceand the guid Subjectis to the lyke Rebellioun and Defectioun, and uſand utheris unleifull Practiſes: For Remeid quhairof, thair Majeſties ordanis Letteris to be direct to command and charge the Wardanis of the Eiſt, Midle and Weſt Marches, That thai, and ilk ane of thame, appoint Watches in everie hie Paſſaige and utheris Places neidfull within the Boundis of thair Chargeis *reſpectivè*, and diligentlie ſerch and gif Attendance what Perſonis owther paſſis in *Ingland*, or cumis thairfra towart this Realme; and finding thame to be ony of the ſaidis Rebellis, thair Aſſiſtaris, Partakaris, Servandis or Meſſengeris, or ony uthirwayis ſuſpect, that the Caus of thair Paſſaige be inquirit quhome for thai ar cum, and to quhome thai ar direct; and gif thai be found in ony wayis ſuſpitious, that than thair Perſonis be ſtayit, takin, apprehendit and brocht to thair Majeſties, and thameſelffis rypit, gif neid be, as the ſaidis Wardanis will anſwer to thair Majeſties upoun thair uttermaiſt Charge and Perell; and that thai command and charge all and ſindrie the Liegis dwelland within thair Boundis to underly ſic Directioun and Appointment as ſalbe gevin thame be the ſaidis Wardanis, for fulfilling of the Premiſſis, under the Pane of Deid; and to command alſwa *James* Erle of *Bothwell*, Lord *Halis* and *Crychtoun*, &c. Leutennent-Generall to all the ſaid Marchis, to ſie the Premiſſis fulfillit in all Pointis, as he will anſwer upoun the Executioun of his Office.

Apud Edinburgh 26. Octobris, 1565. R. M.

SEDERUNT *Jacobus Comes de Mortoun Cancellarius, Georgius Comes de Huntlie, Jacobus Comes de Bothwell, Joannes Comes de Atholl, Patricius Dominus Ruthven, Magiſter de Maxwell; Secretarius, Theſaurarius, Magiſter Jacobus Balfour Rector de Flysk.*

Proclamatioun to be reddie to pas with the Erle of Atholl.

N. B. This Proclamation narrates, how that divers wicked Perſons (from *Argile* perhaps) having committed many Depredations in *Athole*, and the Bounds adjacent; Therefore charging all the Lieges between Sixty and Sixteen, and all other fencible Perſons within the Sheriffdoms of *Perth* and *Forfar*, Stewartries of *Strathern* and *Monteith*, to attend the Earl of *Athole* Lieutenant of the North-Parts of the Realm, under the Pain of Tinſal of Life, Lands and Goods.

Apud Edinburgh 29. Octobris, 1565. Ibid.

SEDERUNT *Jacobus Comes de Mortoun Cancellarius. Georgius Comes de Huntlie, David Comes de Crawfurd, Patricius Dominus Ruthven; Secretarius, Theſaurarius, Computorum Rotulator, Clericus Regiſtri, Clericus Juſticiariæ, Advocatus, Magiſter Jacobus Balfour Rector de Flysk, Joannes Commendatarius de Lindores, Symon Preſtoun de eod. Præpoſitus de Edinburgh.*

The Earl of *Crawford* gives his Oath, and is received upon the Privy-Council

Charge on the Erle of Ergyle and Lord Boyd.

FOrſamekill as our Soverane Lordis and Ladyis Letteris wer direct, chargeing *Archibald* Erle of *Ergyle* and *Robert* Lord *Boyd* to haif comperit perſonallie befoir thair Majeſties at certane Dayis of lang tyme bigane, to haif anſwerit to ſic Thingis as ſould be laid to thair Charge, lykeas at mair lenth is contenit in the Chargeis direct to that Effect: And albeit the ſaidis Erle and Lord hes bene ſerchit and ſocht, zit can nocht the ſaid Charge be dewlie execute, becauſe thair is nocht ſuire Paſſaige to the ſaid Erlis Preſence and Dwelling-placeis, nor zit is the Dwelling-place of the ſaid Lord certane; And thairfoir the King and Quenis Majeſties, with the Advyſe of the Lordis of thair ſecrete Counſall, ordanis Letteris to be direct to Officiaris of Armis, Sheriffis in that Part, chargeing thame to pas to the Mercat-Croces of the Burrowis of *Striviling, Dumbartane, Air*, and utheris Placeis neidfull, and thair be opin Proclamatioun in thair Majeſties Name and Authoritie command and charge the ſaid Erle of *Ergyle* and *Robert* Lord *Boyd* to compeir befoir the King and Quenis Majeſties, and Lordis of thair ſecrete Counſall, upoun the ſext Day nixt eftir thai be chargit thairto, under the Pane of Rebellioun and putting of thame to the Horne, To anſwer to ſic Thingis as ſalbe laid to thair Charge; and gif thai faillie thairin, the ſaidis ſex Dayis being bipaſt, to denunce thame Rebellis, and put thame to the Horne, and to eſcheat, &c.

Apud Edinburgh 1. Decembris, 1565. Ibid.

SEDERUNT *Jacobus Comes de Mortoun, Georgius Comes de Huntlie, Joannes Comes de Atholl, David Comes de Crawfurd, Alexander Epiſcopus Candidæ Caſæ; Secretarius, Theſaurarius, Clericus Regiſtri, Clericus Juſticiariæ, Advocatus, Magiſter Jacobus Balfour Rector de Flysk, Robertus Carnegy de Kinaird, Miles.*

Declaratioun anent the Executioun of the Summondis of Treſſoun.

THe quhilk Day, in Preſence of the King and Quenis Majeſties and Lordis of ſecrete Counſall, comperit Mr. *Johne Spens* of *Condy* Advocat to thair

Hieneſſes, and exponit how at thair Majeſties Command he had lybellit Summondis of Treſſoun aganis *Archibald* Erle of *Ergyle*, *James* Erle of *Murray*, *Alexander* Erle of *Glencairne*, *Andro* Erle of *Rothes*, *Andro* Lord *Uchiltrie*, *Robert* Lord *Boyd*, and diverſe utheris, to compeir in the nixt Parliament, to begin the Ferd Day of *Februarij* nixt tocum, to heir thame decernit to haif incurrit the Cryme of les Majeſtie, and to haif tynt and forfault Lyff, Landis and Gudis, for certane Crymes of Treſſoun and les Majeſtie ſpecificit in the ſaid Summondis: Bot becaus thair wes diverſe of the ſaidis Perſonis outwith the Realme, and havand na certane Dwelling-places, utheris to quhais Dwelling-places and Preſence thair is na ſuir Paſſage; It behuvit thame be ſummond be opin Proclamatioun at the Mercat-Croce of *Edinburgh*, and utheris Croces nixt adjacent, according to the commoun Law, and thairupoun deſyrit a Declaratioun and Determinatioun of thair Majeſties and Lordis foirſaidis: The quhilk being reſſonit with guid Deliberatioun and Avyſment, thair Majeſties and Lordſchipis findis and declaris, That the ſaidis Perſonis being ſummondit in maner eſtir ſpecifiet, the Executioun is als ſufficient in all Reſpectis as gif the ſame Summondis wer execute upoun thame perſonallie, or at thair Dwelling-places.

R. M. *Apud Edinburgh 22. Decembris, 1565.*

SEDERUNT *Jacobus Comes de Mortoun Cancellarius, Georgius Comes de Huntlie, Joannes Comes de Atholl, Joannes Comes de Mar, Patricius Dominus Ruthven, Alexander Epiſcopus Candidæ Caſæ, Joannes Maxwell de Terreglis, Miles.*

The new Riall cunziet.

IT is ſtatute and ordanit be our Soveranis Quene and Kingis Majeſties, with Avyſe of the Lordis of thair Majeſties Privie-Couuſall, That thair be cunzeit ane Penny of Silvir callit the *MARY RYALL*, the fynes of elevin Deneirs fyne, and of Weicht ane Unce Troce-weicht, with twa Granes of Remeid [*f.* Allay] alſweill of Weicht as Fynes; havand on the ane Syde ane Palme-tree crownit; ane Schell-padoke crepand up the Shank of the ſamyn; ane Axill about the Tre, wryttin thairin *Dat gloria vires*, the Dait of the Zeir thairundir, with this Circumſcriptioun begyning at ane Thirſill, *exurgat Deus & diſſipentur inimici ejus:* And on the uthir Syde, our ſaidis Soveranis Armis coverit with ane cloſe Crown, ane Thirſill on ilk Syde, with this Circumſcriptioun begyning at ane Croce directlie above the Crown, *Maria & Henricus Dei gratia Regina & Rex Scotorum (a)*, the ſaid Penny to haif cours for xxx *ſh.* Money of this Realme *(b)*, the Twa-part for xx *ſh.* and the Third-part for x *ſh.* all of this ſamyn Fynes and Prent, and of Weicht equivalent; to witt, the Twa-part of Weicht xvi Deneris, and the Third-part viii Deneris. In Conſideratioun quhairof, we charge *David Foreſt* Generall of our Cunzie, *Johne Acheſoun* Maiſter-Cunzeour, and all utheris Officiaris of our Cunzie-hous, ilk ane in thair awin Office, to forge, prent, and caus be forgeit and prentit ſic Peices of Weicht and Fynes within thair Remeids, as is above-ſpecifiet; and that Letteris be direct for Publicatioun heirof in dew Forme as efferis, ſwa that nane pretend Ignorance heirof.

N°. X.

(*a*) This was the firſt large Silver-Piece that had been coined in this Kingdom. I have elſewhere obſerved that this is the only Inſtance almoſt of the King's Name being put poſterior to that of the Queen. However to make Amends herein, as it were, to the King, (tho' indeed I can hardly ſee how the Queen could place her Husband's Name *before* her own on the publick Money of the Nation;) the famous Ewe-tree of *Crookſton*, the Inheritance of the Family of *Darnly* in the Pariſh of *Paiſley*, is made the Reverſe of this new Coin; and the Inſcription about the Tree, *Dat gloria vires*, is no doubt with a View to reflect Honour on the *Lenox*-Family. This Tree, which ſtands to this Day, is of ſo large a Trunk, and ſo well ſpread in its Branches, that it is ſeen at ſeveral Miles diſtance.

(*b*) This affords abſolute Certainty of the Value of Silver with us at that Time as to its Denomination, *viz.* that the Ounce of Silver contained but half the Number of *Shillings*, by what it contains at preſent; and conſequently that the Denomination of our Money was *then* Six to One of the *Engliſh*, whereas it is *now* Twelve for One; and that our Shilling was double in weight of Silver, by what it is *now*.

No. X.

Shatter'd MS.

Rycht excellent, Rycht heich and mychtie Princeſſe, oure derreſt Siſter and Couſing, we commend us unto zou in oure maiſt hartlie Maner; We perceave that in Place of the guid Amytie and mutuall Intelligence quhilk heirtofoir hes of lang tyme continewit betwix us, thair is to oure Greif ane Cauldnes enterit in, as we ſuppone, be Informatioun of ſum Miniſteris, quhilkis hes nocht ſa faithfullie reportit the Materis than being in hand amangis us, as thair Dewtie requirit; zit for removing thairof on oure Part, quhilk be all Meanis honeſt poſſibill we mynd to do, and reducing of our auld Familiaritie to the former Eſtait, we haif thocht guid that ane of oure awin Servandis be neir unto zou, quhais Report ze may credit, and that be him mair commodiouſle ze may haif Intelligence of oure guid Will towartis zou in everie Behalf; and having fund this Berare *Robert Malvile* fit for the Purpois, quhome in reſpect of his humill Submiſſioun maid to us, and of the Sute of diverſe nobill Men and utheris oure truſtie Servandis his Freindis, we haif pardonit of his formar Offenceis, in hope of his honeſt Behaviour and faythfull Service in tyme cumming, hes directit him to remane and attend upoun zou, allſweill for continewing of oure guid Intelligence of Amytie, as to mak us trew Advertiſment from zou of all Materis: Praying zou, derreſt Siſter, not onlie to gif him Acces and favorabill Audience as occaſioun ſall require it, bot allſwa to credeit him fra tyme to tyme on oure Behalf, as we ſall particularlie wryte unto him.

Ibid.

Rycht truſtie and weilbelovit, we greit zou weill: The Berare heirof *Robert Malvile* being of us, at the erniſt Sute of diverſe nobill Men and utheris oure truſtie Servandis his Freindis, pardonit of his formar Offenceis, hes thocht meit to direct him to oure derreſt Siſter and Cuſing the Quene zour Maiſtres, to attend upoun hir for ſic Beſines, as be a Lettre of oures ſend with him to hir ze will knaw, quhairto we doubt not bot ze wilbe maid previe: And for that we haif heirtofoir fund that ze as a guid Miniſter hes done guid Offices amangis us, wald not pretermit at this preſent to wryte allſwa unto zou with the ſaid *Robert*, to deſyre and pray zou that ze will continew zour formar Faſſioun of doing, in beſtowing zour Labouris for nuriſſing and mantaining of the guid Intelligence betwix us and oure ſaid derreſt Siſter, and that be zour Meanis the ſaid *Robert* may haif Acces to hir frome tyme to tyme; quhairby as ze ſall declair the Frute of zour guid Miniſterie, ſa will ze do us acceptabill Pleſſour in this Behalf.

No. XI. *A Diſcourſe of the late Troubles that happened in* Scotland *betwixt the noble and mighty Princeſs* Mary *by the Grace of* GOD *Queen of* Scots *and her Husband* Henry *the King; with other Earls, Barons, Gentlemen and Freeholders, Merchants and Craftſmen on their Parts, the 9th Day of* March 1565. *Written in* Berwick *the laſt of* April 1566.

Julius, F. 50. a Copy.

Whereas the Lord *Ruthven* of *Scotland*, aged Forty ſix, was viſited by the Hand of God with great Trouble and Sickneſs, having two Infirmities, an Inflammation of the Liver, and a Conſumption of the Kidneys, whereby he kept his Bed continually for the Space of three Months under the Cure of Medicines, as the Queen's *French* Doctor, Dr. *David Preſton* and *Thomas Thomſon* Apothecary, and ſo feeble that he ſcarcely might walk twice the length of his Chamber. In the mean Seaſon the King, Husband to the Queen, conceived an Hatred againſt the *Italian* called *David Ricchio*, and about the 10th of *February* the King ſent his dear Friend and Couſin *George Douglas* Son to his Uncle *Archibald Douglas* Earl of *Angus*, and declared unto the ſaid Lord *Ruthven* how that the ſaid *David* abuſed the King in many ſorts, and ſtay'd the Queen's Majeſty from giving him the Crown Matrimonial of *Scotland*, which her Majeſty had promiſed to him ſundry times, beſides many other Wrongs which he could not bear longer, and behoved him to be revenged. And becauſe the ſaid Lord *Ruthven* was one to whom he truſted, in reſpect that his Children and the King were Couſins of the firſt Degree (*a*), he required his Counſel which way he might be revenged of the ſaid *David*. The Lord *Ruthven* anſwered, That he would give no Anſwer in that Matter, becauſe he knew the King's Youth and Facility to be ſo, that ſundry of the Nobility before, giving him Counſel ſuitable to his Honour, he revealed the ſame to the Queen's Majeſty, whereby her Grace had them in high Diſpleaſure; and therefore would have no dealing with his Proceedings, till he underſtood that he could better keep his own Counſel: With which Anſwer the ſaid *George Douglas* departed to the King. About the 12th of *February* the King hearing the Anſwer, was much diſcontented, and ſaid, 'Tis a ſore Caſe that I cannot get any of the Nobility to aſſiſt me againſt this Villain *David*. To which *George* anſwered, The Default was in himſelf, in that he could not keep his own Secret. Then the King took a Book and ſwore thereon, That what Counſel the Lord *Ruthven* would give him, he would not reveal the ſame to the Queen, or to any other; and immediately diſpatched the ſaid *George Douglas* again to the Lord *Ruthven*, to declare what Oath the King had made. Notwithſtanding the Lord *Ruthven* remained eight Days ere he would give any Advice therein. Then again *George* being ſent unto him, the ſaid Lord underſtood the King's Intent was the Slaughter of *David*, and conſidering he had now a good Time to labour for certain of the Nobility baniſhed the Realm, anſwered, That he would not medle with the King's Affairs, unleſs the King would grant that the Lords baniſhed for the Word of God might return to their Country and Eſtates; to which he yielded, on Condition that they ſhould ſtand by him by their Subſcription, which *Ruthven* promiſed. On which the King directed the ſaid *George Douglas* to the Lord *Ruthven*, with certain Articles to be ſubſcribed by the Lord *Ruthven* and the reſt, which was done: And they ſent certain Articles to the King to be ſubſcribed on his Part, which he did; and the ſame was delivered to the ſaid Lord *Ruthven*, who demanded Articles for the Earl of *Murray*, *Argile*, *&c.* which was granted, and delivered to the ſaid Earl, the Tenor whereof enſueth:

Certain Articles to be ſubſcribed by James *Earl of* Murray, Archibald *Earl of* Argile, Alexander *Earl of* Glencairn, Andrew *Earl of* Rothes, Robert *Lord* Boyd, Andrew *Lord* Ochiltree, *and other Complices of the noble and mighty Prince* Henry *King of* Scotland; *which they offer with all Lowlineſs to the ſaid Prince, for whom they pray.*

1. THe ſaid Earls, Lords and Complices ſhall become, and by the Tenor hereof becomes true Subjects and faithful Servants to the noble and mighty Prince *Henry* King of *Scotland*, Husband to our Sovereign Lady; That they and theirs will take his Part in all his Cauſes and Quarrels againſt whomſoever it be, to the uttermoſt of their Power, and ſhall be Friends to his Friends, and Enemies to his Enemies, and therein neither ſpare their Lands, Lives or Eſtates.

2. The ſaid Lords and their Complices ſhall, at the firſt Parliament that ſhall be after their Return, grant, give and ordain the Matrimonial Crown to the ſaid noble Prince all the Days of his Life; and if any Perſon or Perſons withſtand or gainſay the ſame, the ſaid Earls, Lords and their Complices ſhall take ſuch Part as the ſaid noble Prince liketh, in all ſorts whatſoever for obtaining the ſame.

3. *Item*, The ſaid Earls, Lords and their Complices ſhall fortify and maintain the ſaid noble Prince in his juſt Title to the Crown of *Scotland*, failing of Succeſſion of our ſaid Sovereign Lady, and ſhall juſtify and ſet forward the ſame at

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(*a*) He married a natural Daughter of the Earl of *Angus*, who was thereby indeed Aunt natural to the King.

at their uttermoſt: And if any Man will uſurp or gainſay the ſaid juſt Title, the ſaid Lords, *&c.* ſhall defend the ſame without Fear of Life or Death; and ſhall purſue, ſlay or expel the ſaid Uſurpers.

4. As to the Religion eſtabliſhed by the Queen's Majeſty ſince her Arrival into this Realm, whereupon Proclamations and Edicts were made, that they and every one of them ſhall fortify and maintain the ſame at their uttermoſt Power.

5. *Item,* As they are become true Subjects to the ſaid noble Prince, ſo ſhall they not ſpare Life or Limb in ſetting forward all that may tend to the Advancement of his Honour.

6. *Item,* The ſaid Earls, *&c.* ſhall labour at the Queen of *England*'s Hands for the Title of the ſaid Prince's Mother and Brother as they may by any Means.

Certain Articles to be fulfilled by the noble and mighty Prince Henry *King of* Scotland, *Husband to our Sovereign Lady, to* James *Earl of* Murray, Archibald *Earl of* Argile, Alexander *Earl of* Glencairn, Andrew *Earl of* Rothes, Robert *Lord* Boyd, Andrew *Lord* Ochiltree, *remaining in* England.

1. THe ſaid noble Prince ſhall obtain their Remiſſions, if they require the ſame, for all Faults of whatſoever Quality or Kind, and perſevere in purſuing for the ſame till obtained, aſſoon as by their Help and Supply he obtain the Crown Matrimonial, and ſtop and impede, that they ſhall not be called nor accuſed for whatſoever Crime; and freely remit and forgive the ſaid Earls, Lords, and their Complices, all Crimes of whatſoever Quality or Condition they be, and to bury and put them in Oblivion as if they had never been; and ſhall receive them at their Return thankfully as other true and faithful Subjects and Servants.

2. *Item,* We ſhall not ſuffer the ſaid Earls, *&c.* to be called or accuſed in Parliament, nor ſuffer any Forfeiture to be laid againſt them, but ſhall ſtop the ſame to our uttermoſt Power.

3. *Item,* That the foreſaid Earls, *&c.* returning into the Realm of *Scotland*, ſhall uſe and enjoy their Lands, Livings, Benefices, as before their paſſing into *England*, and maintain and fortify them in the Enjoyment of the ſame againſt all Perſons to the uttermoſt of our Power.

4. *Item,* As to the ſaid Earls, *&c.* their Religion, We are contented and conſent that they uſe the ſame according to the Queen's Majeſty's Proclamation made thereupon; and if any Perſon or Perſons offer to make Impediment therein, we ſhall take Part with the aforeſaid Earls, *&c.* to the uttermoſt of our Power. And after their Return, upon their adhering and good Service to be done to us, We the ſaid noble Prince ſhall conſent, aid and aſſiſt to the eſtabliſhing the Religion now profeſt, and concur with them, if any Power ſhall withſtand them.

5. *Item,* We ſhall fortify and maintain the ſaid Earls, *&c.* againſt whomſoever, in all their juſt Cauſes and Quarrels.

All this while the King kept Sight from the Queen's Majeſty all his Proceedings; and as her Majeſty ſought by ſubtile Means to learn of him what was in his Mind, ſo he crafted with her to underſtand her Mind. In the mean time he ſending to the Lord *Ruthven*, ſaying that he would not abide *David* any longer; and if his Slaughter were not haſted, he would ſlay him himſelf, yea though it were in the Queen's Chamber; the ſaid Lord *Ruthven* counſelled him to the contrary, and thought it not decent that he ſhould put hand on ſuch a mean Perſon; whereupon the ſaid Lord *Ruthven* affixed a Day whereon *David* ſhould be ſlain, though he would have him rather to be judged by the Nobility. To which the King anſwered, That it was cumberſome to them in ſuch a Caſe, but would have him hang'd or diſpatched otherwiſe. In the mean time the King and Queen's Majeſties rode to *Seton-houſe*: The King burning in his Deſire of the Slaughter of *David*, ſent divers privy Writings in his own

Hand to the Lord *Ruthven*, and a Meſſage to *George Douglas* to be ſhewed to *Ruthven*, to have all Things in a readineſs againſt his Return to *Edinburgh*, towards the Slaughter of the ſaid *David*, otherwiſe he would put the ſame in Execution with his own Hands. Mean time the Lord *Ruthven* practiſing with the Earl of *Morton* the King's nigh Kinſman, and the Lord *Lindſay* whoſe Wife was a *Douglas*, and with a Number of Barons and Gentlemen, to aſſiſt the King in ſuch Affairs as he had to do, and that they ſhould have their Religion freely eſtabliſhed, conform to *Chriſt*'s Book, and to the Articles ſubſcribed by the King to the Lords. And after the King's Return from *Seton*, he directed *George Douglas* to the Earl of *Morton* and Lord *Ruthven*, to ſee what Day ſhould be appointed, with Place and Time for Performance of the Enterprize againſt *David:* To which they anſwered, That they would have a ſufficient Number ready againſt *Friday* or *Saturday* the 8th or 9th of *March*, and they thought it beſt to take him in his own Chamber, or in paſſing through the Cloſe, which the King refuſed ſimply; and that he could not be taken in his own Chamber, for the laſt Night he tarried late with the Queen's Majeſty, he lay in the other Cabinet, and ſometimes in *Seignior Francis* Chamber, and ſometimes in his own Chamber, which had ſundry Back-doors and Windows through which he might eaſily eſcape: Therefore he would have him taken at Supper-time ſitting with her Majeſty at the Table, that he might be taunted in her Preſence, becauſe ſhe had not entertained her Husband according to her accuſtomed Manner, nor as ſhe ought of Duty. To which the ſaid Earl and Lord were loath to yeild; but no Reaſon would prevail, and he deviſed the Matter himſelf as followeth.

Upon *Saturday* at Supper, *Morton* and *Ruthven* and *Lindſay* ſhould have been ready, ſo many as would be Partakers with the King, and aſſoon as he ſent them Word, the Earl *Morton* ſhould go up to her Majeſty's Chamber, and the Lord *Ruthven* to come through the King's Privy-Chamber; and that the King ſhould paſs up before a private Way to the Queen's Chamber, and open the Door, wherethrough the ſaid Lord and his Company ſhould enter; and when the King himſelf ſhould be ſpeaking with the Queen's Majeſty, the reſt of the Gentlemen and Barons to be in the Court of the Gates. Whereupon the ſaid Earl of *Morton* and Lord *Ruthven* conſidering the King's Device toward the killing the ſaid *David* in the Queen's Majeſty's Chamber, conſidering he was a young Prince, and having a luſty Princeſs afterwards to lie in his Arms, who might perſwade him to deny all that was done, and alledge that others perſwaded him to the ſame, thought it neceſſary to have Surety thereupon, who made a Bond to the Earls, Lords, Barons, Freeholders, Merchants and Craftſmen in the King's Name, declaring, That what was to be done was his own Device and Invention; and by Bond obliged himſelf, his Heirs, *&c.* to them, their Heirs and Succeſſors, to keep them ſkaithleſs for executing *David* in the Queen's Majeſty's Preſence, or otherwiſe as the ſaid Bond more at large declareth.

Upon *Saturday* the 9th of *March*, conform to the King's Ordinance and Device, the ſaid Earl *Morton*, Lord *Ruthven* and Lord *Lindſay*, having their Men and Friends in a Readineſs, abiding the King's Advertiſement; the King having ſupp'd the ſooner for the ſame Purpoſe, and the Queen's Majeſty in her Cabinet within her Inner-Chamber at Supper, the King ſent for the ſaid Earl, Lords and their Accomplices, and deſired them to make haſte and come to the Palace, for he ſhould have the Door of the Privy-Chamber open, and ſhould be talking with the Queen before their coming. The ſaid Earl *Morton*, Lords *Ruthven* and *Lindſay*, with their Accomplices, entring the Palace by the King's Commandment, and the ſaid Earl *Morton* to the King's Outer-Chamber, and certain with him; and the ſaid Lord *Ruthven* the other Way through the King's Chamber to the Cabinet, up to the privy Way to the Queen's Chamber, as the King directed them, and through the Chamber to the Cabinet, where they found her Majeſty at Supper, at a little Table, the Lady *Argile* at the one End, and

and *David* at the other End, his Cap on his Head, the King ſpeaking with her Majeſty, with his Hand about her Waſte.

The ſaid Lord *Ruthven* at his entring in, ſaid unto the Queen's Majeſty, Let it pleaſe your Majeſty that yonder Man *David* come forth of your Privy-Chamber, where he hath been over-long. The Queen anſwered, What Offence hath he done? *Ruthven* anſwered, That he made a greater and more hainous Offence to her Majeſty's Honour, the King her Husband, the Nobility and Common-wealth. And how? ſaid ſhe. If it would pleaſe your Majeſty, ſaid the Lord *Ruthven*, he hath offended your Honour which I dare not be ſo bold as to ſpeak of. As to the King your Husband's Honour, he hath hindred him of the Crown Matrimonial which your Grace promiſed him, beſides many other Things which are not neceſſary to be expreſſed; and hath cauſed your Majeſty to baniſh a great Part of the Nobility, and to forfeit them, that he might be made a Lord. And to your Common-weal he hath been a common Deſtroyer, hindring your Majeſty to grant or give any thing but what paſſed through his Hands, by taking of Bribes for the ſame; and cauſed your Majeſty to put at the Lord *Roſs* for his whole Land, becauſe he would not give over the Lands of *Melvin* to the ſaid *David*, beſides many other Inconveniencies that he ſolicited your Majeſty to do. Then the ſaid Lord *Ruthven* ſaid to the King, Sir, take the Queen your Wife and Sovereign to you, who ſtood all amazed, and wiſt not what to do. Then her Majeſty roſe upon her Feet, and ſtood before *David*, he holding her Majeſty by the Plates of her Gown, leaning back over the Window his Dagger drawn in his Hand, and *Arthur Areskin*, and the Abbot of *Holy-rood-houſe*, and the Lord *Keith* Maſter of the Houſhold, with the *French* Pothecary, and one of the Chamber, began to lay Hands on the Lord *Ruthven*, none of the King's Party being there preſent. Then the ſaid Lord *Ruthven* pulled out his Dagger, and defended himſelf until moe came in, and ſaid to them, Lay no Hands on me, for I will not be handled. At the coming in of others into the Cabinet, the ſaid Lord *Ruthven* put up his Dagger; and with the ruſhing in of Men, the Board fell into the Wall, Meat and Candles being thereon, and the Lady of *Argile* took one of the Candles in her Hand. At the ſame inſtant the Lord *Ruthven* took the Queen in his Arms, and put her into the King's Arms, beſeeching her Majeſty not to be afraid, for there was no Man there that would do her Body any Harm more than they would do their own Hearts; and aſſured her Majeſty, that all that was done was the King's own Deed. And the remnant of the Gentlemen being in the Cabinet took *David* out of the Window, and after they had him out of the Queen's Chamber, the ſaid Lord *Ruthven* followed, and bade take him away down to the King's Chamber the privy Way; and the ſaid Lord returned to the Cabinet, thinking that the ſaid *David* had been taken down to the King's Chamber, the Preſs of the People hurled him forth to the Outer-Chamber, where there was a great Number ſtanding who were vehemently moved againſt him, ſo that they could not abide any longer, but ſlew him at the Queen's Fore-door in the other Chamber. Immediately the Earl *Morton* paſſed forth of the Queen's Outer-Chamber to the Nether-Court, for the Keeping of the ſame and the Gates, and deputed certain Barons to keep certain Chambers, until he knew the Queen's Majeſty's Pleaſure and the King's. Shortly after, her Majeſty ſaid to the Lord *Lindſay*, *Arthur Areskin* and the Earl *Morton*, to paſs to *David*'s Chamber to fetch the black Coffer, with the Writings and Cyphers, which the ſaid Earl *Morton* delivered, and gave the Chamber in keeping to *John Symple* Son to the Lord *Symple*, with thoſe Goods, both Gold and Silver and Apparel therein. In the mean time the Queen's Majeſty and the King came forth of the Cabinet to the Queen's Chamber, where the Queen's Majeſty began to reaſon with the King. My Lord, Why have you cauſed to do this wicked Deed to me? conſidering that I took you from low Eſtate, and made you my Huſband? What Offence have I given you that you ſhould do me ſuch Shame? The King anſwered, I have good Reaſon for me, for ſince yonder Fellow

David came in Credit and Familiarity with your Majeſty, you neither regarded me, entertained me, nor truſted me after your wonted Faſhion; for every Day before Dinner you were wont to come to my Chamber, and paſt the Time with me, and this long Time you have not done ſo; and when I came to your Majeſty's Chamber, you bare me little Company except *David* had been the third Perſon; and after Supper your Majeſty uſed to ſit up at the Cards with the ſaid *David* till One or Two after Midnight: And this is the Entertainment that I have had of you this long Time. Her Majeſty anſwered, That it was not a Gentlewoman's Duty to come to her Huſband's Chamber, but rather the Huſband to come to the Wife's. The King anſwered, How came you to my Chamber in the beginning, and ever till within theſe ſix Months, that *David* fell into Familiarity with you? Or am I fail'd in any ſort in my Body? Or what Diſdain have you of me? Or what Offences have I done you that you ſhould coy me at all Times alike, ſeeing I am willing to do all Things that becometh a good Huſband? Suppoſe I be of mean Degree, yet am I your Huſband, and you promiſed me Obedience at the Day of your Marriage, and that I ſhould be participant and equal with you in all Things; but you have uſed me otherwiſe by the Perſwaſion of *David*. The Queen anſwered, My Lord, all the Offence that is done me, you have the Wite thereof, for the which I ſhall be your Wife no longer, nor ly with you any more, and ſhall never like well till I cauſe you have as ſorrowful a Heart as I have at this preſent. Then the Lord *Ruthven* made Anſwer, and beſought her Majeſty to be of good Comfort, to entertain her Huſband, and uſe the Counſel of the Nobility, and then her Government would be as proſperous as in any King's Days. The ſaid Lord *Ruthven* being ſore fell'd with his Sickneſs, and wearied with his Travel, deſired her Majeſty's Pardon to ſit down, and called for Drink for God's ſake; ſo a *Frenchman* brought him a Cup of Wine, and after he drank, her Majeſty began to rail at him, ſaying, Is this your Sickneſs? He anſwered, God forbid your Majeſty had ſuch a Sickneſs. Then the Queen ſaid, If ſhe died of her Child, or her Common-weal periſhed, ſhe would leave the Revenge thereof to her Friends to be taken of the ſaid Lord *Ruthven* and his Poſterity; for ſhe had the King of *Spain* and the Emperor her great Friends, and likewiſe the King of *France* her Good-Brother, with her Uncles of *Lorrain*, beſides the Pope's Holineſs, and many other Princes in *Italy*. *Ruthven* anſwered, That theſe noble Princes were over great Perſonages to medle with ſuch a poor Man as he was, being her Majeſty's own Subject: And what her Majeſty ſaid, that if ſhe or her Child and Common-weal periſhed, ſhe ſaid Lord *Ruthven* would have the Wyte thereof; he anſwered, If any of theſe *three* periſhed, her Majeſty's ſelf and her particular Council ſhould have the Wyte thereof before God and the World; for there was no Man within the Palace but would honour and ſerve her Majeſty as became true Subjects, and would ſuffer no Harm to come to her Body more than to their own Hearts: And if any Thing be done this Night that your Majeſty miſlikes, the King your Huſband, and none of us, is in the Wyte; which he confeſſed to be true.

At this Inſtant, *Gray* knocked faſt at the Queen's Door, declaring that the Earls of *Huntly*, *Athole*, *Bothwell*, *Cathneſs* and *Sutherland*, the Lords *Fleming*, *Levingſton*, the Secretary, and *Tullibardin* the Comptroller, with their Officers and Servants, were fighting in the Cloſe againſt the Earl *Morton* and his Company, being on the King's Part. The King hearing the ſame, would have gone down, but the Lord *Ruthven* ſtay'd him, and went down himſelf, deſiring the King to entertain the Queen's Majeſty in the mean time. The ſaid Lord *Ruthven* went down ſupported by the Arms, and before his coming the Officers were going in at their Houſes, and the Lords were holden in at the Gallery-door by the Earl *Morton* and others, who were conſtrained to paſs up to the Gallery, and to their Chambers; ſo the ſaid Lord *Ruthven* paſſed up to the Earl *Bothwell*'s Chamber, where he found *Huntly*, *Cathneſs*, *Sutherland*, and divers others, where he ſhewed the whole Proceedings of that Night, and how it was invented by the King himſelf, as his Hand-writ ſhould ſhew; and how he had ſent for the Lords that were baniſhed in *England* and *Argile*, who would be there before Day. And becauſe there was ſome Enmity unreconciled between the Earls of *Huntly* and *Bothwell*, and *Argile* and *Murray*, the ſame ſhould be made up at the Sight of the Nobility, they doing the like. Whereupon the Earls of *Huntly* and *Bothwell* gave him their Hand, and after they drank, the ſaid Lord *Ruthven* took his Leave of them, and paſſed to the Earl of *Athole*'s Chamber, accompanied with the Earls of *Cathneſs* and *Sutherland* and the Lord *Gray*, and found with the ſaid Earl the Comptroller, Secretary and *James Balfour*, with divers others; and becauſe of the Familiarity between the ſaid Earl and *Ruthven*, the Earl began to be angry with *Ruthven* for concealing from him what Enterprize ſoever he had to do, who anſwered, That it was the King's Attempt and Device, and that none of them had any further medling therein than as the King commanded, as he had Writing to teſtify; and that it was the King's Secret, and fear'd that if he had given him Knowledge thereof, he would reveal it to her Majeſty, which might hinder the Purpoſe, and cauſe the King to have holden *Ruthven* for a diſhoneſt Man. The Earl perceiving all to be the King's own doing, deſired *Ruthven* to go to the King, and obtain Leave for him to paſs into his own Country, with them that were then in the Chamber with him.

Mean while *Bothwell* and *Huntly* hearing of the other Lords return out of *England*, thought it better to eſcape than remain; ſo they went out at a low Window, and away. Mean time while the Lord *Ruthven* was with *Athole*, the King declared to the Queen's Majeſty, That he had ſent for the Lords to return again; whereunto ſhe anſwered, That ſhe was not to *blame* that they were ſo long away, for ſhe could be content to have them home at any Time but for angring of him: And to verify the ſame, when the Queen gave Remiſſion to the Duke, he was miſcontent therewith. Then came the Provoſt of *Edinburgh*, and a great Company of the Townſmen armed to the Outer-Court of the Palace, where the King called out of the Window to them to return to their Houſes, for he and the Queen's Majeſty were in good Health. The Lord *Ruthven* being come up to the Queen's Chamber, where the King was, he ſhewed them that there was no Hurt done. Then her Majeſty enquired what was become of *David*? *Ruthven* anſwered, that he believed in the King's Chamber; for he thought not fit to ſhew how he died. Then her Majeſty asked the ſaid Lord *Ruthven*, what Kindneſs was betwixt *Murray* and him? Remember you, ſaid ſhe, what the Earl *Murray* would have me do unto you, for giving me the Ring? *Ruthven* anſwered, That he would bear no Quarrel for that Cauſe, but would forgive him and all others for God's ſake; and as for that Ring, it had no more Vertue than another Ring, but was a little Ring with a pointed Diamond in it. Remember you not, ſaid her Majeſty, that you ſaid it had a Vertue to keep me from poiſoning? Liketh your Grace, ſaid he, I ſaid ſo much, that the Ring had that Vertue; but I take that evil Opinion out of your Head, of Preſuppoſition that you conceived that the Proteſtants would have done, which he knew the contrary, and that the Proteſtants would do no more Harm to your Majeſty's Body than to their own Heart. It was ſo imprinted in your Majeſty's Mind, that it could not be taken away without a contrary Impreſſion. Then ſaid her Majeſty to the Lord *Ruthven*, What Offence or Default have I done to be thus handled? Enquire, ſaid he, at the King your Husband. Nay, ſaid ſhe, I will enquire of you; who anſwered, Madam, Madam, if it would pleaſe your Majeſty to remember that you have this long Time a Number of perverſe Perſons, and eſpecially *David* a Stranger *Italian*, who hath ruled and guided the Country without Advice of the Nobility and Council, eſpecially againſt thoſe Noblemen that were baniſhed. Her Majeſty anſwered, Were you not one of my Council? why would you not declare if I would do any thing amiſs? Becauſe your Majeſty would hear no ſuch thing in all the Time your Majeſty was at *Glaſgow* and *Dumfries*, but when ever you called your Council together, did Things by your ſelf and your privy Perſons, albeit your Nobility be at the Pains and Expences. Well, ſaid her Majeſty, you find great Fault with me, I will be content to ſet down my Crown before the Lords of the Articles, and if they find that I have offended, to give it where they pleaſe. Then anſwered the Lord *Ruthven*, God forbid Madam: But who choſe the ſaid Lords of the Articles? Not I, ſaid ſhe. Saving your Majeſty's Reverence, ſaid he, you choſe them all in *Seaton*, and nominated them; and as for your Majeſty's Council, it hath been ſuffered to wait this long Time, and what was done it behoved them to ſay it was your Majeſty's Pleaſure. And to the Lords of the Articles, your Majeſty firſt choſe ſuch as would ſay whatſoever you thought expedient to the Forfeitures of the baniſhed Lords: And now when the Lords of the Articles have ſitten certain Days reaſoning, if they could find any principal Cauſe why they ſhould be forfeited, no Madam, not ſo much as one Point, except falſe Witneſs be brought in againſt them: Whereunto ſhe gave no Anſwer. Then the Lord *Ruthven* perceiving that her Majeſty was very ſick, he ſaid to the King, It was beſt to take Leave of her Majeſty, that ſhe might take her Reſt: So the King took his Goodnight, and came forth of the Queen's Chamber, and we with him, and left none there but the Ladies and Gentlewomen: And when the King came to his own Chamber, *Ruthven* declared unto him the Meſſage he had from the Earl of *Athole* to the King, to have Leave to return home; which the King was loath to do, unleſs he gave him a Bond that he ſhould be his. To which *Ruthven* anſwered, That he was a true Man, and kept the Thing he ſaid as well as others their Hand-writing and Seals. Then the King deſired the Lord *Ruthven* to fetch *Athole* to him, which he did; who after he had talked with the King, he deſired the ſaid Earl to be ready to come to him whenſoever he ſent for him. He anſwered, Whenſoever it would pleaſe the Queen's Grace and him to ſend for him, he would gladly come at all Times; and deſired the King that he might ſpeak to the Queen, which the King denied: And the Earl took his Leave, and paſſed to his Chamber, and the Lord *Ruthven* with him; for he made him ready, and in his Company the Earls of *Sutherland* and *Cathneſs*, the Maſter of *Cathneſs*, the Secretary and Comptroller, with *James Balfour*, the Lord *Grahame*, with divers others. Immediately the King directed two Writings ſubſcribed by his own Hand on *Saturday* after the Slaughter of *David*, to certain Men of *Edinburgh* bearing Office, charging them to convey Men in Arms, and make Watch in the Town, and to ſuffer none to come out of Doors except Proteſtants, under all high Pain that after might follow. And upon the Morrow, which was *Sunday* the 10th of *March*, directed a Letter ſubſcribed with his own Hand, making Mention that it was not his Will that the Parliament ſhould hold, for divers Cauſes, and diſcharged the ſame by the Tenor thereof: And therefore commanded and charged all the Eſtates, and others warned to the ſaid Parliament, to depart *Edinburgh* within three Hours, under Pain of loſs of Life, Lands and Goods, except ſuch as the King by his ſpecial Commandment cauſed to remain: Which Letter was openly proclaimed at the Market-Croſs, and fully obeyed. The Gates being locked, the King being in his Bed, the Queen walking in his Chamber, the Lord *Ruthven* took Charge of the lower Gate and privy Paſſage by the King's Commandment, and *David* was thrown down the Stairs from the Palace where he was ſlain, and brought to the Porter's Lodge, who taking off his Cloaths, ſaid, this was his Deſtiny; for upon this Cheſt was his firſt Bed when he came to this Place, and now he lieth a very Niggard and misknown Knave. The King's Dagger was found ſticking in his Side. The Queen enquired at the King, where his Dagger was? who anſwered, That he wiſt not well. Well, ſaid the Queen, it will be known hereafter. Upon the Morrow, which was *Sunday* the 10th, the King aroſe at Eight, and paſſed to her Majeſty's Chamber. At his coming from her, ſhe deſired him to let all the Ladies and Gentlewomen come to her, which was granted: And at his coming down, ſhewed the ſame to the Earl *Morton* and

and *Ruthven*, who yielded to the ſame, yet ſhewed the King they feared her Majeſty would traffique by them with the Lords, and all others that would do for her: Likeas it followed; for her Majeſty wrote ſome Writings, and cauſed others to be written in her Name to the Earls of *Argile*, *Huntly*, *Bothwell*, *Athole*, and others. After that the King had dined on *Sunday*, he paſt up to her Majeſty's Chamber, where the Queen made as if ſhe would part with Child, complaining that ſhe could not get any of her Gentlewomen to come to her. *Scots* nor *French*. The King ſending Word to the Earl *Morton* and *Ruthven*, they were all admitted to her that would. At the ſame time her Majeſty apprehended that the Lord *Ruthven* would do her Body harm, and ſent the Lord *Semple* his Son to the Lord *Ruthven*, to enquire what her Majeſty might truſt to in that Reſpect? whoſe Anſwer was, That he would do no more Harm to her Body than to his own Heart; and if any Man intended to do otherwiſe, he would defend her Body to the uttermoſt of his Power: And ſaid, Her Majeſty had Experience the Night preceeding, when he ſuffered none to come nigh her Majeſty's Perſon to moleſt or trouble her. The ſaid *John Semple* brought the ſaid Meſſage to the Lord *Ruthven* at Two of the Clock on *Sunday* after Noon, ſitting in the King's Outer-Chamber at his Dinner; and at Four the King came down to his Chamber, where *Ruthven* ſhewed him the Queen was about to ſteal out about the Throng of her Gentlewomen, as he was advertiſed: So the King commanded him to give Attendance thereunto, and put certain to the Doors, and let no Gentlewoman paſs forth muffled. About Seven or Eight of the Clock, the Earls of *Murray* and *Rothes*, with their Accomplices, out of *England*, and * lighted at the Abbey, and were thankfully received of the King, and paſſed to the Earl of *Murray*'s Houſe to Supper. Immediately the Queen ſent one of her Uſhers called *Derſell* for the ſaid Earl of *Murray*, who paſſed unto her Majeſty, who received him pleaſantly as appeared; and coming from her, paſſed to the Earl of *Morton*'s Houſe, where he remained that Night. At this Time the King was communing with the Queen's Majeſty; and after long Reaſoning with him, ſhe granted to ly with him all Night. He coming to her Chamber, and putting all Men out of his Outer-Chamber, except the Waiters of his Chamber, made a Complaint that the Queen's Gentlewomen would not go forth of the Door unmuffled. At the King's coming down, he ſhewed the Earl *Morton* and the Lord *Ruthven* the whole Manner of his proceeding with her Majeſty, which they liked no way. The King grew effeminate again, and they ſaid unto him, We ſee no other but that you may do what both you and we will have Cauſe to repent: But he would have the ſaid Earl and Lord to rid all the Houſe conform to her Majeſty's Deſire, which they did; and the ſaid Lord went and lay in the King's Wardrobe, and after he was laid down *George Douglas* came to him, and ſhewed him that the King was fallen aſleep, the ſaid Lord cauſed the ſaid *George* to go and wake him; and after wakeing of him two or three times, and finding him ſtill aſleep, he would wake him no more, at which the Lord *Ruthven* was miſcontent. The King ſlept till Six in the Morning, when the Lord *Ruthven* came and reproved him that he did not keep Promiſe with the Queen, in lying with her all that Night: He anſwered, That he had fallen into ſuch a dead Sleep that he could not awake, and put the Fault to *William Elder*, one of his Friends, that permitted him to ſleep; but always, ſaid he, I will go and take my Night-gown, and go up to the Queen. Then ſaid the Lord *Ruthven*, I truſt ſhe ſhall ſerve you in the Morning as you did her at Night. The King paſſed upon *Monday* the 11th of *March* to the Queen's Chamber, and ſate on the Bed-ſide, ſhe being aſleep, or pretending to be ſo, and ſate there by the Space of an Hour. Then when her Majeſty waked, ſhe enquired of the King why he came not up yeſternight? He anſwered, That he fell into ſuch a dead Sleep that he waked not before Six; and now I come and offer my ſelf to have lyen down by your Majeſty, and you will not ſuffer it, ſaying you are ſick:

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* Either there is ſomewhat wanting, or this *and* is ſuperfluous.

And then ſhe ſaid ſhe would riſe incontinent. Then the King fell in reaſoning with her concerning the Return of the Earls that were baniſhed, and of forgiving all Offences, and alſo of the Slaughter of *David*; who, as appeared to him, was contented; for the King came down to his own Chamber merrily at Eight, and ſhewed *Morton* and *Ruthven* the Proceedings between her and him, who anſwered him, All was but Words, and inſtead of your perſwading her Majeſty, we fear ſhe will perſwade you to follow her Deſire, becauſe ſhe was trained from her Youth in the Court of *France*. Now, ſaid the King, will you let me alone, and I will warrant to bring all to a good End. After the King had put on his Cloaths, he paſſed at the Ninth Hour to the Queen's Chamber, where he reaſoned of many Things with her Majeſty; and after returning to his Dinner at Two, he declared to *Murray* and *Morton*, *Ruthven* and *Lindſay*, that he had obtained of her Majeſty that the ſaid Earls and Lords ſhould come in Preſence, and ſhe would forgive all Things bypaſt, and bury them out of her Mind as they had never been. The ſaid Earls and Lords anſwered, That fair ſpeaking was but Policy, and ſuppoſe it promiſed, little or nothing would be performed. Always the King took in hand, and bade them make what Security they pleaſed, and her Majeſty and he ſhould ſubſcribe the ſame. After Dinner the King again paſſed into the Queen's Chamber, where the Midwife was made to come to him, and ſaid to him, That the Queen would not fail to depart with Child, if her Majeſty went not into ſome other Place where there was more free Air, and divers of the Ladies ſaid the ſame; and the King returned to his Chamber at Three after Noon, and declared the ſame to the Earls and Lords; and in the mean time came in the *French* Doctor, who declared to the King that it was not poſſible for the Queen's Majeſty to eſchew a Fever, which if ſhe took, ſhe could not eſchew to miſcarry, if ſhe did not depart from that Place to ſome ſweeter and pleaſanter Air. The Doctor being departed, the King asked the ſaid Earls and Lords, what they thought of the ſpeaking of the Doctor? They ſaid they feared all was but Craft and Policy. But the King would not credit the ſame, and ſaid, That ſhe was a true Princeſs, and he would ſet his Life for what ſhe promiſed. And between Four and Five in the Afternoon the King paſſed to the Queen, and took the Earls *Morton* and *Murray* with him, alſo the Lord *Ruthven*, and leaving them in the Outer-Chamber, the King went in to know if her Majeſty would come to the Outer-Chamber, or admit the Lords to come in; and ſhe came out to the Outer-Chamber led by the King, the ſaid Earls and Lords ſitting down on their Knees, made their Speech by the Earl of *Morton* Chancellor, and offer their particular Orations by themſelves. And after that her Majeſty had heard all, her Anſwer was, That it was not unknown to the Lords that ſhe was never blood-thirſty, nor greedy upon their Lands or Goods ſince her coming into *Scotland*, nor would be upon theirs that were preſent, but would remit the whole Number that were baniſhed, or were at the laſt Deed or Death of *David*, and put all Things in Oblivion as if they had never been, and ſo cauſed the ſaid Earls and Lords to riſe on their Feet, and afterwards her Majeſty deſired them to make their own Securites, and ſhe would ſubſcribe the ſame. Then her Majeſty took the King by the Hand, and the Earl of *Murray* by the other, and walked in the ſaid Outer-Chamber by the Space of an Hour, and then paſſed into her Inner-Chamber, when ſhe and the King appointed that all they that were on the King's Part ſhould go forth of its Place. After Supper, at Six a Clock, the King coming down to his Chamber, the Articles which were for their Security were given to the King to be ſubſcribed by the Queen, which the King took in hand to be done, and deſired the ſaid Lords to remove, that her Majeſty's Guards and Servants might order all as they pleaſed. The Lords anſwered, You may make us do what you pleaſe, but 'tis ſore againſt our Wills, for we fear that all is but Deceit that is meant towards us, and that the Queen will paſs away ſhortly and take you with her, either to the Caſtle of *Edinburgh* or *Dunbar*. And the Lord *Ruthven* proteſted, That what Bloodſhed or Miſchief

chief ſhould enſue thereon, ſhould fall upon the King's Head and his Poſterity, and not upon theirs. The King ſaid he would warrant them all: So they parted and took their Leave of the King, and paſſed all out of *Holy-rood-houſe* to the Earl of *Morton*'s Houſe, where they ſupp'd. And on the Morrow, which was *Tueſday* the 12th of *March*, the Lords hearing the Queen's Majeſty with the King was departed contrary to their Expectation, after the Matter was appointed, they required one another's Opinion; which concluded, all to remain within the Town of *Edinburgh* till ſuch Time as they might ſend ſome Nobleman to her Majeſty for Performance of the Articles promiſed for their Security; and to that Effect they ſent for the Lord *Semple*, and deſired him to paſs to the Queen at *Dunbar* with the Writing of the Lords, which he granted to do, and received the ſame with the Copy of the Articles which the King received before, and promiſed to do his utter Diligence to get the ſame ſubſcribed: Who coming to *Dumbar*, preſented the Lords Writings to their Majeſties; which was evil taken of the Queen, who made him to remain three Days: Who at his Return, reported that there was nothing to be look'd for but Extremities to all thoſe Earls, Barons and Gentlemen that were at the Slaughter of *David*, notwithſtanding her Majeſty's Promiſe. At that Time her Majeſty wrote to all Earls, Lords and Barons to meet her at *Haddington* the 17th or 18th Day of *March*, and directed her general Letters, charging all Men above Sixteen to be at the ſaid Meeting in Armour with Weapons after the ſort of War; and ſent a Charge to the Lord *Areskin* Captain of the Caſtle of *Edinburgh*, to fire on the Town unleſs the Lords departed out of it. On *Saturday* the 23d, her Majeſty cauſed to ſummon the Earl of *Morton* and the Lord *Ruthven*, with their Accomplices, the Maſter of *Ruthven*, Laird of *Ormeſtone*, *Wareſtone*, *Haltone*, *Everſtone*, and others, to appear before her Majeſty within ſix Days, under Pain of Rebellion, and putting them to her Majeſty's Horn; which before hath never been uſed in *Scotland* (a), but newly invented by them that underſtood not Law. And how her Majeſty hath handled the Barons, and others our poor Brethren at *Edinburgh*, and how they are oppreſſed by the Men of War, God knoweth, who will put Remedy thereto when He thinketh beſt; and how the Barons Wives are oppreſſed, by ſpoiling their Places, and robbing their Goods, it would pity a good Heart (b). And whereas her Majeſty alledgeth, that Night that *David* was ſlain, ſome held Piſtols to her Majeſty's Breaſt; ſome ſtruck ſo near her Majeſty, that ſhe felt the Coldneſs of the Iron, with many other ſuch like Things: Which we take God to record, there was not one Stroke in her Majeſty's Preſence; nor was *David* ſtriken till he was at the farther Door of her Majeſty's Outer-Chamber. And her Majeſty maketh all thir Allegations to bring the ſaid Earl of *Morton*, Lord *Ruthven*, and their Complices, into great Hatred with foreign Princes, and with the Nobility and Commons of the ſaid Realm, who have Experience of the contrary, and know that there was no Evil meant to the Queen's Body. The Eternal God, who hath the Rule of all Princes in His Hand, ſend her His Holy Spirit, that ſhe may rule and govern with Clemency and Mercy.

Since the former Diviſion the King hath revolted from the Queen to the Lords, and now is come to her again. The Conſtancy of ſuch a King I leave to you to judge of.

The Earls of *Murray* and *Argile* are come to Court. This 20th of *April* the *French* Ambaſſador paſſing through *Berwick*, was accompanied with the Brother of *David*, who is now Secretary to the Queen.

(a) Mr. *Knox* will certify the contrary; for he honeſtly acknowledges that this "Practice was deviſed in the Earl of *Huntly*'s "Caſe, before the Battle of *Corrichie*." And may be that Writer, had the Matter been different, would have here found out a divine *Judgment*. But 'tis obſervable that *Judgments* are all *for*, not *againſt* him.

(b) It might have even pitied a *wicked* Heart, to have ſeen a poor miſerable Creature crying for Juſtice, to be forcibly torn from the Prince's Preſence, and butcher'd in a moſt barbarous Manner! A *good* Heart would not engage in a Murder of any kind.

No. XII. *Dunbar* 16. *Marcij*, 1565-6.

Acts of Privy-Council, *R. M.*

SEDERUNT *Georgius Comes de Huntlie, Jacobus Comes de Bothwell, Joannes Comes de Atholl, Wilielmus Comes de Mariſcal. David Comes de Crawfurd, Gilbertus Comes de Caſſills, Georgius Comes de Caithnes,*——

Proclamatioun to meit at Muſſelburgh.

THe King and Quenis Majeſties underſtanding that be vertew of thair Majeſties Letteris and Proclamationis direct of befoir under thair Majeſties Subſcriptionis, the Inhabitantis of the Sheriffdomes of *Edinburgh* principall, within the Conſtabularie of *Hadingtoun*, *Linlythgow*, *Strivling*, *Lanark*, *Roxburgh*, *Selkirk*, *Peiblis*, *Berwick*, *Lawder*, and utheris ſpecifiet in the ſaidis Proclamationis, wer warnit to convein and meit thair Hieneſſes at *Hadingtoun* and *Muſſelburgh reſpectivè*, the 16th, 17th and 18th Dayis of *March* inſtant, with viii Dayis Proviſioun and Victuallis eſtir thair cuming, as in the ſaidis former Proclamationis paſt thairupoun at mair lenth is contenit : And thair Majeſties, God willing, being of purpois to be at *Hadingtoun* this nixt *Sonday* the 17th Day of *March* inſtant, ordanis thairfoir Letteris to be direct to Officiaris of Armes to pas to the Mercat-Croces of the ſaid Burgh of *Hadingtoun*, and utheris Places neidfull, and thair be opin Proclamatioun in thair Majeſties Name and Authoritie command and charge all and ſindrie thair Hieneſſes Legeis, alſweill convenit as heirefter ſall happin to convein be vertew of the ſaidis former Proclamationis; That thai, and ilk ane of thame, remane and await at the Places foirſaidis appoyntit in the ſamyn Proclamationis, ſufficientlie provydit for the Space of viii Dayis eſtir thair cuming; and to attend and pas furthwart with thair Majeſties towart thair Hieneſſes Burgh of *Edinburgh*, or uther Place as thai ſalbe commandit, conforme to the ſaidis former Proclamationis paſt thairupoun of befoir, under the Pane of Tynſall of Lyff, Landis and Gudis.

Edinburgh 19. *Marcij*, 1565-6.

Ibid.

SEDERUNT *Georgius Comes de Huntlie, Wilielmus Comes de Mariſcal. Joannes Comes de Mar, Joannes Dominus Fleming, Joannes Maxwell de Terreglis Miles, Symon Preſtoun de eod. Præpoſitus de Edinburgh, Jacobus Balfour de Pittendriech Miles, Theſaurarius, Alexander Epiſcopus Candidæ Caſæ, Joannes Commendatarius de Lindores, Joannes Commendatarius de Balmerinoch, Magiſter David Chalmer Cancellarius Roſſen.*

Charge on the Perſonis delaitit of the Slauchter of David Riccio.

THe quhilk Day, the King and Quenis Majeſties, for certane reſſonabill Cauſſis and Conſiderationis moving thair Hieneſſes, ordanis Letteris to be direct to Herauldis, or uther Officiaris of Armes, Sheriffis in that Part, chargeing thame to pas, and in thair Hieneſſes Name and Authoritie command and charge *James* Erle of *Mortoun* Lord of *Dalkeyth*, *Patrick* Lord *Ruthven*, *Patrick* Lord *Lyndeſay* of the *Byris*, *William* Maiſter of *Ruthven*, *George Douglas* Son naturall to umquhill *Archibald* Erle of *Angus* that laſt deceiſſit, *Andro Ker* of *Fawdounſyde*, *William Douglas* of *Quhittinghame*, Mr. *Archibald Douglas* Parſoun of *Douglas*, Bruther to the ſaid *William*, *Johne Cockburne* of *Ormieſtoun*, *James Johneſtoun* of *Elphingſtoun*, *Johne Creichtoun* of *Bruntſtoun*, *William Lawder* of *Haltoun*, *James Sandilandis* of *Calder*, *James Giffert* of *Sheriffhall*, *William Douglas* of *Lochlevin*, *Adam Erskin* Commendature of *Cambuskynneth*, *Johne Monteith* Fear of *Kerſe*, *Parick Murray* of *Tibbermure*, *Patrick Wod* of *Bonytoun*, *Patrick Bellenden* of *Stanehous*, Bruther to Sr *Johne Bellenden* of *Auchnowle* Knycht, Juſtice-Clerk, *Thomas Scot* of *Cambuſmichaell*, *Andro Murray* of *Balvard*, *David Murray* his Bruther, *Thomas Diſchingtoun* in *Ardros*, *George Diſchingtoun* his Bruther, *Andro Diſchingtoun*, *James Johneſtoun* of *Weſt-Raw*,

Johne

Johne Carmichaell zoungar of that Ilk, *Archibald Carmichaell* his Bruther, *James Douglas* of *Todholes*, *James Somervell* in *Humby*, *Patrick Somervell* his Bruther, *David Somervell*, Mr. *James Macgill*, Mr. *Thomas Douglas* in *Clappertoun*, *James Douglas* of *Knytifrig*, *Johne Douglas* in *Howden*, *James Lermonth* of the *Craig*, *Alexander Wardlaw* of the *Hill*, *Alexander Quhytlaw* of *Newgrange*, *Patrick Quhytlaw* his Son, *William Twedie* of *Drummelzeare*, *Adam Twedie* of *Drava*, *Johne Brown* of *Cultirmains*, *James Stewart* of *Doun* Knycht, *Alexander Ruthven* Bruther to the Lord *Ruthven*, *Johne Douglas* in *Scheill*, *Hector Douglas* in *Spittlehauch*, *James Douglas* thair, *Thomas Scot* of *Abbottiſhall*, *David Lyndeſay* of *Pyotſtoun*, *George Douglas* Bruther-germane to *Francis Douglas* of *Langnudry*, *Thomas Towe* [or *Cowe*], *Richart Cranſtoun*, Servandis to the Secretare, *Robert Lermonth* in *Drein*, *Richart Mureheid* in *Crawfurd-mure*, *James Cochrane*, *Johne Somervell* of *Cambuſnethame*, *Johne Douglas* in *Gleſpen*. *William Watt* in *Murefute*, *Johne Macmorem* in *Heſylſyde*, *William Inglis* in *Scrogtoun*, *Diones Inglis* in *Braidley*, *Johne Mowbray* in *Deyn*, *Alexander Borthwick* in *Kirknewtoun*, *Walter Wod* Servand to *Patrick Wod* of *Bonytoun*, Mr. *Andro Hay* Parſoun of *Renfrew*, *James Weddirſpune* of *Brighous*, *Andro Lamby*, *Johne Edmonſtoun* of that Ilk, perſonallie, or at thair Dwelling-places; and failzieing thairof, be opin Proclamatioun at the Mercat-Croces of the Heid-Burrowis of the Sheriffdomes quhair thai dwell, To compeir perſonallie befoir the King and Quenis Majeſties and Lordis of thair ſecrete Counſall at *Edinburgh*, or quhair it ſall happin thame to be for the tyme, upoun the ſext Day nixt eftir thai and ilk ane of thame be chargit thairto *reſpectivè*, to anſwer to ſic Thingis as ſalbe laid to thair Charge, under the Pane of Rebellioun and putting of thame to our Horne; and gif thai failzie thairin, the ſaid ſex Dayis being bipaſt, to denunce thame Rebellis, and put thame to the Horne, and to eſcheat, *&c.*

Edinburgh 2. Maij, 1566.

SEDERUNT *Georgius Comes de Huntlie*, *Archibaldus Comes de Ergyle*, *Jacobus Comes de Murray*, *Jacobus Comes de Bothwell*, *Joannes Comes de Atholl*, *David Comes de Crawfurd*, *Georgius Comes de Caithnes*, *Joannes Comes de Mar*; *Joannes Maxwell de Terreglis Miles*, *Alexander Epiſcopus Candidæ Caſæ*, *Epiſcopus Roſſen*. *Præpoſitus de Edinburgh*, *Joannes Commendatarius de Balmeripoch*. R. M.

Devyis for Rebellis that wer at David Riccio's Murder.

FOrſameikle as our Soveranis referrit to the Lordis of ſecrete Counſall to devyis the way how the Perſonis Rebellis culpabill or ſuſpect of the lait haynous Attemptat perpetrat in thair Majeſties Palice, ſalbe ordourit; The Lordis thinkis expedient that all that wer of the Devyis, Counſall, or actuallie at the committing of the Slauchter, ſalbe proſecute be Ordour of Juſtice, and the ſamyn ſcharplie execute on thame: And as for the Commonis and utheris that accidentalie cum thaireftir to thair Majeſties Palice, thai offerand to abyde the Law for the Devyis, Counſalling, and actuall Deid of the Slauchter; That than thair Supplicationis be hard, and Ordour takin with thame, owther be warding, baniſſing, or fyning be Payment of Soumes of Money.

Apud Edinburgh 8. Junij, 1566.

SEDERUNT *Georgius Comes de Huntlie*, *Joannes Comes de Atholl*, *Georgius Comes de Caithnes*, *Clericus Regiſtri*, & *Epiſcopus Candidæ Caſæ*. Ibid.

For Rebellis acceſſorie to Riccio's Murder.

FOrſamekill as it is humlie meanit and complanit to our Soveranes Lord and Lady be Maiſters *Johne Spens* of *Condy* and *Robert Creichtoun* of *Elyock*, thair Advocates; That quhair *James* Erle of *Mortoun*, *Patrick* Lord *Lynde-*

ſay of the *Byris*, *William* Maiſter of *Ruthven*, *William Douglas* of *Quhittinghame*, Mr. *Archibald Douglas* his Bruther, *James Giffert* of *Sheriffhall*, *Johne Creichtoun* of *Bruntſtane*, *James Johneſtoun* of *Elphingſtoun*, *Andro Ker* of *Fawdounſyde*, *James Somervell* of *Humby*, *David Somervell*, *Patrick Somervell* his Brether, *Patrick Bellenden* of *Stanehous*, *George Douglas*, callit the poſtulat Sone naturall to *Archibald* Erle of *Angus*, *Alexander Ruthven* Bruther to umquhill the Lord *Ruthven*, *Patrick Murray* of *Tibbermure*, Mr. *Thomas Douglas* of *Clappertoun*, *James Douglas* of *Knytifrig*, *Johne Douglas* in the *Schiell*, *James Johneſtoun* of *Weſtraw*, *Johne Carmichaell* zoungar of that Ilk, *Archibald Carmichaell* his Bruther, *Hector Douglas* in *Spittlehauch*, *James Douglas* thair, *Andro Diſchingtoun* Bruther to the Laird of *Ardros*, *Robert Lermonth* in *Drein*, *Johne Mowbray* in *Deyn*, *Patrick Wod* of *Bonytoun*, *Alexander Guthrie* Burges of *Edinburgh*, *William Johneſtoun* Bowar thair, *Andro Armſtrang* thair, *James Zoung* Cutlar thair, *Thomas Brown* Cordinar thair, *William Cheyn*, &c. with diverſe utheris thair Complices ar lauchfullie denuncit Rebellis, and put to the Horne for Non-compeiring befoir thair Majeſties and Lordis of thair ſecrete Counſall, to anſwer to ſic Thingis as ſould be layd to thair Charges, as in the Letteris direct thairupoun mair fully is contenit: And albeit the ſaid Rebellis be delaitit of the vyle and treſſonabill Slauchter of umquhill *David Riccio* thair Majeſties Secretare in *Franche*, committit in thair Hieneſſes Preſence within thair Palice of *Hallyrudhous*; and als, of the treſſonabill Keiping and Halding of the Quenis Grace Perſoun in Captivitie and Firmance, and of ſindrie uthir abhominabill Crymes; and that thairthrow it pertenis to the Sheriffis, Stewartis and Baillies of the haill Realme, bayth to Burgh and to Land, within Regalitie and Rialtie, for to ſerch, ſeik, tak and apprehend the ſaidis Rebellis, and bring thame to be puneiſt for thair Demeritis according to the Lawis of this Realme; nochtwithſtanding our Soveranis as zit can perſave lytill or na Executioun of thair Devoir and Offices in that Part, quhairthrow the ſaidis Rebellis ſpair nocht to remane within this Realme, and to haunt and reſort quhair thai pleis, in manifeſt Contempt of our Soveranis Authoritie: Lykas alſwa diverſe utheris thair Majeſties Legeis, in contrare thair Dewtie, ceiſſit nocht to reſſet, harbry, and ſupply the ſaidis Rebellis with Meat, Ludging and uthir Neceſſaris, and to intercommoun with thame in treſſonabill maner, in manifeſt vilipending of thair Hieneſſes Authoritie and Lawis of the Realme; Quhairfoir thair Majeſties ordanis Letteris to be direct to Officiaris of Armis to pas, and in thair Hieneſſes Name and Authoritie command and charge all and ſindrie the Liegis of this Realme, That thai, and ilk ane of thame, ceis and abſtain fra all forder reſetting, ſupplyeing, ſupporting or intercommuning with the ſaidis Rebellis in treſſonabill maner, under the Pane to be callit thairfoir, and puneiſt as Art and Part with thame in thair treſſonabill and wickit Deids with all Rigour, conforme to the Lawis and Practik of this Realme: And als, to charge all and ſindrie the Sheriffis, Stewartis and Baillies within this Realme to pas, ſerche, ſeik and apprehend the ſaidis Rebellis, and bring thame to the Juſtice, to the Effect abovewryttin; and to that Effect thair Majeſties be thir Preſentis committis full Power to the ſaidis Sheriffis, Stewartis and Baillies, to mak Conventioun of thair Majeſties Liegis in weirlyke maner, and to invaid the ſaidis Rebellis within and without Strenthis, as beſt ſall ſerve for the Purpois, and conforme to the Actis of Parliament maid thairanent; quhairintill gif the ſaidis Officiaris ſalbe fund remiſſe and negligent, thai ſalbe puneiſt as Favouraris with the ſaidis Rebellis in thair Rebellioun and wickit Deids.

N°. XIII. *The former Reaſon,* viz. *the Bulkineſs of this* Appendix, *obliges me to retrench the original* French *Copies of the Letters here referred to; eſpecially ſeeing there will be free Acceſs to the politeſt Part of Readers, to ſee them in their preſent Repoſitory.*

N^o. XIV. *Letter of the Council of* Scotland *to the Archbiſhop of* Glaſgow *Ambaſſador in* France.

Mem. Scot. Tom.2. F.269. in Colleg. Scot. Pariſ.

MY Lord, after our hartlie Commendationis, we onderſtand that *Monſ. de Croc* hes preſentlie ſend this Bearer expreſlie to advertis the Quene-Moder of the Quenis Majeſtie our Soveraygnis Diſeaſe, quhilk is greit indeid. And nochtheles becaus we fear that the ſuddayn Advertiſement thairof rais Bruyt, that the Danger is greiter then zit appeiris to us, we haif thocht gude to wryt thir few Lynis unto zou, that ze be not ignorant of the Trewth, quhilk is, That hir Majeſtie hes bene ſick thir ſex Dayis bypaſt, and this Nicht hes had ſum Dwaumes of Swouning, quhilk puttis Men in ſum Feir; nochtheles we ſee na Takynis of Death, and hopis in God that He will ſchortlie releave hir Majeſtie, and reſtoir hir to hir Health, and will not ſuffer this pure Realme to fall in that Miſerie as to lack ſa gude and gracious a Governour. All Thingis ar in Godis Handis, bot aſſuritlie, for our Opinionis, we ſee na appeirance of Death: Quhilk we wryt, to the Effect that neither ze zourſelf be diſcouragit, nor ſuffer utheris to be farther then Reſſoun is. And ſa we committ zour Lordſchip to God. Frae *Jedburgh* the xxiii *October* in the Morning, in haiſt.

Zour Lordſchipis aſſurit Freindis,

HUNTLY. JAMES STEWART [*E. Murray.*] ATHOL. W. MAITLAND.

[*Poſtſcript by Secretary* Maitland.]

Gif I had knawin a quarter of ane Hour ſoonar, I wald haif maid zour Lordſchip a langer Diſcourſe; bot the Berar his haſtie Departure mon ſerve me for ane Excuſe, quhilk I pray zour Lordſchip tak in gude Part. I ſall, God willing, mend it heirafter.

Lettre de M. le Croc Ambaſſadeur de France a M. l'Archev. de Glaſgo.

Ibid. F. 273. an Original.

MONſieur, je penſe que les Seigneurs de ce pais qui vous ont eſcript, ne vous ont pas tant eſtonné par leurs lettres, que je fais par la myenne, pour ce que le Courier qui fut envoié, fut retardé ſept ou huit heures apres que j'euſſe eſcript. Nous commençaſmes à eſperer beaucoup mieulx de la Reyne, ce que nous avons toujours fait depuis de mieulx en mieulx. Pour l'heure, les Medecins n'en doubtent plus. Si eſt ce qu' elle a des Vomiſſements apres ce qu' elle prend qui ſont un peu facheux, mais pour cela, les Medecins ne s' eſtonnent point, car elle dort fort bien & poſement. Ceſte nuit paſſée elle a dormy cinq heures ſans s'eveiller. Je vous aſſure, que ſa Majeſté eſtoit bien ſecourue, & Dieu ſcait comme tous les Seigneurs qui ſont icy s' y employent. Vous pouvez penſer la peine en quoy ils eſtoient, & l'extremité que c' euſt eté de ce pauvre Roiaume. Le Roy eſt à Glaſco, & n' eſt point venu icy. Si eſt ce qu' il a eté adverty par quelqu'un, & a eu du temps aſſez pour venir s' il euſt voullu; c' eſt une faulte que je ne puis excuſer. J' ay adreſſé cette depeſche au Gouverneur de Baruic, & le prie la faire tenir à Monſieur de la Forreſt, eſperant que dans cinq ou ſix jours la Royne ſera en eſtat de ſigner, & que ſa Majeſté depeſchera bientoſt un autre Courier, par lequel je vous manderay plus amples Nouvelles. Je n' ay point voullu eſcrire à Monſeigneur le Cardinal de Lorraine de ſi facheux propos: car il ſemble que ce Prince n' entend jamais que fortune malheureuſe qui luy vienne de jour à autre. Si croy je que la Royne luy aura envoié la lettre que j' ay eſcripte à ſa Majeſté. Je vous prie s' il vous vient à propos, de votre part le deſcharger d'un ennuy qu'il aura receu ſi grand. Me recommendant humblement à votre bonne grace, je prie Dieu, Monſieur, vous donner bonne & longue vie. De Jedouart, ce xxiv Octobre 1566.

Votre humble & obeiſſant Serviteur,

LE CROC.

Letter of Mr. John Leſlie *Biſhop of* Roſs *to the Archbiſhop of* Glaſgow, *upon the Queen's Sickneſs.*

Ibid. F. 285. an Original.

MY Lord, after maiſt hartlie Commendationis, I wryt upoun haiſt to zour Lordſchip with *Sanderis Bog*, quha was ſend be *Monſ. de Croc* this laſt *Weddenſday* to adverteis of the Quenis Majeſties Seyknes, quhilk at that Tyme was wonderous gryt; for aſſuritlie hir Majeſtie was ſa handleit with gryt Vehemencie, that all that was with hir war diſparit of hir Convaleſcens. Nochtheles ſoone after the departing of *Sanderis Bog*, hir Majeſtie gat ſume Relief, quhilk leſtit quhill *Furiſday* at Ten Houris at Evin, at quhilk Tyme hir Majeſtie ſwounit agane, and failziet in hir Sicht, hir Feit and hir Neis was cauld, quhilkis war handleit be extreme rubbing, drawing, and utheris Cureis, be the Space of four Houris, that na Creature culd indure gryter Paine; and throch the Vehemencie of this Cure hir Majeſtie gat ſume Relief, quhill about Sax Houris in the Morning on *Fryday*, that hir Majeſtie become died, and all hir Memberis cauld, Eene cloſit, Mouth faſt, and Feit and Armis ſtiff and cauld. Nochtheles Maiſter *Naw*, quha is ane perfyt Man of his Craft, wald nocht gif the Mater owr in that maner, bot of new begoud to draw hir Neis, Leggis, Armis, Feit, and the reſt, with ſic vehement Tormentis, quhilkis leſtit the Space of three Houris, quhill hir Majeſtie recoverit agane hir Sicht and Speeche, and gat ane gryt Swyting, quhilk was halden the Releif of the Seyknis, becaus it was on the nynt Day, quhilk commounlie is callit the Creiſis of the Seyknis, and ſwae heir thocht the Culeing of the Fever. And ſenſyne continuallie, Thankis to God, hir Majeſtie convaleſcis better and better; bot the vehement Preſſe of vomiting and laxative, with the gryt Paine of rubbing and drawing of hir Memberis, quhilkis hir Majeſtie hes ſuſtenit, hes maid hir ſa waik, that ſche is nocht abill haiſtlie for Travell furth of thir Partis. Always I aſſuir zour Lordſchip, in all this Seyknes hir Majeſtie uſit hirſelf marvelous godlie and catholic, and contineuallie deſyrit to heir ſpeik of God and godlie Prayaris, and cauſit me remane contineuallie with hir to that Effect, to remember hir on hir Dewtie, and pray contineuallie beſyd hir. Hir Majeſtie hes maid the maiſt godle Exhortationis to all the Nobilitie being heir at this preſent Tyme that evir Prince or uthir maid at ſic Tyme; firſt making hir Confeſſioun to God of hir Offenceis, recognoſſand Him Creator of all, and hir to be the Wark of His Handis, deſyrand His godlie Will to be fulfillit; That gif it hes pleſit His Majeſtie to ſuffer hir to remane in this preſent Wardill for the governing of His Pepell committit to hir Cair, or to reſeif hir to His Bliſs, ſche glaidlie wald accept that Thing quhilk His godlie Will hed appoyntit, and with als gude Hart and Will to die as to leif; proteſtand alwayis that ſcho deit in the Catholic Fayth, in the quhilk ſche was nuriſſit and brocht up intill; of the quhilk hir Majeſtie tuke me oft to witnes. And thaireftir turnit hir to hir Nobilitie, and beſechit thame to tak Attendance to the governing of this our Realme; and to the Effect thai may do the ſame the bettir, that thai keip Luf, Unitie and Charitie amangis thameſelffis, reherſand quhat gryt Gudnes cumis of Unitie and Concord, and be the contrar, of Diſcord all Deſolationis; and recommendit alſwa hir Sone the Prince to thair Governance, praying thame effecteouſlie to ſuffer nane to be with him in Cumpany in his Zoutheid that war of evill Conditionis, or wald gif him evill Exempill in Maneris, bot that ſic war preſent with him quha wald and culd inſtruct him in Vertew and in all Godlienes, and nocht to ſuffer him to tak or uſe ony evill Conditionis and Inclinationis quhilk may fall unto him throch his Fader, Moder, or ony his naturall Parentis. Thaireftir hir Majeſtie recommendit unto thame the Stait of the Religioun within this Realme, praying thame effecteouſlie to truble nor preſs na Man in his Conſciens that profeſſit the Catholic Religioun, aggreging meikle the Prik and Stinnell of Conſciens, quhilk is ane ſair Mater to preaſe; with hir awin Determinationis to die conſtant in the Catholic Religioun. Thaireftir recommendit hir Servantis, ſum in particular, and ſum in generall, to be rewardit for thair gude Service.

Laſt,

Laſt, hir Majeſtie ſend for *Monſ. du Croc*, and thair in his Preſens declarit hir conſtant Mynd to die in the Catholic Religioun, the gude Mynd hir Majeſtie bair and bairis at all tyme to the Realme of *France*, and Crowne thairof and Allyance; and recommendit hir Sone the Prince to the King and to Madame the Quene-Moder; and requeſtit the Nobilitie preſent to keip thair Amytie as ſche hes done in tyme paſt, and to bring up hir Sone in the ſame Friendſchip; and deſyrit *du Croc* to mak hir hartlie Commendationis to the King, the Quene-Moder, the Cardinall, and utheris hir Friendis in *France*, and deſyrit him to requeiſt the King and Quene to grant ane Zeir of hir Dowarie to reward hir Servantis in *France*, with mony uthir godlie and profitabill Exhortationis and Prayaris, ſa perfytlie as neiver we hard ane ſpeik in the maner; being ſwa handillit with ſa gryt Infirmities, quhairof this is the Sumare. Thaireftir the Lordis heir preſent, ſic as the Erlis *Huntlie*, *Murray*, *Boythwell*, *Rothes*, *Cathnes*; Lordis *Levingſtoun*, *Arbroth*, *Setoun*, *Zeiſter*, *Borthwick*, *Sommerveill*, with mony uthir Baronis and Biſchopis, hes concludit and promiſſit faithfullie to retane thameſelffis togidder till thair cuming to *Edinburgh*, and thair to mak ane Conventioun, and oppin the Quenis Teſtament, and caus the ſame be put to Executioun, gif it may ſtand with the Lawis of the Realme; utherwayis to appoint ſuch for the governing of the Cuntrie and keiping of the Prince as accordis of the Law: And in the mene tyme to ſuffer na Brek in ony Part of the Realme; and quha evir attemptis to begin ony Troubill in ony Part, thai all ſalbe Ennemyis to the Beginnar, beſyd that he ſalbe puniſit be the Law. And ſwa this Promiſſe is maid in cace ony thing happen, quhilk is the beſt can be taken at this preſent. But I hop in Eternall God that He will nocht ſuffer us to be ſwa plagit to tak fra us ſic ane Princes, quhilk gif He dois for our Iniquityis, we luk for nathing bot for gryt Troubill in thir Partis, leſs God in His Gudenes ſchaw His Mercy upoun us. The King all this tyme remaneis in *Glaſcow*, and zit is nocht cumm towart the Quenis Majeſtie. The Quenis Majeſtie is ſa waik in hir Perſoun, that hir Majeſtie can nocht be empeſchit with ony Beſines concerning the Nunce, bot alwayis hir Majeſtie maid ane Depeſche befoir ſche fell ſeik, bot at this preſent may nocht be inqueſt thairof; and thairfoir it is gude ze ſoliſit the Cardinall of *Lorraine* to caus the Nunce tak Patience, for hir Grace is verry deſyrous to haif him heir, bot alwayis wald haif his cumming differrit to the Baptiſme war endit. In the mene tyme it ſalbe gude zour Lordſchip bear him gude Cumpany, that he tak na evill Opinioun of the differring of his Anſwer, for the Cauſis occurrand. As zour Lordſchip findis Opportunitie, it will pleis zour Lordſchip remember on my Biſineſs; the quhilk I dout not bot my Lord Cardinall of *Lorraine* will ſoliſit and hauld hand, gif his Lordſchip be remembrit thairupoun. In reſpect I remane contineuallie with the Quenis Majeſtie, being my allane, for lack of Concurrens, quhairthrow it is meikle to be mervalit that the Papis Halynes is ſa difficille in granting of my Proviſioun, gif his Halynes be weill informit; and in reſpect thair is ſa few of this Cuntrie that ſuitis for Securitie furth of thai Partis, quhilk I do nocht without the Diſdane of mony: Bot, God willing, I ſall conſtantlie do my Dewitie, quhilk I pray God to grant me at all tyme His Strenth to perſevere, quha alſwa haif zou in His Protectioun. At *Jedburgh* the xxvi Day of *October* lait at Even.——The Quenis Medicinar and Maiſter *Naw* hes wounderous gude Houp of hir Graces Convaleſcens, in reſpect hir Grace is paſſit this Nicht without Seiknes, quhilk was fearit be reaſon of hir awin Conſaitt that ſche fearit this *Saturday* at Even to be ſeikeſt of all. Bot I treſt God of His infinite Gudenes, throw the Prayaris of mony maid for hir at this preſent, hes preſervit hir to the Avanſement of His Glorie and Comfort of His Pepill committit to hir Cure, quhame I hop zit to be weill governit be hir mony Zeiris. It will pleis zou ſend Anſwer agane with Capitane *Hay* the Bearer. *Monſ. du Croc* ſeing the Quenis Graces Infirmitie to haif maid hir waik, hes wryttin to the Ambaſſadouris, That gif thai be nocht cumm furth of *France*, as zit to remane ſtill quhill he ſend Word, or to ſtay in *Lunden*. Siclyk, my

Lord *Boythwell* is heir, quha convaleſcis weill of his Woundis; and thair is gude Obediens and Quyetnes upoun the Borderis bayth of *Ingland* and *Scotland*. As ony uther occurris, zour Lordſchip ſalbe advertiſit. I ſall do Dilligens to collect the Quenis Graces Exhortationis and latter Declarationis of hir Will, that ſa godlie and vertuous Sayingis pereis not, and ſend the ſame to zou: Bot this I wryt for Shortnes with the Bearer at this preſent; and GOD Eternall be zour Helpar. At *Jedburgh* this *Sunday* at Morning the xxvij *October* 1566.

Veſter ex animo,

JOANNES *Epiſcopus Roſſenſis.*

N° XV.

Shatter'd MS.

EFtir our maiſt hartlie Commendationis to zour gude Lordſchipis: Quhairas the Quenis Majeſtie our Soverane hes underſtuid be the Report of hir familiar Servitour *Robert Malvile* the gude Offeris maid to hir Behuif be the Quenis Hienes hir gude Siſter zour Soverane; Hir Majeſtie thinkis hirſelf obleiſt to do to the Quene zour Maiſtres quhatſoevir a gude Siſter and tendir Couſing aucht, quhair ſcho findis ſa greit Thankfullnes, and that ſcho could not declair the Affectioun ſcho beris towart hir ſaid derreſt Siſter bettir nor that quhilk ſcho did quhen ſcho lukit not to haif brukit this Lyff xij Houris in hir lait Seiknes; at quhilk tyme hir Meaning wes, That the ſpeciall Cair of the Protectioun of hir Sone ſould reſt upoun zour Soverane: Hir Hienes belevis zour Lordſchipis hes alwayis bene gude Miniſteris to move zour ſaid Soverane to ſchaw hir awin reſſounabill Favour to the Avancement of the Quene our Maiſtres in that quhilk is rycht, and firmelie lukis ze will ſa continew. Hir Grace takis hirſelf, as we doubt not bot zour Lordſchipis knawis, to be the Quene zour Soveranis nixt Couſing, and nixt hirſelf and the lauchfull Iſſue of hir Body, to haif gretteſt Intereſt of all uther to that quhilk hes bene, as is reportit, laitlie mentionat in the Parliament-hous: And albeit ſcho be not of mynd to preſſe the Quene hir gude Siſter farder than ſall cum of hir awin gude Pleſſour, till put that Mater in queſtioun; zit becaus in that Cais ſcho will be jugeit be the Lawis of the Realme of *Ingland*, hir Majeſtie dois effectuuſlie requeir zour Lordſchipis to haif reſpect to Juſtice with Indifferencie, quhenſoevir it ſall pleis the Quenis Majeſtie thair to put the ſame Mater in Deliberatioun.

Anderſon's Collect. *Vol.* 4. from *Cotton* Library.

N° XVI. *The Proteſtation of the Erles of* Huntley *and* Argyll, *Touching the Murthour of the King of* Scots.

WE *George* Erle of *Huntlie*, Lord *Gordoun*, and Great Chancellor of *Scotland*, and we *Archibald* Erle of *Ergile*, Lord *Campbell* and *Lorne*, and Greit Juſtitier of the ſaid Realme; It mott be kend till all and ſyndrie quhais Knowledge thir Preſentis ſall cum, how we being informit that ſum diſobedient Subjectis to the Quenis Majeſtie our Soveraine Lady, for excuſe and covering of thair taking Armor agains hir Hienes, impreſoning of hir maiſt nobill Perſoun, uſurping of hir Graces Auctoritie, practiſing the Keiparis of the principal Places and Fortereſſis of hir Realme, invading thairof, reving and ſpoiling hir Majeſties pretious Meubles, Jewills, and Stains of greit Valor, durſt in leying falſly and calumniouſly accuſe hir Hienes to haiſe bene of the Foirknowledge, counſalit, dewyſit, perſwadit, and commandit the Murthor committed in the Perſoun of umquhile *Henry Stewart* her Majeſties Huſband; Will for the Dewitie of gud and faythfull Subjectis, and Diſcharge of our Conſciences afoir God and the Warld, declair that quhilk we knaw of the ſaid Murthor. That is to ſaye, In the Yeir of God 1566 Yeiris, in the Moneth of *December* or thairby,

thairby, after her Hienes greit and extreme Seiknes and retourning from *Jedwart*, her Grace being in the Caſtell of *Craigmillar* accumpaneit be us above written, and be the Erlis of *Bothuel*, *Murraye*, and Secretaire *Lethingtoun*; The ſaid Erle of *Murraye* and *Lethingtoun* come in the Chambre of us the Erle of *Ergile* in the Morning, we being in our Bed, quha lamenting the Baniſhment of the Erle of *Mortoun*, Lordis *Lindſay* and *Rowen*, with the reſt of their Factioun, ſaid, That the Occaſion of the Murthor of *David* ſlaine by them in Preſens of the Quenis Majeſtie, was for to trouble and impeſche the Parliament; quhairin the Erle of *Murraye* and others ſould have bin forfalted and declarit Rebellis: And ſeing that the ſame was chieflie for the Veilfar of the Erle of *Murraye*, it ſould be eſtemit Ingratitude gif he and his Friends in reciproque Manner, did not interpoyſe all that wair puiſſance for Relief of the ſaids Baniſhed; quhairfor thai thocht, that we of our Part ſould haſe bene as deſyreous thairto as thai war: And we agreing to the ſame to doe all that was in us for thair Relief, provyding that the Quenis Majeſtie ſould not be offendit thairat. On this *Lethingtoun* proponet and ſaid, That the nerreſt and beſt way till obteine the ſaid Erle of *Mourtounis* Perdoun, was to promeiſe to the Quenis Majeſtie to fynde an Moyen to make Devorcement betwixt hir Grace and the King hir Husband, wha had offendit hir Hienes ſa hielie in mony wayes: Quhairunto we anſwering, That we knew not how that mycht be done; *Lethingtoun* ſaid, (the Erle of *Murraye* being ever preſent) My Lord cair you not thairof, we ſall fynde the Meane weil aneuch to make her quyte of him, ſo that ye and my Lord of *Huntlie* will onlie behald the Maiter, and not be offendit thairat; and then thai ſend to my Lord of *Huntlie*, praying him to come to our Chalmer. This is as thai dealit with us particularlie; now latt us ſchaw quhat followit eftir that we war aſſemblit. We Erle of *Huntlie* being in the ſaid Chalmer, the ſaidis Erle of *Murraye* and *Lethingtoun* oppynit the Matter lykwiſe to us in manner forſaid, promeſing if we wald conſent to the ſame, that thai ſould fynde the Meane to reſtoir us in our awin Landis and Offices, and thai to ſtand gud Freind unto us, and caus the ſaid Erle of *Mortoun*, *Rowen*, and all the reſt of that Company to do the like in tyme coming. Our Anſwer was, It ſould not ſtop be us, that the Matter come not to effect in all myght be proffitfull and honourabill baithe for thame and us, and ſpeciallie quhair the Pleaſor, Veill and Contentment of the Quenis Majeſtie conſiſted. And thairon we foure, *viz.* Erlis of *Huntlie*, *Ergile*, *Murraye*, and Secretaire *Lethingtoun*, paſt all to the Erle of *Bothuellis* Chalmer to underſtand his Adwyſe on thir Thingis proponit, quhairin he ganeſaid not mair then we. Swa thaireftir we paſt altogidder toward the Quenis Grace, quhair *Lethingtoun* eſtir he hade remembrit hir Majeſtie of ane greit Nombre of grevous and intollerable Offencis, that the King (as he ſaid) ingrait of the Honour reſſaivit of hir Hienes hade done to hir Grace: And continowing every Day from evil to worſs, proponit, That gif it pleaſit hir Majeſtie to perdonne the Erle of *Mortoun*, Lordis *Rowen* and *Lyndſaye*, with thair Company, thai ſould fynde the Meanes with the reſt of the Nobilitie, to make Devorcement betwixt hir Hienes and the King hir Husband, quhilk ſould not neid hir Grace to mel thairwith. To the quhilk it was neceſſary that hir Majeſtie take heid to make Reſolution thairin, aſweill for hir awin Eaſment, aſweill of the Realme, for he troublit hir Grace and us all; and remaining with hir Majeſtie, wald not ceis till he did hir ſum uther evil Turne, quhen that hir Hienes wald be mekill impeſchit to put Remeid thairto. Eſtir thir Perſuaſions, and utheris dyvers, quhilk the ſaid *Lethingtoun* uſed, by theis that every ane of us ſchew particularlie to hir Majeſtie to bring hir to the ſaid Purpoſe; Hir Grace anſwerit, That under twa Conditiouns ſhe might underſtand the ſame: The ane, That the Devorcement war made lauchfullie: The uthir, That it war not Prejudice to hir Son; uthirwiſe hir Hienes wald rather endure all Tormentis, and abyde the Perrelles that mycht chaunce hir in hir Graces Lyftyme. The Erle of *Bothuel* anſwerit, That he dowtit not bot the Devorcement micht be maid, but Prejudice in any

wyſe of my Lord Prince; alleging the Example of himſelf, that he ceiſſit not to ſucceid to his Fatheris Heritage without any Difficulty, albeit thair was Devorce betwixt him and his Mother. It was als proponit, That eftir thair Devorcement, the King ſould be him allane in one Part of the Cuntry, and the Quenis Majeſtie in ane uther, or ells he ſhould reteir him in ane uthir Realme. And heiron hir Majeſtie ſaid, That peradventure he wald change Opinioun, and that it war better that ſhe hir ſelff for ane tyme paſſit in *Fraunce*, abyding till he acknawlegit himſelf. Then *Lethingtoun* taking the Speache, ſaid, MADAME fancie ye not we ar heir of the principall of your Graces Nobilitie and Counſale, that ſall fynde the Moyen that your Majeſtie ſall be quyte of him without Prejudice of your Sone; and albeite that my Lord of *Murraye* heir preſent be lytill les ſcrupulus for ane Proteſtant, nor your Grace is for ane Papiſt, I am aſſurit he will looke throw his Fingeris thairto, and will behald our Doeings, ſaying nathing to the ſame. The Quenis Majeſtie anſwerit, I will that ye do nathing quhairto any Spot may be layit to my Honor or Conſcience, and thairfor I pray you rather let the Matter be in the Eſtait as it is, abyding till God of His Goodnes put Remid thairto; that ye beliefing to do me Service, may poſſibill turne to my Hurt and Diſpleaſor. MADAME, ſaid *Lethingtoun*, let us guyde the Matter amongis us, and your Grace ſall ſie nathing bot gud and approvit be Parliament. Swa after the Premiſſis, the Murther of the ſaid *Henry Stewart* following, We juge in our Conſcience, and haldis for certane and treuth, that the ſaids Erle of *Murraye* and Secretary *Lethingtoun* war Autors, Inventors, Devyſeris, Counſalors and Cauſeris of the ſaid Murthor, in quhat Manner or be quhatſumevir Perſonis the ſame was execut. And quhair the ſaidis Erle of *Murraye* and *Lethingtoun*, or any of thame, will denaye and gainſaye to the foreſaid, we are deliberat to defend the ſame be Law of Armes as our awin proper Honor, in quhatſumevir Place thai will cheiſe in *Scotland* afoir the Eſtaitis theirof; owt of the quhilk Realme we cannot paſs be reſſoun of the Trublis are thairintill: And gif the Quenis Majeſtie of *England* pleiſis to ſend any in hir Name to heir and ſe the Premiſſies defendit, That ſame ſal be putt to Execution in thair Preſens. And albeit that *Lethingtoun* be nouther of Quality nor Bloode equal unto us, notwithſtanding we will admitt and reſſaif him in Combat with the ſaid Erle of *Murraye*, gif thai will baith preſent thameſelffis thairto. And quhair ane of thame only wold deny and ganeſaye it that is afoir reherſit, and accept the ſaid Combat, outher the ane or the uthir of us ſhall reſſaif the ſame; proteſting that gif thai anſwer not directlie to this our preſent Atteſtatioun, Declaratioun, Accuſatioun, and Cartell, thai ſalbe repute giltie and vainqueſiet of the ſaid Murthor. In Witneſs of the quhilk we have ſubſcryved thir Preſentis with our Handis and Sealis of our Armes affixit thairto, at the Day of and at the Day of the ſaid Moneth, the Yeir of God ane thouſand five hundred threeſcoir aucht Yeiris, and of our Soveraine Ladyis Reginne the xxvij Yeir.

Ibid. *Ane Anſwer by the Earl of* Murray *Regent, To the forſaid Proteſtation paſted on the Back therof,* 19 January 1568-9.

BEcauſe the Cuſtume of my Adverſaries is and hes bene, rather to calumpniat and back-bite me in my Abſence then before my Face, and that it maie happen thaime when I am depairtit furth of this Realme, ſlanderouſlie and untrewlie to report Untruthis of me, and namely, towards ſum Spechis halden in my Hearing at *Craigmillar* in the Moneth of *November* 1566. I haif alreddie declarit to the Quenis Majeſtie, the Effect of the haill Purpoſes ſpokin in my Audience at the ſame Time ſincerely and trewlie, as I will anſwer to Almighty God, unconceling ony Part to my Remembrance, as hir Hienes I traiſt will report: And farther, in caſe any Man will ſay and affirme, That evir I was preſent quhen ony Purpoſes was halden at *Craigmillar* in my Audience, tending to ony unlawfull or diſhonourable End; or that evir I ſubſcrivit any Band there, or that ony Purpos was haldin anent the ſubſcriving of any Band be me to my Knawlege: I avow they ſpeke wiketlie and untrewlie, quhilk I will mantene aganis thame, as becums an honeſt Man, to the End of my Lyff; onlie this far the Subſcription of Bandis by me is trew, That indeed I ſubſcryvit an Band with the Erlis of *Huntlie*, *Ergile* and *Bothuile* in *Edinburgh*, at the Beginning of *October* the ſame Yeir 1566, quhilk wes deviſit in ſigne of our Reconciliation, in reſpect of the former Grudgis and Diſpleſſors that had bene amongis us: Quhairunto I was conſtrenit to make Promis before I culd be admittit to the Quenis Preſence, or haif any ſchew of hir Favor; and thair was nevir na uther Band ethir maid or ſubſcrivit, nor yet proponit to me in ony wyſe before the Murthor of umquhile the King, Father to the King, now my Soveraine: Nowthir yit aftir the Murthur wuld I evir for ony Perſuaſion agree to the Subſcriptioun of ony Band, howbeit I was erneſtlie urgit and preſſit thairto be the Quenis Commandment. This far I thochte guid to put in Write and leif behynde me, in cais (as I haif before ſaid) my Adverſares in my Abſence halde Speche and report untrew Materis of me, to my Diſhonor or Diſadvantage. Subſcrivit with my Hand at *London* the Nyntene Day of *Januar* 1568.

JAMES REGENT.

Below is written in Secretary *Cecil*'s Hand, thus, 19 *Januar* 1568, *An Anſwer of the Erle of* Murray *to a Wryting of the Erle of* Huntly *and* Argyll.

N°. XVII. ☞ The Evidence I intended to have inſerted here is that of *Thomas Neilſon*, which I did not take Notice the Readers might find in *Anderſon*'s Collections, *Vol.* 4. However 'tis to be obſerved that Mr. *Crawford* of *Drumſoy* has ſubjoined the following Note to the Copy of this Depoſition, which he has tranſcribed from the *Cotton* Library, *viz. This Paper is written in a miſerable Hand: I have left Blanks for ſuch Words as I could not read; nor is the Senſe loſt though they ſhould never be filled up. As for* Crawford*'s Depoſition mentioned in the preceding Journal, 'tis not to be found in* Caligula, *only ſo far as I can gueſs it ſeems to be ſtoln; at leaſt either it, or ſome other Paper, is torn out juſt before* Neilſon*'s.* The Journal here mentioned by Mr. *Crawford* is alſo contained in *Anderſon*'s Collections, *Vol.* 4. *Part* 2. from *p.* 170 to *p.* 178. It might indeed have been expected that the original Copies of theſe Sonnets, *&c.* ſaid to have been found in the Box brought down from the Caſtle of *Edinburgh*, ſhould have been preſerved as the beſt Inſtructions to Poſterity againſt the Queen; but as this has not been done, it may create no ſmall Suſpicion of ſome iniquous dealing in the Matter. 'Tis true there is in the Council-Books a ſort of Declaration, *&c.* as the Reader ſees here below; but let the Ingenuity of theſe noble Peers be ever ſo ſpotleſs, I conceive it had been incumbent on their Lordſhips to have cauſed make out an authentick Double of *Dalgleiſh*'s Examination, where, from whom, and by whoſe Command he received the Box; together with a Liſt of all the Papers contained therein, ſigned not only by their Lordſhips and their Clerk, but by publick Notaries likewiſe, that ſo the Fact might have been handed down with all humane Certainty. But of all this nothing is done; nay there is not ſo much as a Veſtige to be ſeen either of the Box or Papers *now* remaining; and for what we can diſcern, was not to be ſeen any time after the Conferences at *Hampton-Court* were over. The *Engliſh* Lords who ſate in theſe Conferences found the Form of the writing of the Sonnets, *&c.* to agree with the Hand-writing of our Queen: But as there is little Conſequence to be drawn from thence (where ſo many dexterous *Heads* and *Hands* may be ſuppoſed to have been employed in the Forgery) we know that by this time Queen *Elizabeth*, as well as her truſty Secretary formerly, were engaged in Meaſures directly againſt our Queen's Enlargement; and ſo may it ſafely be preſumed that ſuch Lords only would be called to the Conferences as would be pliable to all the Intentions of their Miſtreſs. Follows the Act I promiſed on *p.* 367.

Edinburgh 16. *September*, 1568.

R. M. SEDERUNT *Jacobus Dominus Regens, Jacobus Comes de Mortoun, Patricius Dominus Lindſay, Epiſcopus Orchaden. Commendatarius Dumfermling, Commendatarius Balmerinoch; Secretarius, Clericus Juſticiariæ, Magiſter Henricus Balnaves.*

Diſcharge to my Lord Mortoun.

THe quhilk Day, the nobill and potent Prince *James* Erle of *Murray*, Lord *Abernethie*, Regent to our Soverane Lord his Realme and Legeis, grantit and confeſſit him to haiff reſſavit fra *James* Erle of *Mortoun*, Lord *Dalkeyth*, Chancellar of *Scotland*, ane Silver-Box owergilt with Gold, with all miſſive Letteris, Contractis or Obligationis, for Mariage-Sonetis or Luif-Balletis, and all utheris Letteris contenit thairin, ſend and paſt betwix the Quene our ſaid Soverane Lordis Moder and *James* ſumtyme Erle *Bothuile*; quhilk Box and haill Peices within the ſamyn wer takin and fund with umquhill *George Dalgleiſch* Servand to the ſaid Erle *Bothuile* upon the xx Day of *June* the Zeir of God 1567 Zeiris: And thairfoir the ſaid Lord Regent for himſelf, and takand the Burding upoun him for the remanent Nobillmen and utheris profeſſing the Querrell and Obedience of our ſaid Soverane Lord, exoneris, quite clames and diſcharges the ſaid Erle of *Mortoun* of the ſaid Box, and of all the ſaidis miſſive Wryttingis, Contractis, Obligationis, Sonetis, Luif-Balletis, and utheris Letteris quhatſumevir fund and contenit thairin the tyme of his Recept and Intromiſſioun thairwith; teſtifying and declaring that he hes trewlie and honeſtlie obſervit and keipit the ſaid Box and haill Wrytis and Peices foirſaid within the ſame, without ony Alteratioun, Augmentatioun or Diminutioun thairof in ony Part or Portioun: And als, the ſaid Lord Regent upoun his Honour faythfullie promittis, That the ſaid haill Letteris and Wryttingis ſalbe alwayis reddie and furthcumand to the ſaid Erle *Mortoun* and remanent Nobillmen that enterit in the Querrell of revenging the King our Soverane Lordis Faderis Murthour, quhenſoevir thai ſall haif to do thairwith, for manifeſting of the Ground and Equitie of thair Proceidingis to all quhome it effeiris.

Here is a publick and authentick Acknowledgment that a Box with Papers was found with *Dalgleiſh* on the 20th Day of *June* 1567: But *Dalgleiſh* was not executed for the Murder of the King until the Month of *January* following. May we not therefore juſtly ſay, Why was no Queſtion put to *Dalgleiſh* during the Time of his Trial, or at his Death, concerning this Box? And why were ſo many Queſtions put to *Paris* the *Frenchman* concerning the Letters, *&c.*? I ſay not that the Story of the Box did affect *Dalgleiſh*'s Partnerſhip in the Murder; but ſo neither did *Paris*'s carrying of the Queen's Letters. And I can never think but that ſeeing theſe pretended Letters, *&c.* were to ſerve as the greateſt Evidence againſt the Queen, it had been but prudent to have left ſomething on Record concerning the Truth of their being found. To ſay that a Box was found, is a very eaſy Matter; but it was not ſo eaſy to make *Dalgleiſh* own at his Death, that the Box was found with him. To counterfeit the Queen's Hand, or to ſay it was like to the Queen's Hand, was an eaſy Matter; but to tranſmit to Poſterity the original Papers and Writings has not been found ſo adviſeable, altho' in the Cloſe of the Act above, they ſeem ſenſible they ought to have done ſo. Mr. *Buchanan*'s Sonnets, *&c.* may be true Copies of the Papers ſaid to be found in the Box; but 'tis as true they may not be ſo, for what Poſterity now knows, or ever can know. He may ſay the Sonnets, *&c.* are agreeable to the Queen's Stile of Writing; but I am pretty ſure *Monſieur Brantôme*, who was better acquaint-

acquainted with the Queen's manner of Writing, ſays the contrary. In a word, unleſs ſtronger Evidence can be aſſigned againſt the Queen than what theſe Letters amount to, I ſuſpect it would be too ſcrimp to determine the Mind of any Judge in a criminal Matter. Nor will the preceding *Sederunt* of the Queen's avowed Enemies carry great weight with others that are not on the ſame bottom.

As to the other Letters mentioned on *p.* 367, publiſhed at *Weſtminſter* in the Year 1726, I acknowledge to have made a very heedleſs Obſervation, by ſuppoſing them to be originally in Engliſh, *&c.* altho' I had often and many times lookt into their Preface. I may now however take the Freedom to obſerve, that the Publiſher of theſe Letters might have thought it incumbent on him to have acquainted the World, *who* this Secretary of the Earl of *Bothwell* was, and *what* Family he means whoſe Race is now extinct, and the *Name* of the Gentleman into whoſe Hands the Letters are now fallen, and what is preſently become of the Letters. At the rate this Publiſher goes to work, 'tis the eaſieſt Thing in the World to produce Letters every Moment. It were therefore to be wiſhed the pretended original Letters were depoſited in ſome publick Repoſitory, that Men might have Acceſs to inſpect them, and compare them impartially with our Queen's Hand-writing; otherwiſe what is ſaid concerning them is of no Value at all. Next, as to the Publiſher's Remarks on each Letter, and the Contents of the Letters themſelves, I think I may ſafely ſay, they conſiſt nearly of one continued *Anachroniſm*, and ſuch like Inconſiſtencies. The firſt two Letters he would have to be written in the Year 1563; but the Lord *Darnly* never ſaw *Scotland* before the 1565. To follow forth more of theſe Miſdates, is needleſs; any Reader may eaſily examine them by the authentick Letters, Negotiations, *&c.* contained in this Hiſtory of ours. Then for the Earl of *Bothwell*, I do not remember that any Writer has at all made Mention of any Intrigue betwixt the Queen and his Lordſhip ſo early as this Gentleman would inſinuate. A Lady *Lacy* within *Scotland* I remember not. In the ſixth Letter the Queen is made to ſay, that the Earl of *Morton* was within *Scotland* 'twixt the Time of the Murder of *Riccio* and the Birth of the Prince: A moſt manifeſt Abſurdity! And again, that *Hamilton came in and broke off our Converſation:* But ſo it is that *Hamilton* the Father, I mean the Duke of *Chaſtelherault*, went by the Queen's Licence beyond Sea in the End of the Year 1565, and had never ſeen her Face for ſome time before her Marriage with *Darnly*; nor did he ever return into *Scotland* all the Time her Majeſty was in the Poſſeſſion of the Crown. And *Hamilton* the Son, or Earl of *Arran*, was long before this fatuous, and continued ſtill to be ſo, and was kept in a ſort of Priſon at this very Time. This Sample may be ſufficient to overturn all the alledged Ingenuity of theſe Letters: And it would viſibly appear they had been forged by ſome Perſon who has been at no Pains to adjuſt his Times; an Overſight which moſt commonly, but juſtly, is the Miſfortune of wicked Impoſtors.

N°. XVIII. *Extract of the deciphering of a Letter of Queen* Mary'*s to her Ambaſſador the Archbiſhop of* Glaſgow, *from* Sheffield, *1ſt* June 1556.

Mem. Scot. Tom. 9. *F.* 143. *in Colleg. Scot. Pariſ.*

——— On m'a donné avis de la mort du Comte de Bothuel; & qu'avant ſon decez, il fiſt une ample confeſſion de ſes faultes, & ſe declara autheur & coupable de l'aſſaſſinat du feu Roy, mon mary, dont il me decharge bien expreſſément, jurant ſur la damnation de ſon ame pour mon innocence. Et d'autant s'il eſtoit ainſy, ce temoignage m'importeroit de beaucoup contre les fauſſes calomnies de mes ennemis; Je vous prie d'en rechercher la verité, par quelque moyen que ce ſoit. Ceux qui aſſiſterent à laditte declaration, depuis par eux ſignée & ſcellée en forme de teſtament, ſont Otto Braw du chateau d'Elcambre, Paris Braw du chateau de Vaſcut, M. Gullunſtarne du chateau de Fulcenſtere, l'Eveque de Skon, & quatre Bailiffs de la Ville, *&c.*

The ſame in Engliſh.

——*I have Advice of the Death of the Earl of* Bothwell, *and how that before he died he made an ample Confeſſion of all his Sins; and among the reſt, that he owned himſelf to have been the Author, and in Fact likewiſe guilty of the Murder of the late King my Husband: And in Terms moſt expreſs, nay upon the very Damnation of his Soul, declared me innocent thereof. If this be the real Truth, you muſt eaſily diſcern the Advantage it would be to me in defeating the falſe Calumnies of my Enemies. I pray you therefore try all Means to come into the preciſe Knowledge of this Fact. I am told that the Perſons who aſſiſted at the emitting this Declaration, and which was afterward ſigned and ſealed by them in Form of a Teſtament, were* Otto Braw *of the Caſtle of* Cambre, Paris Braw *of the Caſtle of* Vaſcut, *Mr.* Gullenſtearne *of the Caſtle of* Fulkenſtere, *the Biſhop of* Sconen, *and four Bailiffs of the Town.*

Extract of a Letter in Cypher of Abp. Beaton *to Queen* Mary, 30*th* July 1576.

Ibid. Tom. 9. F. 194. ——Il y a deſja long temps que nous avons entendu les nouvelles de la mort du Comte de Bothuel: & des ce temps, la Reine Mere a eſcrit (ainſi que M. de Lanſac m' aſſuré) à l' ambaſſadeur du Roy en Danemarq, pour envoyer le teſtament en forme: Ce qu' il n' a encore fait. Je trouverois bon d' y envoyer de Monceaux, qui entreprendroit volontiers le voiage: mais vous voyez le peu de puiſſance que j' ay de luy delivrer de l' argent.——

The ſame in Engliſh.

——*We received the News of the Earl of* Bothwell's *Death, a good Space ago; ſince which Time the Queen-Mother here (as* Monſ. Lanſac *acquaints me) has wrote to the King her Son's Ambaſſador in* Denmark, *to tranſmit hither a Copy of the Teſtament in Form: But this hath not hitherto been done. I would think it very proper to ſend over into theſe Parts* Monſ. de Monceaux, *and I know alſo he would willingly enough undertake the Journey; however your Majeſty cannot but ſee that I am in no Capacity to afford him Money neceſſary for ſuch a Journey.*——

Bothwell's foreſaid Teſtament or Declaration was brought to *Scotland* about the End of the Year 1576, or Beginning of 1577; of which the Abp. of *Glaſgow* gives the Queen the following Account in a Letter in Cypher the 4th *January* 1576-7, whereof follows the Extract:

Extract of a Letter of Abp. Beaton *in Cypher to the Queen,* 4*th* January 1577.

Ibid. Tom. 10. F. 4. ——Gartely [Barclay] dés ſon arrivée en Eſcoſſe, fut fait priſonier, parce qu' il divulga ce qu' il avoit entendu à Londres, du teſtament du feu Comte de Bothuel; & à ce que l' on dit a eſté contraint d' envoyer un homme en Danemarcq pour la verification d' iceluy. *Monceaux* n' a voulu entreprendre le voiage ſans avoir argent contant. Les 500 Livres qu' il a receu par votre liberalité, avoient eſté dependus, à ce qu' il dit, avant qu' ils etoient receus.

Sur ce propos, je ne veux oublier à vous dire ce qui m' a eſté rapporté par un gentilhomme, qui m' a dit l' avoir entendu du Controlleur Tullibairn, qui eſtoit dans la Chambre de Monſeigneur le Prince [Jacques VI.] votre fils à Sterlyng; ayant ledit Tullibairne entre ſes mains la Copie du dit teſtament, en le liſant à un autre gentilhome, mon dit Seigneur vint à l' improviſte les acoſter de la table où il eſcrivoit, & à force voulut voir ce que le dit Tullibairn tenoit entre ſes mains, encore qu' il luy refuſa deux ou trois fois. Et l' ayant leu de mot à mot, ſans leur dire aucune paroles, le leur remit entre les mains. Et

apres avoir achevé ce qu' il avoit à eſcrire, il ſe mit plus guay que de coutume, à entretenir les gentilhommes qui eſtoient à l'entour de luy ; ce qu' il continüa toute cette aprés dinée, à ſon ſouper, & aprés ſouper : ce qui rendit toute l' aſſiſtance curieux de ſçavoir l' occaſion. Enſorte que ledict Tullibairn luy demanda aprés ſouper, en luy diſant, qu' il avoit tousjours aimé & honoré, mais à cette heure-là, plus que jaimais, le voyant ſi gaillard & diſpoſé, avec un ſi bon viſage, entretenir les Seigneurs qui le viſitoient. Il luy reſpondit, Tullibairne, n' ay-je pas juſte occaſion, m' ayant eté imprimé ſi ſouvent & de ſi long temps, les accuſations & calomnies de la Majeſté de la Reine ma mere, de ce que aujourd'huy j' ay vû une ſi ouverte approbation de ſon innocence ? [*To which the Archbiſhop adds,*] Dieu luy donne ſa grace, s' il luy plait, d' augmenter ce que plus que naturellement il a desja, au rapport de tout le monde, de bon commencement en toutes choſes vertueuſes.

The ſame in Engliſh.

——Gartely [Barclay] *was clapt up in Priſon how ſoon he arrived in* Scotland, *becauſe he took the Freedom to talk what he had heard at* London *concerning the late Earl of* Bothwell ; *and 'tis ſaid likewiſe that he has been obliged to ſend ſome one into* Denmark *to obtain the Certainty of what he reported.* Monceaux *would by no means undertake the Journey without he got ready Money in his Pocket : For he affirms the* 500 l. *which your Majeſty made be paid unto him, had been all expended before he received this Sum.*

And here I can't but acquaint your Majeſty with ſomewhat that was imparted to me by a Gentleman who ſays he had it from the Laird of Tullibardin *Comptroller : The Story is this;* Tullibardin *being one Day in your Son the Prince's Chamber* [K. *James* VI.] *at* Stirling, *was by Chance reading to another Gentleman the Earl of* Bothwell's *Teſtament. The Prince on a Sudden roſe from the Table where he was writing, and would needs have a Sight of the Paper which* Tullibardin *held in his Hand, notwithſtanding his Refuſal once and again to deliver it. The Prince then read it all over, and delivered it back again without ſaying one Word. But after he had finiſhed what he had been writing, he began to talk with the Gentlemen that were preſent, more pleaſantly than uſual, which he likewiſe continued to do all the Afternoon, in the Time of, and after Supper was over. The Company being earneſt to dive into the Ground of this Behaviour,* Tullibardin *told the Prince after Supper, That as he had always loved and honoured him, he could not but do ſo in a more eminent manner at preſent, ſince he perceived him to be ſo very cheerful, and to entertain the Lords and Gentlemen that came into his Preſence with ſo agreeable a Manner, and kindly Countenance. Hereupon the Prince replied,* “ Tullibardin, *have not I very good Reaſon to do ſo ; for whereas formerly* “ *grievous Accuſations and Calumnies have been all along impreſſed upon me* “ *againſt her Majeſty my Mother, this Day I have ſeen a manifeſt Declara-* “ *tion of her Innocence?*” [Here the Archbiſhop adds,] *May Almighty GOD by His heavenly Grace augment (if it be His holy Will and Pleaſure) the happy Beginning of all vertuous Things, which, by the Report of every Body, are already in him (a).*

Extrait d' une Lettre de la Reine Marie, à M. de Glaſgo, ſon Ambaſſadeur, en chiffre, à Scheffield, du 6. Janvier 1577.

——J' ay eu avis que le Roy de Danemarcque a envoyé à cette Reine [*Eliſabeth*] le teſtament du feu Comte de Bothuel, & qu' elle l' a ſupprimé ſecretement, le plus qu' il luy a eté poſſible. Il me ſemble, que le voiage de *Monceaux* n' eſt neceſſaire pour ce regard, puiſque la Reine mere y a envoyé, comme vous me mandez. ——

Ibid: Tom. 10. F. 8.

(a) The Prince, or King *James* VI. was then only Ten Years ſix Months old. But we ſee by this Paſſage what *good* Inſtructions he had uſed to receive from *Buchanan* and his other Maſters that *Morton* kept about him.

The ſame in Engliſh.

Extract of a Letter by Queen *Mary* to her Ambaſſador the Abp. of *Glaſgow*, written in Cypher, from *Sheffield*, 6th *January* 1577.

——*I hear the King of* Denmark *has ſent to this Queen* [Elizabeth *of* England] *a Copy of the Earl of* Bothwell'*s Teſtament* ; *and that ſhe has ſuppreſſed it as far as ſhe is able. I begin now to be of Opinion that* Monceaux'*s Journey is not neceſſary, ſeeing you tell me the Queen-Mother has diſpatched one away thither.*——

Copy of a Relation of the Earl of Bothwell'*s Declaration at his Death, by one that was preſent.*

Ibid. Tom. 9. F. 145.

LE Comte de Bothuel malade a l'extremité, au chateau de Malmay, a verifié ce qui s'enſuit.

L'Eveſque de Scone, avec quatre grands Seigneurs, à ſçavoir, les Seigneurs Berin Gowes du chateau de Malmay, Otto Braw du chateau d'Ottenbrocht, Paris Braw du chateau de Veſcut, & M. Gallunſtarne du chateau de Falcenſtrie, avec les quatre Bailifs de la Ville, prierent le dict Comte de declarer librement ce qu'il ſçavoit de la mort du feu Roy Henry, [*Darnley*] & des autheurs d'icelle, comme il vouloit repondre devant Dieu au jour du jugement, là où toutes choſes, tant cachées ſoyent elles, ſeront manifeſtées.

Alors le Comte remonſtrant pour ſa grande foibleſſe qui le detenoit, qu'il ne pouvoit diſcourir tout ce qu'il en ſçavoit par lui-même, affirma la Reine innocente de la ditte mort ; lui ſeul, ſes parents, & quelque nobleſſe autheurs d'icelle.

Eſtant derechef prié deſdicts Seigneurs, de declarer quelques uns, nomma my lord Jacques Comte de Morray, my lord Robert Abbé de Sainte-Croix, (maintenant Comte des Iſles Orchades) tous deux freres baſtards de la Reine, les Comtes Argueil, Crauford, Glencarn, Morton, my lord Boyd, les Barons de Ledington, Buccleugh & Grange.

Pourſuit aprés, comme par enchantement, auquel dés ſa jeuneſſe, à Paris, & aillieurs, il s'eſtoit beaucoup addone, il avoit tiré la Reine à l'aymer, ſoy depeſtrant de ſa femme.

Le mariage conſommé, cherchoit tout moyen à faire mourir le petit Prince, & toute la Nobleſſe qui n'y vouloit entendre.

Aprés, comme [il] avoit debauché deux filles d'un grand Seigneur de Danemarque, les menant en Eſcoſſe, & deux autres d'un grand Seigneur de la Ville de Lubecque, ſoubs ombre de mariage avec leur filles, & tant d'autres filles nobles, tant en France que Danemarque, Angleterre & Eſcoſſe : demandant pardon à Dieu, recevant ſon corps, eſtant attenué mourut.

Tout cecy plus à plein, a eſté eſcrit en Latin & Danois, ſigné du ſcel du Roy de Danemarque, & des Aſſiſtants ſurnommez, & viendra quelque jour en lumiere, pour averer l'innocence de la Reine d'Eſcoſſe.

L'adjointe Copie ayant eſté donné par un marchand digne de foy, aſſiſtant alors à la derniere atteſtation dudict Comte.

The ſame in Engliſh.

THe Earl of Bothwell *being ſick unto Death in the Caſtle of* Malmag, *made ſolemn Faith of what here followeth,* viz.

The Biſhop of Schonen, *together with four great Lords, namely,* Berin Gowes *Governour of the Caſtle of* Malmag, Otto Braw *of the Caſtle of* Ottenbrucht, Paris Braw *of the Caſtle of* Veſcut, *and* Monſ. Gullenſterne *of the Caſtle of* Falkenſtrie, *and together likewiſe with the four Bailiffs of the Town, prayed the ſaid Earl to declare freely and truly what he knew of the Death of the late King* Henry, [Darnly] *and of the Authors thereof, according as he* *he ſhould anſwer before God at the Day of Judgment, where all Things, how ſecret ſoever they may be here, ſhall be laid open.*

Then the ſaid Earl declaring that through his preſent great Weakneſs he was not able to diſcourſe all *the ſeveral Steps of theſe Things, teſtified that the Queen was innocent of that Death, and that only he himſelf, his Friends, and ſome of the Nobility, were the Authors of it.*

And being thereafter preſſed by thoſe Lords to name ſome of the Perſons that were guilty; he named my Lord James *Earl of* Murray, *my Lord* Robert *Abbot of* Holy-rood-houſe *(now Earl of* Orkney*) both of them baſtard Brothers of the Queen; the Earls of* Crawford, Argile, Glencairn, Morton, *my Lord* Boyd, *the Lairds of* Lethington, Buccleugh *and* Grange.

He declared likewiſe, that as he had from his Youth addicted himſelf much to the Art of Enchantment at Paris *and elſewhere, he bewitched the Queen to fall in Love with him, and ſo invented Means to get rid of his own Wife.*

That after the Marriage was conſummated he ſought all Means how to deſtroy the Infant-Prince, and the whole Nobility that would not fall in with him.

He added, that he had debauched two Daughters of a great Man in Denmark, *with Pretext to carry them over into* Scotland; *and other two Virgins Daughters of a great Man in the Town of* Lubeck, *under Promiſe of Marriage; and many other Women of Rank in* France, Denmark, England *and* Scotland: *For all which he begged God's Pardon, received the holy Sacrament, and died.*

This whole Narration, and much more largely extended, was written both in Latin *and* Daniſh, *and ſealed with the King of* Denmark*'s Seal and of the Perſons who aſſiſted, as above; and may come to Light one Day for Verification of the Innocence of the Queen of* Scots.

This preſent Copy of this Inſtrument was imparted by a Merchant of good Faith and Reputation, who was preſent at this laſt Atteſtation of the Earl of Bothwell.

Extrait d' une Lettre de la Reine, à M. l' Archeveque de Glaſgo, du 2. *May* 1578.

Ibid. Tom. 11 N. 55.

——Madame [la Comteſſe] de Lenox, ma belle mere, eſt decedée depuis un mois en ça; ayant laiſſée une ſienne petite fille, dont la Reine d' Angleterre s' eſt retenuë la garde. J' eſcris à ceux qui ſont prés de mon fils, de faire inſtance en ſon nom de cette ſucceſſion; non pour envie que j' aye qu' elle luy demeure, mais pour ſervir de declaration, que luy & moy ne devons eſtre reputez ni traittez en etrangers au Royaume d' Angleterre, puiſque nous ſommes nais dans la meme Iſle. Cette bonne Dame s' eſtoit, graces à Dieu, fort bien reconnuë vers mois, depuis cinq ou ſix ans que nous avons eu intelligence enſemble: & m'a advouée par lettres eſcrites de ſa main, que je garde, le tort qu'elle m' avoit fait en ſes injuſtes pourſuites, dreſſées, comme elle me la fait entendre, par ſon conſentement, pour avoir eté mal informé: mais principalement, par exprés commandement de ladite Reine d' Angleterre, & perſuaſion de ceux de ſon Conſeil, qui avoient toujours empeſché noſtre appointement; lorſque ayant connu mon innocence, elle vouloit deſiſter de me pourſuivre, juſqu' à refuſer pleinement d' advouer ce qu' ils feroient contre moi ſoubs ſon nom.——

The ſame in Engliſh.

Extract of a Letter from the Queen to her Ambaſſador in *France* the Abp. of *Glaſgow*, 2d *May* 1578.

——*The Counteſs of* Lenox *my Mother-in-law died about a Month ago; and the Queen of* England *has taken into her Care her Ladyſhip's Granddaughter.* [This, no doubt, is the Lady *Arabella Stewart* only Child to *Charles* Earl of *Lenox*, who died *Anno* 1576.] *I would deſire thoſe who* *are about my Son to make Inſtances in his Name for this Succeſſion; not for any Deſire I have that he ſhould actually ſucceed unto it, but rather to teſtify that neither he nor I ought to be reputed nor treated as Foreigners in* England, *who are born within the ſame Iſle. This good Lady was, Thanks to God, in very good Correſpondence with me theſe five or ſix Years bygone, and has confeſſed to me by ſundry Letters under her Hand, which I carefully preſerve, the Injury ſhe did me by the unjuſt Purſuits which ſhe allowed to go out againſt me in her Name, through bad Information; but principally, ſhe ſaid, through the expreſs Orders of the Queen of* England *and the Perſwaſion of her Council, who alſo took much Solicitude that ſhe and I might never come to good Underſtanding together. But how ſoon ſhe came to know of my Innocence, ſhe deſiſted from any further Purſuit againſt me; nay went ſo far as to refuſe her Conſent to any Thing they ſhould act againſt me in her Name.*——

To the above Letter my Correſpondent in *Paris* ſubjoins this that follows, *viz.* "What the Queen writes here of the Counteſs of *Lenox* being fully perſwaded of her Majeſty's Innocence of the Crime laid to her Charge, by the "Calumnies of her Enemies, fomented by the Council of *England*, is confirmed by other Letters of her Majeſty's, particularly in the Years 1574, "1575, 1577: Among others, that this Lady had exhorted her to endeavour to get the Prince her Son removed forth of the Hands he was in, leſt "he might be delivered up to the Court of *England*."

And now that I have imparted to the Readers both here and elſewhere ſundry valuable Papers from the *Scottiſh* College in *Paris*, I judge it moſt proper to communicate alſo Part of a miſſive Letter which I have lately received from that Seminary. "*Paris*, 25th *May* 1733.——For your farther Information "as to the Remains of the laſt Archbiſhop of *Glaſgow* our ſecond Founder, "I muſt tell you, that tho' all, or almoſt all his Papers and Letters of Negotiations ſhould naturally have come to this Houſe, to which he left the "ſmall Remains of his Fortune, *to wit*, his Moveables; yet it happens that "many of theſe Papers were ſcattered and wanting before our Time by ſeveral Chances, and 'tis even much that there are ſo many remaining as yet. "The firſt time that I had occaſion to ſee them here, in or about *A.D.* 1686 "or 1687, they were lying in confuſed Heaps or Bundles in old Trunks "without Lock in a Wardrobe expoſed to all Hands, and thus they had lyen "for about eighty Years after the Archbiſhop's Death; and beſides that, many "of them were carried off by curious or unskilled People during that Time, "as I found by ſome important Papers found in a *Scots* Gentleman's Houſe "in the Country, the Remains of which I recovered. Beſides, I ſay, Accidents which happened to them ſince the Archbiſhop's Death, I find by Councellor *Blackwood*'s Letter to the Archbiſhop, that he had the Uſe of many "important Pieces concerning Queen *Mary* in the Archbiſhop's own Time, "whilſt he was writing at *Poitiers* the *Apology* for that Queen; and ſo of "others. But as I formerly wrote to you, to prevent farther Dilapidations "of theſe Papers in time to come, after reading them all over, and aranging "them in Order of Time, we have cauſed bind them up in Volumes, and "cypher'd the Pages. The chief Reaſon why I take notice to you of the "Loſs made before our Time of many of them, by the little Concern and "Eaſe our Predeceſſors had of them, is to anſwer an Objection made to me "more than once, That it would ſeem that Queen *Mary*'s Cauſe was not "ſufficiently juſtifiable, ſince there were no more important Pieces for her "Juſtification to be met with now among the Archbiſhop her Truſtee's Papers. And I doubt not but that there were many and more important "Pieces among them when the Archbiſhop died, than now remain.——

By the ſame Conveyance I received the following

Extract

Extract of the principall Heidis contenit in the laſt Letter that came fra the Quenis Hienes our (a) Maiſtres, direct frome Bowton *the* 19*th* December 1568.

Mem. Glaſg. Tom. 3. F. 367. in Colleg. Scot. Pariſ.

Item, Cotton Library, Cal. B. 9. F. 287.

WE haif reſavit the Eik *(b)* gevin in be the Erle of *Murray* and his Complices: And quhair thai haif ſaid thairintill, or at ony tyme, That we knew, counſallit, devyſit, perſuadit or commandit the Murthour of our Huſband; Thai haif falſlie, tratouruſlie and miſchantlie leid, imputeing unto us maliciouſlie the Cryme quhairof thai thameſelffis ar Auctoris, Inventoris, Doeris, and ſum of thame proper Executoris. And quhair thai allege we ſtoppit Inquiſitionis and dew Puniſchment to be maid on the ſaid Murtheroris, and ſiclyke of the Sequele of the Mariage with the Erle *Bothwell*; It is ſufficientlie anſerit in the Replie gevin in at *Yorke* to thais twa Pointis, and diverſe utheris thair Allegences, gif thai be weill conſiderit.

And quhair thai charge us with unnaturall Kyndnes towart our Sone, allegeing we intendit to haif cauſit him follow his Fader haiſtellie. Howbeit the naturall Luif the Moder hes to the Barnes is ſufficient to confound thame, and miſters na uther Anſer; zit conſidering thair Proceidingis bypaſt quha did him wrang in our Womb, intending to haif ſlane him and us baith, thair is nane of gude Jugement bot thai may eaſilie perſaif thair Hypocraſie, how thai wald fortifie thameſelffis in our Sonis Name, till the Tyrannie war better eſtabliſſit.

And to the Effect our gude Siſter may underſtand we ar not willing to lett thair fals inventit Allegeances pas owr with Silence, adhering to zour former Proteſtationis, ze ſall deſyr the Inſpectioun and Doublis of all thai haif producit aganis us.

And that we may ſee the allegeit principall Writtingis, gif thai haif anye, producit; and with Godis Grace we ſall mak ſic Anſer thairto, that our Innocencie ſalbe knawin to our gude Siſter, and all utheris Princes; and ſiclyke, ſall charge thame as Auctoris, Inventoris and Doeris of the ſaid Cryme thai wald imput to us, and prove the ſamin ſufficientlie, ſwa that we may haif our gude Siſteris Preſence as our Adverſaris hes had, and reſſonabill Space and Tyme to get ſic Verificatioun as appertenis thairto, and to add, as Tyme, Place and Neid ſall requeir.

Tho' this Paper ought, ſtrictly ſpeaking, not to have come into this *Appendix*, as being poſterior in Time to the Contents of the preceeding Hiſtory; yet it being uncertain when another Volume of it may come to Light, and Mr. *Anderſon*'s Collections being already in the Hands of the Publick, and it being generally believed that theſe Collections do contain a *faithful* Liſt of all the Papers that might ſerve to juſtify as well as condemn our Queen in the Matter of her Huſband's Murder: Theſe Things being conſidered, I thought my Readers might receive this preceeding Paper with a ſort of Satiſfaction, ſince Mr. *Anderſon* has not thought fit to publiſh the ſame, tho' he had it before his Eyes in the *Cotton* Library, *Calig.* B. 9. F. 287. with the very Title it here bears; a Copy whereof was at the ſame time ſent to the Archbiſhop of *Glaſgow*. It is to be obſerved that by the two laſt Pieces of the Conference at *Weſtminſter* and *Hampton-Court*, *viz.* Queen *Elizabeth*'s Anſwer to Queen *Mary*'s Commiſſioners the 16th *December* 1567 *(Anderſon*'s Collections, *Vol.* 4. *Part* 2. *p.* 179.) and Queen *Elizabeth*'s Letter to Queen *Mary* 21ſt *December* 1567 *(Ibid. p.* 183.) By thoſe two Pieces, I ſay, Queen *Mary* is ſuppoſed to take the Guilt upon her, if ſhe made no Anſwer to the Accuſations contained in the Eik. Now Queen *Mary* made Anſwer, and the Subſtance of it is contained in the Extract above ſet down. This being done; Doth not the Omiſſion to inſert this Extract or Anſwer in Mr. *Anderſon*'s Collections, ſeem to import that the Publiſher intended that his Reader

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(a) *viz.* Queen *Mary*'s Commiſſioners at the Conferences in *England*.

(b) See this infamous Paper ſo ſtiled in *Anderſon*'s Collections, *Vol.* 4. *Part* 2. *p.* 119.

ſhould look upon Queen *Mary* as having taken the Guilt upon her? and that the Conferences both at *York* and *Weſtminſter* ended in that Acknowledgment? Was this fair Dealing in a Writer that brags ſo much of his *Impartiality*?

Note, *Theſe Extracts contained above are all Originals.*

No. XIX.

Shatter'd MS. SAnctiſſimo Domino noſtro Papæ. B. Pater, Ex brevi S. veſtræ, literiſque reverendi Patris Epiſcopi Dunblanen. Oratoris noſtri, intelleximus quâ benevolentiâ ac pietate paternâ S. veſtra nos proſequi dignatur: cum, non ſolum cognito noſtri Regni ſtatu nobis condoluiſtis, verumetiam manus adjutrices, ex veſtræ liberalitatis munificentia, adhibere, alioſque Principes Catholicos, in noſtrum ſubſidium, veſtrâ perſuaſione impellere, ac Nuncium Apoſtolicum, qui in noſtris laboribus vice veſtrâ adſit, tantâ diligentiâ ad nos deſtinare decreveritis. Pro quibus in nos collatis beneficiis, gratiam quam debemus, referre non poſſumus. Certò tamen pollicemur, nos nunquam à Catholica religione, ac S. ſedis Apoſtolicæ obſervantiâ defecturos: quod reipſâ Nuncius veſter, cum primum ad nos pervenerit, teſtatum reperiet; quem brevi ad nos venturum ſperamus. Cujus adventum, una cum pecunia ex veſtra liberalitate ad nos miſſa, non ſine magno deſiderio expectamus. Dei opt. maximi gratiâ, veſtrâ ope, Principumque Chriſtianorum auxilio, nobis perſuademus res noſtras in meliorem ſtatum propediem reduci poſſe. Quod ipſe conferre dignetur qui ſolus omnia poteſt, & tuam S. incolumem, in multos annos, nobis & Eccleſiæ ſuæ conſervet. Edinburgi, &c.

Ibid. REverendiſſime Domine, Cognitum nobis eſt ex literis Archiepiſcopi Glaſguen. Oratoris noſtri, & aliorum fide dignorum relatione, quàm—noſtra per te in Galliis tractetur, quippe qui non ſolum Chriſtianiſſimum Regem ad noſtrum ſubſidium adhortaveris, verum etiam Sanctiſſimi—& âuctoritatem in cauſis noſtris lubenter quotidie interponas———Quare certò perſuaſum habeas nos noſtraque omnia tibi vel maximè devincta. De noſtro, & Regni noſtri ſtatu, egimus ſatis abundè cum Oratore noſtro; eundemque admonuimus, ut te de ſingulis certiorem redderet. Ex illo, quid conſilii penes Nuncium Apoſtolicum, quem S. ad nos deſtinare decrevit, per nos captum fuerit, plenius intelliget Dominatio tua; quam diu ſoſpitem & incolumem ad vota noſtra conſervet Deus opt. max. Dat. Edinburgi decima ſexta die Julij 1566.

The other Letters concerning this Nuncio *the Readers may ſee in* Con's *Life of* Mary Stuart *Queen of* Scots, *ſub fin.*

No. XX. *Edinburgh* 2. *Julij*, 1567.

Act of Edinburgh.

R. M. THe quhilk Day, the Proveſt, Baillies, Counſall and Dekynnis of the Burgh of *Edinburgh*, being convenit in the Counſall-hous of the ſamyn, comperit nobill and michtie Lordis, the Lordis Erlis of *Mortoun* and *Atholl*, having with thame the maiſt honourabill and godlie Band laitlie maid and ſubſcrivit be thair Lordſchipis and utheris of the Nobilitie of this Realme; bearand in effect, That thai the ſaidis Erlis, Lordis, Baronis, and utheris Subſcrivaris of the ſaid Band, for thameſelffis, Kin, Freindis, and all that will do for thame, bindis and obleiſſis ilk ane of thame to utheris, upoun reſpect of thair Dewtie towart thair Soverane, the Commoun-weill of this thair native Cuntrie, and Honour of the ſame, that thai altogidder, as ſaid is, with thair haill Force, Power and Strenth ſall perſew the cruell Murthararis of the King our ſaid Soveranis Husband to thair uttermeſt, ſeik and procure the Diſſolutioun of the un-

unlauchfull Mariage maid betwix hir Hienes and the Erle *Bothuile*, be all meanis lauchfull; as alſwa our ſaid Soverane to be relevit of the Thraldome, Bondage, or Ignominie and Schame quhilk ſche hes ſuſtenit and underlyis be the ſaid Erlis occaſioun; and the Perſoun of our undoubtit and innocent Prince repoſit to full Suirtie, and relevit of the imminent Danger quhilk now he ſtandis in; and finallie, Juſtice reſtorit and uprichtlie miniſtrat to all the Legeis and Subjectis of this Realme: The quhilk maiſt godlie and honourabill Band, in Preſens of the ſaid Proveſt; Baillies and Counſall, being red and conſiderit, Thai all in ane Voce underſtanding the ſamyn to be bayth honourabill and godlie, ratifies and approves the ſamyn, and grantis and conſentis and promittis thair Aſſiſtance and Fortificatioun to the ſaidis Lordis in furthſetting, perſewing and avanceing of the Premiſſis to thair utter Power: And for Aſſiſtance heirof, hes requeiſtit and deſyrit the Rycht Honourabill Sir *Symon Preſtoun* of *Craigmillar* Knycht Proveſt of *Edinburgh*, for thame and in thair Names, with the ſaidis Lordis, to ſubſcryve the ſaid Band, quhilk ſalbe als ſufficient as gif thai had ſubſcryvit the ſamyn with thair proper Handis; and for obſerving heirof, ordanis this preſent Ordinance to be inſert and regiſtrat in the Counſallbukis of the ſaid Burgh, and for the mair ſuire Teſtificatioun of thair Conſentis as ſaid is. *Extractum de libro Actorum Conſilii Burgi de Edinburgh per me Alexandrum Guthre principalem ſcribam curiæ dicti Burgi ſub meis ſigno & ſubſcriptione manualibus* A. Guthre.

Nº. XXI. *A Platt Executory, deviſed* per Lethington, Auguſt 1567.

THe Conceptionis of thame that wer within the Caſtell, towart the publick Stait of the Realme, wer thir: Calig. C. 1.

Firſt, That the publick Controverſie ſould haif bene componit be the Quene of *Inglandis* Mediatioun, be quhome thai offerit thameſelffis to be directit in this Behalf, and thocht by hir Meanis to haif obtainit that the Stait ſould haif bene governit be a Counſall of 24, 16 or 12; and the Affairis directit in the Names of the King and Quene conjunctlie.

Efter thai perceaved na Likelyhood of the obtening of a conjunct Authoritie, thai wer content to give thair Obedience to the King, and wer about to perſwaid that this Forme of Government wes fitteſt to ſerve the Quene of *Inglandis* Turne to keip this Cuntrie at hir Devotioun, ſeeing it wes eaſier to hir to keip ſum Part of a Nowmer, and ever to haif ſum Factioun of thame (ſince it is hard to a Nowmer to continew without Particularis) then to keip ane at hir Devotioun, having the haill Government alane, quha ſeeing his Commoditie, wald not ſpair to run a contrar Courſe, gif ſche had not ſum utheris that with hir Favour and Countenance micht countervail him.

Be this Forme of Government thai thocht thai ſould conciliat the gude Willis of a greit Part of the Nobilitie, quha be this Mean ſould be callit to haif thair Part of the Government, and ſould haif bene aſſurit that little ſould procede bot be thair Advyis.

Gif this had bene fund ſtrange, or a Noveltie, and ſuſpectit in a Monarchie (quhilk ſum fear) thai wer in hope to haif obtenit ane indifferent Regiment of Five, to witt, twa of everie Partie, and ane neutrall, quha wes thocht to be the Erle of *Atholl*; and gif he micht be movit to incline to thair Courſe (as thai putt na doubt he micht) the Ballance ſould haif inclinit altogidder that way.

Or gif this had bene ſuſpectit or miſlykit of, for the Erle of *Athollis* Religioun, [*Popiſh*] thai hopit aſſuritlie to haif obtenit that the Stait ſould be governit be Four of the principall of the Nobilitie, the Dukes Houſe being exceptit, quhais Conſent thai wald haif procurit. Quhilk Four thai went about to perſwaid wer the Erlis of *Huntlie*, *Ergile*, *Atholl*, and my Lord Regent that preſentlie governis, or my Lord of *Mar*. Gif this had bene impetrat, it wes lykelie that the Erlis of *Huntlie* and *Atholl* running one Courſe, and either winning

the Erle of *Ergile*, or keiping him in Indifferencie, with the Aſſiſtance of the Caſtell, and remanent of thair Fellowſchip, the Quene of *Inglandis* indifferent Favour and Countenance, and the aſſurit Favour and quiet Intelligence of *France*, that thai ſould haif had the chief Management of the Affairis, and carryit the whole Sway of the Realme efter thame, and ſwa with Tyme had the Moyen to haif reſtorit the Quene, at leiſt to haif re-eſtabliſchit hir Authoritie, as Materis ſould haif happenit to haif fallen out in foreign Cuntries.

The foreign Nation in quhome thai had greiteſt Confidence wes *France*, quhairfra thai ſould haif had Threeſcoir thouſand *Franks* be Zeir during the Troubills to be paid quarterlie. That quhilk *Jhone Chiſholme* brocht hame wes for the firſt Quarter.

The Cauſe quhy the King of *France* wes ſa earneſt to mentein that Factioun, and beiris ſa greit Emnitie to the Kingis Stait, is, that he thinkis not onlie he hes loſt be that Mean the Amitye and gude Intelligence ſa lang continewit between this Realme and his Crowne, bot alſwa that he receaved diverſe Foyles, and bene conſtranit to ſuffer greit Indignities of *Ingland*; He intendis be all meanis poſſibill to ſubvert the preſent Stait, and alter the Government, quhilk he thinkis havand quietit his awin Cuntrie, ſould be eaſie to compas, either be Force, the Quene of *Ingland* beand utherwayis occupyit, or be Capitulatioun, or componand his Differences with the Quene of *Ingland*, and offerand himſelf to be a Mean to divert the Violence intendit aganis hir and hir Cuntrie (*a*).

N°. XXII. *p*. 435. 'Tis hoped the Readers will be pleaſed (upon Account of the former Reaſon ſtill) to view theſe Subſcribents in the Places mentioned on the foregoing *p*. 434.

N°. XXIII. *Edinburgh penult. Auguſti*, 1567.

R. M. SEDERUNT *Dominus Regens*, *Jacobus Comes de Mortoun*, *Joannes Comes de Atholl*, *Joannes Comes de Mar*, *Alexander Dominus Hume*, *Robertus Dominus Sympill*.

New Cunzie.

IT is ſtatute and ordanit be my Lord Regent, with Advyis and Counſall of the Lordis of ſecreit Counſall, That thair be cunzeit ane Penny of Silver callit the *JAMES RYALL*, the Fynes of elevin Deneirs fyne, and of Weicht an Unce Troyis-weicht, with twa Grains of Remeid alſweill of Weicht as Fynenes, havand on the ane Syde ane Swerd with ane Crown upoun the ſame, on the Syde of the ſaid Crown a Hand putting a Finger to the Price of the Peice; on the uther Syde thairof the Dait of the Zeir, half on the ane Syde, half on the uther of the Swerd, with this Circumſcriptioun begyning at the Syde of the Crown directlie above the ſaid Price, *Pro me ſi mereor in me*; and upoun the uther Syde our Soveranis Armis coverit with ane clois Crown, and ane *J* crownit on the ane Syde, and ane *R* crownit in lyke maner on the uther Syde of the ſamyn, with this Circumſcriptioun begynand directlie above the Crown with thir Titles, *Jacobus 6 Dei gratia Rex Scotorum*; the ſaid Penny to have Courſe for threttie Schillingis Money of this Realme, the Twa-part for twentie Schillingis, and the Third-part for ten Schillingis, all of the ſame Fynes and Prent, and of Weicht equivalent; to witt, the Twa-part of Weicht of ſextein Deneirs, and the Third-part of the eight Deneirs Troyis-weicht. In Conſideratioun quhairof, my ſaid Lord Regent, with the Advyis of the ſecreit Counſall, in our Soverane Lordis Name, commandis and chargeis *David Forreſt* Generall of his Hienes Cunzie-hous, *Johne Acheiſoun* Maiſter-Cunzier, *Andro Henderſoun* Wardane, *James Moſman* Aſſayour, and *James Gray* Sinker, and all Meltaris, Forgearis and Prentaris within the ſaid Cunzie-hous, ilk ane in thair awin Office, to do thair Dilligence in melting, forgeing and prenting of the

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(*a*) The Readers may ſee another Paper by this Gentleman, containing a Project in favour of the Queen, in *Anderſon's* Collections, *Vol*. 4. *Part* 2. *p*. 140.

the ſaid Peices as thai ſalbe commandit be the Generall and Maiſter-Cunzier thairto, according to the Weicht and Fynes, within thair Remedis, as is above ſpecifyit; and that Letteris be direct for Publicatioun heirof in dew Forme as effeiris, ſwa that nane pretend Ignorance heirin.

N°. XXIV. *Edinburgh* 23. *Auguſti*, 1567.

SEDERUNT *Jacobus Moraviæ Comes Dominus Abernethie Regni Scotiæ Regens, Jacobus Comes de Mortoun, Joannes Comes de Atholl, Alexander Comes de Glencairne, Joannes Comes de Marr, Robertus Comes de Buchane, Joannes Magiſter de Grahame, Alexander Dominus Hume, Patricius Dominus Lyndſay, Wilielmus Dominus Ruthven, Patricius Dominus Gray, Robertus Dominus Sympill, Wilielmus Dominus Borthwick, Henricus Dominus Methven, Jacobus Dominus de Trophechin.* R. M.

Charge to preſent the Seillis.

FOrſamekill as it hes pleſit Almichtie God to call our Soverane Lord the King to the Crown and Government of this Realme, quhairthrow it is convenient that all the Seillis and Signettis be maid in his Majeſties Name, and the auld Seillis callit in, broken and deſtroyit, that na Thingis pas thairby in tyme cuming: Thairfoir my Lord Regent, with the Avyis of the Lordis of ſecreit Counſall, ordanis Letteris to be direct to diſcharge all the auld Seillis and Signettis within this Realme quhairin the Name and Circumſcriptioun of the Quene our Soverane Lordis derreſt Moder is contenit; and to command and charge that na Letteris, Charteris, Patentis, or uther Thing quhatſumevir pas in tyme cumeing, bot under our Soverane Lordis Name, and under the Seillis conteining his Name. And als, to charge *George* Erle of *Huntlie* Lord *Gordoun* and *Badzenoch*, to bring, preſent and produce befoir my ſaid Lord Regent the twa Greit Seillis being in his Handis and Keiping; that is to ſay, the ane of Silver conteining in the Circumſcriptioun *Maria Dei gratia Regina Scotorum*, maid in the tyme that *Marie* Quene Dowriare of this Realme acceptit the Regiment thairof; the uther Seill of Tyn, conteining in the Circumſcriptioun *Franciſcus & Maria Dei gratia Rex & Regina Scotorum Delphinus & Delphina Viennen.* and all utheris Greit Seillis, gif ony be in the ſaid Erles Handis upoun the eighth Day nixt efter the ſaid Erle be chargeit thairto: Sr *Richart Maitland* of *Lethingtoun* Knycht, to bring, preſent and produce the Previe-Seillis quhatſumevir being in his Handis; *Francis Tennent*, *Mungo Tennent* his Sone, and *William Oigill*, the Teſtimoniallis of the Greit Seillis being in thair Handis: Sr *Johne Bellenden* of *Auchnowle* Knycht, the Seillis of Juſticiarie on the South and North-ſydes of the Water of *Forth*: Maiſters *Robert Maitland*, *Alexander Sym*, *Edward Henryſon* and *Clement Littill*, Commiſſaris of *Edinburgh*, the Seill of the Commiſſariot of the Juriſdictioun of *Edinburgh*; *Thomas Makcartnay* Keipar of the Cocqueit Seill of *Edinburgh*, *James Curll* Keipar of the Cuſtum Stampis of the ſaid Burgh, to bring, preſent and produce the ſamyn befoir my ſaid Lord Regent and Counſall upoun the Morne efter the Charge, to the Effect above wryttin, under the Pane of Rebellioun and putting of thame to the Horne; or ellis to compeir upoun the Dayis particularlie above ſpecifyit, and allege ane reſſonabill Caus quhy the ſamyn aucht not to be done; with Certificatioun to thame, an thai failzie, Letteris ſalbe direct *ſimpliciter* to put thame to the Horne: And als, to charge all the Commiſſaris, Clerkis of Cocqueitis and Cuſtumaris within this Realme, to compeir and rander, preſent and deliver all thair Commiſſar-Seillis, Cocqueit-Seillis and Cuſtum-Stampis befoir my ſaid Lord Regent and Counſall upoun the eighth Day nixt efter the Charge, to the Effect above ſpecifyit, under the ſaid Pane of Rebellioun, and putting of thame to the Horne; or ellis to compeir and ſchaw ane Caus quhy: With Certificatioun an thai failzie, Letteris ſalbe direct to put thame to the Horne.

No. XXV.

Act 1. Parl. 1. K. *James* VI. *ITem*, It is fundin and declarit be the thre Eſtatis and haill Body of this preſent Parliament, That the Dimiſſioun and over-geving of the Crowne and Regiment of this Realme, maid be the Quenis Grace, our Soverane Lordis derreſt Mother, be vertew of hir Letteris of Commiſſioun and Procuratioun ſubſcrivit with hir Hand, and under hir previe Seill, of the Dait the xxiv. Day of *Julij* laſt bypaſt, was, and is, and ſalbe in all Tymes cuming haldin, repute and eſtemit lauchfull and perfyt *(a)*, according to the ſamin Commiſſioun producit, avyſit and admittit be the ſaidis thre Eſtatis: And als, that the Coronatioun and Inauguratioun of our ſaid Soverane Lord, Sone to his ſaid derreſt Mother and native Prince of this Realme, maid and ſolemnizat, conforme to the ſaid Commiſſioun, at *Striveling* the xxix. Day of the ſaid Moneth of *Julij*, be the Erlis, Lordis, Prelatis, Commiſſaris of Burrowis, Barronis, and utheris faithfull and trew Subjectis aſſemblit and convenit for that Effect, was dewlie, rychtlie and ordourlie done and execute *(b)*, and als lauchfull and vailzeabill in the ſelf in all reſpectis, and his Majeſtie als rychteouſlie inveſtit and poſſeſſit in this Kingdom, as his ſaid Mother, his Guidſchir, Grandſchir, or ony uther his maiſt nobill Progenitouris native Princes of this Realme wer, and hes bene of befoir, or as gif hir Grace (the Tyme of the ſaid Coronatioun) had bene departit out of this mortall Lyfe, or had comperit perſonallie in Preſence of the haill thre Eſtatis of this Realme aſſemblit in Parliament, and maid the ſaid Dimiſſion, notwithſtanding ony maner of Tytill, Actioun or Enteres, or ony uther Thing that preſentlie may or can *(c)* heirefter be objectit in the contrare. And als, ratifyis, apprevis and confirmis the ſaid Dimiſſioun, Coronatioun and Inauguratioun of our ſaid Soverane Lord, and all Thingis done, or that heirefter ſall happin to be done in his Hienes Name and Authoritie *(d)*.

Act 19. *ITem*, Anent the Artickle proponit be the Erlis, Lordis, and uther Nobillmen, quha tuik Armis at *Carbarrie-hill*, upon the xv. Day of *Junij* laſt bypaſt; And anent thair Conveningis of befoir, and of the Cauſe of the Apprehenſioun of the Quene, Mother to our Soverane Lord; And quhidder the ſaidis Nobillmen, and utheris quhilkis tuik Armis of befoir hir ſaid Apprehenſioun, and quhilkis joynit with thame, and aſſiſtit thame at that Tyme, or ony wayis ſenſyne, hes done the Dewtie of Nobillmen, gude and trew Subjectis of this Realme, and na wayis offendit nor tranſgreſſit the Lawis in that Effect, or ony thing depending thairupon, outher preceding or following the ſamin: Our Soverane Lord, with Aviſe of my Lord Regent, and thre Eſtatis, and haill Body of this preſent Parliament, hes fundin, declairit and concludit, and be this preſent Act findis, declairis and concludis, That the Cauſe and Occaſioun of the Conventiounis and Meſſageis of the ſaidis Erlis, Lordis, Nobillmen, Barronis, and utheris faithfull and trew Subjectis; and conſequentlie, thair taking of Armis, and cuming to the Feildis with oppin and diſplayit Baneris, and the Cauſe and Occaſioun of the taking of the ſaid Quenis Perſon upon the ſaid xv. Day of *Junij* laſt bypaſt, and halding and detening of the ſamin within the Houſis and Fortalice of *Lochlevin*, continuallie, ſenſyne, preſentlie, and in all tyme cuming: And generallie all uther Thingis inventit, ſpokin, writtin, or done be thame, or ony of thame to that Effect, ſen the tent Day of *Februar* laſt bypaſt, upon the quhilk Day umquhile *Henry* King, than the ſaid Quenis lauchfull

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(a) If there was Compulſion offered to the Queen to make her ſign this *Demiſſion*, no Power on Earth can render it *lawful and perfect* in itſelf. We would ridicule the Infallibility and diſpenſing Power of the Pope in ſuch a Matter: But Men never ſee their own Faults in the ſame Light with theſe of their Neighbours.

(b) It was not *duly, rightly and orderly done and executed* according to the Queen's Commiſſion, by which they pretended to act. It were to be wiſhed that nothing was ever enacted to be *Right*, which Senſe (beſides Reaſon) declared to be *Wrong*.

(c) This is a ſhort way to looſe the *Gordian* Knot; an eaſy Manner to obtain and eſtabliſh Right, and defeat all Objections.

(d) It might perhaps be no improper Queſtion, Whether the King's Inauguration and Authority was ſuſpended upon the Acts done at *Stirling* on the 29th *July* bypaſt, or upon the Act of this Day at *Edinburgh*?

lauchfull Husband, and our Soverane Lord the Kingis derreſt Father, was treſſonablie, ſchamefullie and horriblie murthourit, unto the Day and Dait of this preſent Act, and in all tymes to cum, tuicheing the ſaid Quene, and detening of hir Perſon. That the Cauſe and all Thingis dependand thairon, or that ony wayis may pertene thairto, the Intromiſſioun, or diſponing upon hir Propirtie, Caſualiteis, or quhatſumever thing pertening, or that ony wayis mycht pertene to hir, wes in the ſaid Quenis awin Default, in ſa far as be divers hir previe Letteris writtin halelie with hir awin Hand (a), and ſend be hir to *James* ſumtyme Erle of *Bothwell*, cheif Executour of the ſaid horribill Murthour, aſweill befoir the committing thairof as thairefter: And be hir ungodlie and diſhonourabill proceding to ane pretendit Mariage with him, ſuddandlie and unproviſitlie thairefter, it is maiſt certaine that ſcho was previe, Airt and Pairt of the actuall Deviſe and Deid of the foirnamit Murthour of the King hir lauchfull Husband, and Father to our Soverane Lord, committit be the ſaid *James* ſumtyme Erle of *Bothwell*, his Complices and Pertakeris; and thairfoir juſtlie deſervis quhatſumever hes bene done to hir in ony tyme bygaine, or that ſalbe (b) uſit towartis hir for the ſaid Cauſe in tyme cuming, quhilk ſalbe uſit be Adviſe of the Nobilitie, in reſpect that our ſaid Soverane Lordis Mother, with the ſaid *James* ſumtyme Erle of *Bothwell*, zeid about be indirect and colourit Menis, to colour and hald bak the Knawlege of the Treuth of the Committaris of the ſaid Cryme: Zit all Men in thair Hartis war fullelie perſwadit of the Authouris and Devyſaris of that miſchevous and unworthie Fact, awaiting quhill God ſould move the Hartis of ſum to enter in the Querrell, for revengeing of the ſamin. And in the mene tyme, ane greit Pairt of the Nobilitie, upon juſt Feir to be handlit and demanit in ſemblabill Maner as the King had bene of befoir, perſaving alſwa the Quene ſa thrall, and ſwa blindlie affectionat to the private Appetyte of that Tyrane, and that baith he and ſcho had conſpyrit togidder ſic horribill Crueltie, being thairwith all garniſſit with ane Cumpanie of ungodlie and vitious Perſonis, reddy to accompliſche all thair unlauchfull Commandementis, of quhome he had ane ſufficient Number continuallie awaiting upon him for the ſamin Effect, all nobill and vertuous Men abhorring thair Tyrannie, and Cumpanie, bot cheiflie ſuſpecting that thay quha had ſa treſſonablie put downe and diſtroyit the Father, ſould mak the innocent Prince his onlie Sone, and the principall and almaiſt onlie Confort ſend be God to this afflictit Natioun, to taiſt of the ſamin Coup (as the mony inventit Purpoſis to pas quhair he was, and alſwa quhair the Nobillmen war in) be thair oppin Confuſioun gaif ſufficient Warning and Declaratioun, quhairthrow the ſaidis Erlis, Lordis, Barronis, and utheris faithfull and trew Subjectis taking Armis, or utherwyſe quhatſumever joyning and aſſiſting in the ſaid Actioun, and in the ſaidis Conventiounis, diſplaying Baneris and cuming to the Feildis, taking and retening of the Quenis Perſon, aſweill in tymes bypaſt as heirefter, and all utheris that hes thairefter, or ſall in ony tyme cuming adjoyne to thame, and all Thingis done be thame, or ony of thame, tuicheing that Cauſe, and all uther Thingis depending thairon, or that ony wayis may appertene thairto: The Intromiſſioun or diſponing upon hir Propirtie, or Caſualiteis, or quhatſumever uther Thingis pertening, or ony way is mycht appertene to hir, was in Default of hir ſelf and the ſaid *James* ſumtyme Erle of *Bothwell*, and be the horribill and cruell Murthour of our

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(a) Not to inſiſt on the Facility of counterfeiting Hand-writing; Can we imagine that all the petty Members of this Parliament could juſtly take it on their Conſcience, that theſe Letters were really written by the Queen? They could hardly write themſelves.

(b) Bp. *Leſlie* in his *Defence* of Queen *Mary*'s Honour hath theſe Words, " Ye never ceaſſed nor ſtaied until ye had procured " and obtained a colourable Parlement; whereby ye gotte your uſurped and unnatural Kingdom ratified and confirmed, and not " onely all your wicked Practiſes already paſt, but even quhat Miſchiefe ſoever ye wald, ſhould after paſſe likewiſe againſt her " Quietnes and Safetie. And thus behold how theſe humble, obedient and loving Subjects have purchaſed and procured a Com- " miſſion long before-hand! The like whereof (as I ſuppoſe) was never in the World heard of afore, in any whatſoever rude, " ſavage and barbarous Nation or Countrey, to ſlay, kill and murther their owne Sovereigne Queene, and a moſt innocent Ladie, " at their owne Willes and Pleaſure. The which their ſaied Commiſſion they had in this wiſe executed long ere this, as it is cre- " dibly thought, if GOD had not wonderfully eluded and miraculouſly fruſtrated this their miſchievous malitious Purpoſe and " Intent." It would appear by the manner of wording this Act, that if the Regent and that Party had no Intention of depriving the Queen of her Life, they at leaſt wanted to keep her Majeſty in the Terror and Fear of Death, and conſequently force her to ratify ſtill the former *Demiſſion*, &c.

ſaid Soverane Lordis umquhile derreſt Father, conſpyrit, devyſit, committit, conſeilit and colourit be thame, and not condignelie puneiſt according to the Lawis. And that the ſaidis Erlis, Lordis, Barronis, and utheris trew and faithfull Subjectis, convening at ony Conventioun bygaine, and now preſentlie, efter the ſaid Murthour; for furthering of the Tryell thairof, and als thay, and all utheris that war on the Feildis, tuik Armis, apprehendit, held, keipit or detenit, or preſentlie haldis, keipis or detenis hir Perſon, or ſall thairefter, or that hes joynit or aſſiſtit, or ſall in ony tyme heirefter joyne to thame in that Querrell, tuicheing the Premiſſis, ar, war, and ſalbe innocent, fre and acquyte of the ſamin, and of all Actioun and Cauſe criminall and civill that may be intentit or perſewit aganis thame, or ony of thame thairfoir, in ony tyme cuming (*a*). And that ane Pairt of the thre Eſtatis foirſaidis, Prelatis, Biſchopis, greit Barronis, and Burgeſſis, gaif thair Seillis thairupon, to be uſit as ſalbe thocht maiſt expedient be thame, for the Honour of the Realme, and Securitie of the Nobillmen, and utheris havand Enteres in the ſaid Cauſe. And decernis this Declaratioun to be na wayis prejudiciall to the Iſſue of our Soverane Lordis Mother, lauchfullie cumin of hir Body, to ſuccid to the Crowne of this Realme, nor thair Airis.

Act 20. ANent the Supplicatioun gevin in be *Williame Dowglas* of *Lochlevin*, beirand that the Erlis of *Mortoun*, *Atholl*, *Mar*, *Glencarne*, the Lordis *Ruthven*, *Holme*, *Lindeſay*, *Sempill*, and diveris utheris honorabill Barronis and Gentilmen of this Realme, upon the xvi. Day of *Junij* laſt bypaſt, be thair Letteris ſubſcrivit with thair Handis, gaif Command to the ſaid *Williame Dowglas*, upon his dew Obedience, and as he tenderis the Commoun-weill of this Realme, his native Cuntrie, to reſſave our Soverane Lordis Mother in keping, within his Fortalice and Place of *Lochlevin*, as being ane Rowme maiſt convenient thairto, and keip hir ſurelie thairintill, ay and quhill farther Tryall be taine anent the cruell Murthour and treſſonabill Slauchter of umquhile *Henry* King, Spous to the Quene, than our Soverane, and the ſaid *Williame* ſufficientlie exonerit and diſchargeit of hir ſaid Keiping, as the Letteris and Charge direct be the ſaidis Erlis, Lordis and Nobillmen, ſchawin in Preſence of my Lord Regent and thre Eſtatis of this Realme beiris: And thairfoir deſyring our Soverane Lord, my Lord Regent, and thre Eſtatis of this preſent Parliament, to gif Declaratour to the ſaid *Williame Dowglas* of *Lochlevin*, that he hes done his detfull Diligence in reſſaving and keiping of our ſaid Soverane Lordis derreſt Mother; And thairthrow that he and his Airis may be fre of all Actioun and Cryme that may be imputit to thame thairthrow, and of ony uther Thing done to hir ſen hir cuming to the ſaid Place and Fortalice, in reſpect of hir awin Declaratioun ſchawin, and producit in Preſence of my ſaid Lord Regent and haill Eſtatis of this preſent Parliament, lykeas the ſaid Supplicatioun, Wrytingis and Chargeis direct thairanent ſchawin and producit, as ſaid is, beiris. Our Soverane Lord, with Aviſe of the ſaid Lord Regent, and thre Eſtatis and haill Body of this preſent Parliament, declairis the ſaidis Letteris and Chargeis, direct to the ſaid *Williame Dowglas* of *Lochlevin* in maner abone writtin, to be dewlie and reſſonablie direct, and procedit upon ane juſt, trew and ſinceir Ground; and thairfoir be Cenſement of this preſent Parliament, authoriſis and declairis the ſamin to have bene dewlie, weill, ordourlie and juſtlie direct, upon gude Cauſis and Conſideratiounis, lyke as alſwa our Soverane Lord, with Aviſe of my Lord Regent and thre Eſtatis of Parliament foirſaid, authoriſis and declairis the Wrytingis and Declaratioun maid be our ſaid Soverane Lordis derreſt Mother upon the xxviij. Day of *Julij* laſt bypaſt, declairand that ſcho on na wyſe was tretit nor compellit be the ſaid *Williame Dowglas* of *Lochlevin*, nor na utheris of his cauſing to do ony thing contrar hir Pleſour, ſen hir cuming to the ſaid Place of *Lochlevin*. And thairfoir ordanis the ſaidis Letteris, Chargeis, and utheris Wrytingis abone writtin, to be inſert and regiſtrat in the

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(*a*) Had this Declaration and Exoneration proceeded from a Company of Perſons different from thoſe that were the Parties concerned in the Actions here recited, the ſame had been much more ſatisfactory.

the Buikis of Parliament, to remaine thairintill perpetuallie for Declaratioun of the ſaid *Williame Dowglas* trew and juſt Obedience in the ſaid Mater: And declairis he hes done his detfull Dewtie in obtempering, obeying and fulfilling of the Command and Charge abone writtin, and decernis him, his Airis, Succeſſouris and Poſteritie to be harmles and skaithles thairanent, for now and ever; And diſchargeis all Actioun and Cauſe criminall and civile that may be intentit or perſewit aganis thame or him for the ſamin, for now and ever, be this preſent Act.

ITem, Forſamekle as thair hes bene of befoir divers, large and ſumpteous Expenſis maid be our Soverane Lordis Predeceſſouris, and himſelf, in keiping, fortifying and reparatioun of the Caſtell of *Dunbar* and Forth of *Inchekeith*, quhilkis ar baith unprofitabill to the Realme, and not abill to defend the Enemeis thairof, in cais the ſamin war aſſaultit: And now ſeing that the ſaid Caſtell and Forth ar baith becumin ſa ruinous, that the ſamin ſall allutterlie decay, except thair be ſic Expenſis maid thairupon as is unhabill to be performit without greit Inconveniencis; And alſwa havand Conſideratioun of ane Act of Parliament maid in umquhile our Soverane Lordis Grandſchiris tyme, King *James* the Feird, of maiſt worthie Memorie, ordinand the ſaid Caſtell of *Dunbar* to be demoliſchit and caſſin downe, as in the Act maid thairupon at mair lenth is contenit, quhilk Act as zit is not abrogat. Thairfoir our Soverane Lord, with Aviſe and Conſent of my Lord Regent, and the Eſtatis of this preſent Parliament, hes ordanit, and ordanis, That the Caſtell of *Dunbar* and Forth of *Inchekeith* be demoliſchit and caſſin downe utterlie to the Ground, and diſtroyit in ſic wyſe that na Foundment thairof be Occaſioun to big thairupon in tyme cuming. Act 35.

N°. XXVI. *Glaſgow* 3. *Maij*, 1568.

SEDERUNT *Jacobus Dominus Regens, Jacobus Comes de Mortoun, Alexander Comes de Glencairn, Joannes Comes de Marr, Robertus Dominus Sympill, Magiſter Grahame, Dumfermling, Balmerinoch, Theſaurarius.* R. M.

Proclamatioun to cum to Glaſgow.

FOrſameikle as my Lord Regentis Grace and Lordis of ſecreit Counſall being adverteiſt how that the Quene, Moder to our Soverane Lord, being put and keipit in the Place of *Lochlevin*, be the Avyis and Conſent of the haill Eſtaitis in Parliament, for ſic Cais as is nottour and manifeſt in the Act of Parliament maid thairupoun; is now eſcapit and cum furth of the ſaid Place, and reparit to the Place of *Hamiltoun*, remaineing thair, quhair ſindrie his Majeſties Legeis and Subjectis reparis towart hir, for quhat Purpois it is uncertaine; bot as is ſupponit be the Convoy and Counſall of wickit Perſonis, Inemyis to his Hienes and his Authoritie, and all Quietnes within this Realme, tending to troubill the Commoun-weill, and Tranquillitie and Quietnes thairof, and Obeyſance of his Authoritie: Willing thairfoir to prevent all Danger that thairthrow may be pretendit to his Majeſtie and his Authoritie Royall, neidfull it is that my ſaid Lord Regent be accumpanyit and aſſiſtit with his Hienes trew and faythfull Subjectis; My Lord Regentis Grace thairfoir, with Avyis of the Lordis of ſecreit Counſall, ordanis Letteris to be direct, chargeing all and ſindrie Erlis, Lordis, Barronis, Frehalderis, Gentillmen, ſubſtantious Zemen, and utheris our Severane Lordis Legeis and Subdittis quhatſumevir, alſweill to Burgh as to Land, Regalitie as Rialtie, within the Boundis of our Sheriffdomes of——That thai with thair Kin, Freindis, Servandis, and haill Forceis, weill bodin in feir of Weir, addres and prepair thame to cum fordwart to my ſaid Lord Regent at *Glaſgow* with all Dilligence poſſibill, for Preſervatioun of our Soverane Lordis Perſoun, his Authoritie, and eſtabliſſing of Juſtice and Quietnes within this Realme, under the Pane of Tinſall of Lyff, Landis and Gudis.

Here

Here follow ſome Letters, *&c.* which have lately come to hand, and ſerve ſtill to illuſtrate the Hiſtory; together with the *Abſtracts* which were mentioned here and there as we went along. That the Readers may have the more eaſy Recourſe to them, I have ſometimes made References to the Pages where they may be uſeful, and have inſerted them according to the Order of Time.

p. 185. *Letter from the Nobility of* Scotland *to Queen* Elizabeth, Edinburgh *1ſt* September 1561.

Cotton Library.

MAy it pleis zour Majeſtie: That havand Commoditie be the preſent depairting of the Secretar, being directit towardis zour Hienes fra the Quenis Majeſtie our Soverane; We haif alſwa thocht gude to commit unto him certane Thingis quhilkis he hes of us in Charge to declair, tending to the Continowatioun of Amitie betwix baith the Realmes, praying zour Majeſtie to give him as firme Credence in that Behalf as to ourſelffis. Thus we commit zour Majeſtie to the Protectioun of Almichtie God.

Zour Majeſties lawchfullie at Command,

Signed by the Duke and *Arran*, *Huntly*, *Morton*, *Athol*, *Caſſils*, *Sutherland*, *James Stewart*, *Areskin*, *Ruthven*, *Innermeith*, *James* Lord *Ogilby*, *R. Boyd*, *Seaton*, *Ochiltree*, *St. John*.

The Copy of Articles between Lord William Howard *Lord Chamberlain, and Mr.* William Maitland *the Queen of* Scots *Secretary*, *7th* July 1561 *(a)*.

Ibid.

IMprimis, It is agreed betwixt the Commiſſioners foreſaid, upon certain Knowledge both of their Sovereigns Affection to each other, and of their Deſire of an Interview: Therefore it is agreed that the Place ſhall be the City of *York*, or in ſome City betwixt it and the River of *Trent* in *England*, betwixt the 10th of *Auguſt* and 20th of *September*; and that their Meeting may be full of Joy, and cauſe them to continue in mutual Love, it is concluded, That neither they, or any of their Counſellors, Servants or Subjects, ſhall motion any thing that may be prejudicial to either of the Queens, their Realms or Liberties; neither ſhall Queen *Mary* be preſs'd to any thing to which ſhe ſhall ſhow herſelf averſe, till her Return home. Alſo neither ſhe nor any of her Retinue ſhall be challenged or diſturbed during her Abode in *England*; provided that the Queen of *England* may have Liberty to require the Ratification of the Treaty of *Edinburgh* made 3d *July* 1560.

Item, If any Perſons with Train of the Queen of *Scots* ſhall commit any Offence within the Realm of *England*, contrary to the Laws there, that neither the Queen of *Scots* nor any of her Retinue ſhall be troubled for this, except the Offender: And if the Offence ſhall be committed by any of her Train upon another of the ſame, if it be not capital, the Offender ſhall be judged by the Queen's Marſhall, or other her Officers; and if it be againſt any *Engliſhman*, the *Scotch* Marſhall ſhall aſſiſt and be preſent with the ordinary Judge of *England*, to ſee that Indifferency be uſed in the Trial.

Item, The Queen of *Scots* may come to *England* with the Number of 1000 Perſons or under, of all Eſtates and Degrees, with their Horſe——and to remain as long as it ſhall pleaſe her, and to return when ſhe thinks fit; and that any may come to her out of *Scotland*, or other Places, with Letters or Meſſengers, if they exceed not that Number, and may return without Impediment; only they are to acquaint the Officer on the Border, or his Deputy.

Item, For the more certain Knowledge of the Number of her Train, there ſhall be a Certificate made in Writings of their Names and Surnames, and of their Qualities. This Certificate is to be given ten Days before her coming to the

Warden

(*a*) There muſt be a Miſdate here. Sir *Robert Cotton* obſerves theſe were the firſt Articles, and were by reaſon of the Wars in *France* (which hindred the Interview) continued till the next Year 1562.

Warden of the Marches, who is to deliver it to the principal Nobleman who ſhall be ſent by the Queen of *England* to receive the Queen of *Scots* on the Frontiers, and to conduct her to the Place of Interview. It is alſo granted to the Queen of *Scots*, if ſhe pleaſe to enter *England* by *Berwick*, ſo that her Train exceed not 200 Perſons at once; and from her Entry till her Return, there may paſs and repaſs through that Town, to the Number of 300 Perſons; and the reſt to paſs by *Norham* and *Wark*.

Item, The Queen of *Scots* and her Train may uſe the Rites and Ceremonies of their Religion, as now they do in *Scotland*.

Item, Becauſe the Money of *Scotland* is not current in *England*, Queen *Elizabeth* is content that her Treaſurer of *Berwick*, receiving of the Officer of the Queen of *Scots* the Sum of 10000 Pounds of Gold or Silver, ſhall deliver in Exchange ſo much current Money of *England* as the ſame ſhall be worth in Value.

Item, It is accorded that both the ſaid Princes ſhall ratify theſe Acts interchangeably under their Hands and Great Seals before the 18th Day of *July* next.

A Declaration of Mary *Queen of* Scots.

Cotton Library.

WE having ſeen the Concluſion of the ſaid Accord, Declare that our Deſire and Determination was to have ſeen our ſaid dear Siſter and Couſin the Queen of *England* this preſent Summer, which cannot take Place for divers weighty Conſiderations moving our ſaid dear Siſter of late, imparted to us by her Ambaſſador; which Lets and Impediments we have no leſs Cauſe to weigh, being ſuch as touch us near, and for the which we are moſt ſorry, and would the ſame were in our Power to remedy: And ſince it hath not pleaſed God to grant us both the Occaſion to meet together this Year, we have nevertheleſs thought good, for manifeſt Declaration and Continuance of our great Deſire to meet with our ſaid dear Siſter, to confirm and ratify the Tenor of theſe Articles of Accord, which by theſe Preſents we do confirm and ratify; referring the Time of our Meeting until next Summer, and truſt that Almighty God will remove this Impediment, and all Things tending thereto, and of His Goodneſs further our good Meaning, being grounded and intended principally to the perpetual Well and Repoſe of both our Realms and Subjects: And therefore, by theſe Preſents, we declare our Contentation to meet by the Permiſſion of Almighty God with our ſaid Siſter at the City of *York* about the 20th of *June* next to come, truſting that before that Time, all Impediments will be taken away, according to her Offer declared unto us by her Ambaſſadors, ſhe will by her Writings accept and avow the ſame before the laſt Day of *October* next, and renew the like Letters of Safe-conduct to all Intents and Purpoſes as ſhe pleaſed to do before. In witneſs whereof we have ſubſcribed this with our own Hand, and thereunto ſet our Great Seal of *Scotland*. At our Burgh of *Perth* the Day of *Auguſt* 1562, in the Twentieth Year of our Reign.

Arguments againſt the Queen's [Elizabeth] *Majeſty's meeting with the Queen of* Scots *at the firſt Appointment betwixt* June *and* Auguſt, *20th* June *1562.*

Ibid. an Original in Secretary *Cecil's* Hand.

1. THe Reſolution in Council in *May* laſt, That if Things were compounded in *France* by the laſt of *June*, without Prejudice to the Eſtate of this Realm, then her Majeſty might go.

2. The Affairs of *France* ſtand and remain not only uncompounded, but by Bloodſhed upon both Parts likely to increaſe their Troubles and to continue in civil Wars; therefore it is convenient to remain and attend the Events, and rather to comfort the Proteſtants than the *Guiſians*, who ſhall receive Comfort by the Eſtimation that the Queen is in theſe Troubles pleaſed to make a Journey to meet the Queen their Neice; and what Occaſion may happen for her Majeſty to take Advantage, is uncertain: And if any ſhould happen, the Abſence of her Majeſty and Council would loſe the ſame.

3. The Deſire of the Queen of *Scots* to meet the Queen's Majeſty is only for her own Profit, which by this Journey ſhe may make many ways; for ſeeing ſhe hath pretended Title to the Crown, and hath done nothing to renounce it, 'tis thought by this ſhe may inſinuate herſelf into ſome ſorts of People of this Realm, to further her Claim, and give Occaſion to ſome People of this Realm as love Change, eſpecially Papiſts, to confirm them in their Opinion, when they perceive that ſhe retaineth the ſamen Religion, notwithſtanding of her Conference with the Queen.

4. Tho' the Matters in *France* were well ended, yet the Seaſon of the Year is ſo far gone, it ſeems impoſſible to provide for the ſame with Honour: 1. Proviſions of Wine, Fowl and Poultry that ought to be fat, cannot be had by the laſt of *Auguſt*. 2. The Houſes, ſuch as, *Grafton*, *Nottingham*, *Fothringay*, *Colly Weſton*, being in Decay, cannot be conveniently repaired.

5. The Preparation of Lords, Ladies, Gentlemen, cannot be got ready in ſuch a ſhort Time.

6. The great Rains lately fallen makes the Roads impaſſable.

p. 276. *Principal Points to be remembred and conſidered in the Affairs of* Scotland, 24*th* September, apud Weſtm. Anno ſeptimo Elizabethæ Reginæ, [*being an Abſtract of Letters out of* Scotland *in Secretary* Cecil*'s Hand.*]

Calig. B. 10. F. 340. 18th *November* 1564. THe Earl of *Murray* and *Lethington* met at *Berwick* with the Earl of *Bedford* and *Thomas Randolph*, to treat of a Marriage with the Queen of *Scots*; where they liked not of the Nomination and ſpecial Words of the Earl of *Leiceſter*, but would have the Choice given to the Queen of any Nobleman within the Realm of *England*; and further, to have the Queen of *Scots* Title examined and ſtabliſhed to be next Heir to the Queen's Majeſty. *November* 23d they departed.

3d *December*. Earl of *Lenox* reſtored by Parliament to all his former Eſtate in *Scotland*. The Queen was content that it ſhould be ordered, that no Maſs ſhould be uſed within the Realm, but in her own Chapel, only for her own Houſhold.

11th *January* 1564-5. It was ſought to have a new Conference for the Queen of *Scots* Marriage; whereunto was anſwered by the Queen's Majeſty's Order, by the Secretary's Letters to the Earl of *Murray*, That the nominating any Perſon by the Queen's Majeſty came of the Queen of *Scotland*, who always profered her Majeſty to give her Advice, and expreſly to nominate ſome Perſon.

13th *February*. The Lord *Darnly* went to the Queen in *Fife* from *Edinburgh*. *N. B.* About the 5th of *February* a Noiſe of armed Men was heard in the High ſtreet of *Edinburgh* at Midnight, and yet no Perſon could be ſeen.

4th *March*, Mr. *Randolph*. That the Queen of *Scots* deſires to be made apparent Heir, Daughter adoptive, or Siſter to the Queen of *England*. He noteth by his Letters exceeding great Love in the Queen of *Scots* towards the Queen's Majeſty; and giveth great Hope of a full Contentation in the ſaid Queen to marry as the Queen of *England* will, and a Deſire to live here in *England* with her Majeſty.

5th *March*. Before the Receipt of Letters from *Randolph*, the Queen willeth him to aſcertain the Queen of *Scots*, that if ſhe will be content to follow her Advice in the Marriage with *Leiceſter*, ſhe ſhall find her ready to advance him to all the Honour ſhe can, and to favour her Title in all ſort that ſhe may, ſaving for the Inquiſition and Declaration thereof. She would have the Queen underſtand that therein nothing ſhall be done until her Majeſty ſhall be married, or ſhall notify her Determination never to marry, the one of which ſhe meaneth ſhortly to do. Hereupon is the Queen of *Scots* offended, as ſhe uſeth evil Speech of the Queen's Majeſty, alledging ſhe abuſed her, and made her ſpend Time.

15th *March*. *Randolph* writeth, that the Earl of *Argile* told him that he miſliked the coming of *Darnly* into *Scotland*, for he ſuſpected the Queen's great

Favour to him. But *Randolph* affirmeth, that he doth not doubt any thing therein, but only that it is of her courteous Nature.

17th *March*. *Randolph* writeth, that he hath ſhewed that Queen the Meſſage ſent from the Queen's Majeſty by Letters of the 5th of *March*, wherewith ſhe is much diſmayed, and wept; and ſaid, ſhe would ſend for a Paſport for *Lethington* to paſs through *England* into *France*; and complained, that the Duke and Earl of *Argile* complained to him of Danger like to come to Religion and themſelves, if ſhe marry with a Papiſt. Meſſage was ſent to that Queen from the two Cardinals, *Lorrain* and *Grandville*, that ſhe ſhould not haſten her Marriage.

20th *March*. *Randolph* writes, that great Miſlikings are grown betwixt that Queen and her Subjects. She hateth the Duke and *Argile*: Theſe two fear that ſhe will marry with a Papiſt either in *Spain* or elſewhere. The Lord *Darnly* much favoured by the Queen, yet Mr. *Randolph* doth not think any Marriage likely. The Earl his Father maketh a Band with the Earl *Athole*, *Cathneſs*, the Lord *Ruthven*, and ſuch. The Queen proteſteth that ſhe will be at Liberty in Religion, and that all Perſons ſhould live as they will.

27th *March* 1565, Mr. *Randolph*. How much that Queen is grieved with the News of the Cardinal of *Lorrain*'s evil Treatment at *Paris* by the Mareſchal *Monmorency*. The Earl of *Murray* ſaith, that the ſaid Cardinal hath motion'd Marriage to that Queen with the Duke of *Orleance*; which the Queen miſliketh. The Cardinal alſo deſireth that *Lethington* might be ſent into *France*, to confer of his Mind as to the Marriage. The Earl of *Murray* ſtill proſecuteth the Marriage with *England*; and without that ſucceed, doubteth of all Things in *Scotland*. The Queen herſelf ſheweth ſtill a Diſpoſition thereunto. The Queen's Chaplain at *Holy-rood-houſe*, when the Queen was in *Fife*, ſaid openly Maſs; whereupon Complaint was made to the Queen, who anſwered, it ſhould be remedied.

30th *March*. The new Biſhop of *Dumblane* came from *Louvaine* with a Jeſuit. The Queen's Phyſician paſſeth into *France* with ſeveral *Frenchmen*.

7th *April*. The L. of *Lethington* is in readineſs to depart [into *England*.] The Earl of *Murray* gone from Court, to avoid ſuperſtitious Ceremonies of that Queen in Religion; but 'tis reported he is departed in that Queen's Diſpleaſure, becauſe he hath been earneſt with her to diſſwade her from Idolatry.

15th *April*. *Randolph* writeth, that now he findeth it plain here that the Queen is affected to the Lord *Darnly*, even to marry him: And he thinketh the L. *Lethington* at his coming will ſhew the Truth thereof.

18th *April*. *Randolph* writeth, that all good Men ſee the Ruin of that Country by the Marriage with the Lord *Darnly*, which they deſire may be diſappointed. A Cave found at *Muſſelburgh*, like a Monument of the *Romans*, wherein is a Stone found graven thus, APOLLINI. GRANNO. Q. L. SABINIANVS. PROC. AVG. *(a)*.

The L. of *Lethington* arrived at *Weſtminſter* 18th *April*: His Meſſage is to require the Queen's Conſent to the Marriage with the Lord *Darnly*.

23d *April*. A Conſultation at *Weſtminſter* upon *Lethington*'s Meſſage of the Marriage; miſliked of all. The Queen's Majeſty ſendeth Letters to the Earl of *Lenox* and the Lord *Darnly* to revoke them.

30th *April*. The Lord *Darnly* ſick of the Meaſles, the Queen watcheth with him.

1ſt *May*. A general Determination by the whole Council at *Weſtminſter*, to diſallow of the Marriage with *Darnly*.

Sir *Nicholas Throckmorton* appointed to return with the L. of *Lethington*, to ſhew the Queen's Majeſty's Diſcontentation therewith. His Inſtructions reſted upon two Points; the one, to procure the Queen to ſtay her Marriage with

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(a) See Sir *James Dalrymple*'s *Engliſh* Edition of *Cambden*'s Deſcription of *Scotland*, *p. 39*. where you will find the Continuation of the Inſcription to be thus; V. S. S. LV. M. *i. e.* according to that learned Antiquary, *Votum ſuſcepit ſolvit lubens merito.* He likewiſe delivers his Opinion concerning *Apollo Grannus*.

with *Darnly*; the ſecond, to marry with the Earl of *Leiceſter*, or ſome other in *England*: And if he ſhall find it paſt Remedy, then to ſhew how much it ſhall grieve the Queen's Majeſty.

Sir *Nicholas* went towards *Scotland* the 7th *May*.

3d *May*. *Randolph* writeth, that the Earls of *Argile* and *Murray* came to *Edinburgh* with 5000 Horſe, the Law-day againſt the Earl of *Bothwell*, who was condemned for lack of Appearance: And yet the Queen commanded the Juſtice-Clerk to forbear Judgment. Whereupon a general miſliking of that Queen by her Nobles, and the Earl of *Murray* openly in Diſpleaſure with the Queen.

8th *May*. *Randolph* writeth, that my Lord of *Murray* was ſent for to *Stirling*, where that Queen made as much of him as ever ſhe did; and being together in the Lord *Darnly*'s Chamber, ſhe ſhewed him a Writing, containing a Promiſe to conſent to her Marriage with the Lord *Darnly*, and that he ſhould fortify it: And ſo being required to ſign it, he deſired Time to conſider upon it; but that was denied him, and he more preſſed to ſign it, becauſe others had promiſed to do the like after him. He refuſed, and alledged that it might be ſome Diſhonour to her, ſo haſtily in that ſort to ſeek it, without firſt making her Friends abroad privy thereto; and in ſpecial, ſeeing ſhe had ſent *Lethington* to the Queen's Majeſty, who was not yet returned, but was on the Way. Beſides this, he miſliked this Match, becauſe he doubted that the Lord *Darnly* would be an Enemy to true Religion. Hereupon he departed in ſome Diſpleaſure of the Queen. Other Noblemen are ſent for to be at *Stirling* the 13th of *May*. The Queen ſent *Beaton* to ſtay *Lethington*, for ſhe would neither have him, nor any from *England*, until the Matter were accorded by the Nobility.

11th *May*. Sir *Nicholas Throckmorton* and *Lethington* arrive at *Berwick*. *Lethington* received Letters from that Queen about *Newark*, by which he was commanded to return to the Queen's Majeſty, and to declare, That ſeeing ſhe had been ſo long train'd in her Marriage without Fruit by the Queen's Majeſty, ſhe was determined with the Advice of her Eſtates to uſe her own Choice in her Marriage. He was alſo willed to repair into *France*, to move the *French* King to allow of her Choice; but *Lethington* did not follow this Commandment, but proceeded Northwards.

12th *May*. *Throckmorton* writes, that thirteen of the Nobility have conſented and ſigned a Writing of Accord to the Marriage; the Duke is one, to whom is promiſed Aſſurance for his own Eſtate. The Earl of *Morton* and Juſtice-Clerk are great Doers in it. The Earl of *Murray* will not conſent. The Earl of *Argile* cometh not to the Court.

21ſt *May*, To the Earl of *Leiceſter*. Mr. *Randolph* writes how the Lord *Darnly* was on the 15th of *May*, 1. Created a Lord and Knight. 2. A Baron, a Bannaret, and named Lord of *Armanagh*. 3. He was belted Earl of *Roſs*. And after that he made fourteen Knights, whereof four were *Stewarts*.

He made Oath of a Knight, which have ſundry Articles. He did alſo Homage to the Queen, not reſerving any Duty to the Queen's Majeſty or Crown of *England*.

There is ſuch miſliking of this Marriage, that if ſome there might know whereunto to truſt, they want no Will to put both Father and Son from their Purpoſe.

21ſt *May*, To *Cecil*. *Randolph* writeth how the Lord *Darnly* offered to have ſtruck the Lord *Ruthven* with his Dagger, becauſe he brought him word, that the Creation of him to be a Duke was prorogued to another Day.

21ſt *May*. Sir *Nicholas Throckmorton* to the Queen's Majeſty writeth, That he arrived at *Edinburgh* 13th, where *Lethington* was commanded to ſtop him till all the Creations were done at *Stirling*. Nevertheleſs he departed to *Lithgow* 14th, in the Morning on the 15th at *Stirling*, and coming to the Caſtle, the Gates were ſhut upon him. The Maſter of *Areskin* and the Juſtice-Clerk came to him, and required him to return to his Lodging, and afterward he ſhould know the Queen's Pleaſure for his Audience; ſo he went to his Lodging,

and

and in the Afternoon was ſent for by the Lords *Areskin* and *Ruthven*. And at his coming to the Queen, he did his Meſſage, by ſetting forth her Majeſty's miſliking of the Match, as well for the Matter as the Manner; and for that the Lord *Darnly* and his Father had fail'd in their Duties, to enterprize ſuch a Matter without her Majeſty's Advice. That Queen anſwered, That ſhe had made the Queen's Majeſty privy to her Intent, aſſoon as herſelf was determined: And for the Party, ſhe thought that of all other her Majeſty would be content therewith, becauſe ſhe was by Mr. *Randolph* advertiſed, that the Queen's Majeſty left to her Choice, ſo ſhe would forbear the Houſes of *France*, *Spain* and *Auſtria*; and conſidering the Lord *Darnly* was an *Engliſhman*, and a near Kinſman to the Queen's Majeſty, ſhe thought him meeteſt. *Throckmorton* replied, and ſhewed the Queen's Majeſty's Advice to have always conſiſted in three Points: 1. To take one for her own Contentation. 2. One allowed by her People. 3. To continue the Amity between them and their Countries.

He writeth that the Matter is irrevokable otherwiſe than by Violence, and yet it is not conſummate; but ſhe promiſes not to finiſh it theſe three Months, which ought to be about the 15th of *Auguſt*; and deſigns in the mean time to procure the Queen's Majeſty's Allowance, for which Purpoſe ſhe will ſend one, but not *Lethington*, who is in Suſpicion with her (a).

The Lord *Darnly* received all the Honours above mentioned the ſaid 15th Day, after the Audience of Sir *Nicholas Throckmorton*. The 18th Sir *Nicholas* dined with the Queen alone, and Mr. *Randolph* with the Duke. At his coming away the 19th, the Queen ſent him a Chain of fifty Ounces of Gold.

A Memorial ſent by Sir *Nicholas Throckmorton* for Advices of Things to be done.

3d *June*. *Randolph* writes, that *Monſ. Malvaſſor* arrived at *Edinburgh* (b). A Man of the Lord *Bothwell*'s, coming by Sea, was taken in *Fiſe* with ſundry Letters of Practices againſt the Earl of *Murray*.

4th *June*. Conſultation of the Council ſhewed to her Majeſty in Writing.

14th *June*. The Queen of *Scots* Letters by Mr. *John Hay*; he came hither the 24th. The ſame Day the Lady *Lenox* was committed to the Tower.

ult. June. The *French* King writeth to the Queen's Majeſty in favour of the Lord *Darnly*, and to releaſe his Mother.

4th *July*. *Randolph* writeth of a falſe Rumour ſpread, that the Earls of *Argile* and *Murray* had aſſembled a Power to take the Queen and the Lord *Darnly*; when indeed my Lord *Murray* was ſick at *Lochlevin*, and *Argile* quietly at his Houſe at *Campbell*. Hereupon the Queen came in haſte to *Edinburgh*, and declareth her Indignation againſt the Lords; and they make all Means they may to pacify her Ire, but nothing availeth.

4th *July*. A Command from the Queen of *Scots* to apprehend four Burgeſſes of *Edinburgh*, being known Proteſtants: Hereupon riſeth Alarm, and the Nobility begin to look to themſelves.

6th *July*. Mr. *John Hay* arrived at *Edinburgh*.

7th *July*. The Earl of *Argile* and *Athol* gather Forces, one to offend the other. The Lords of *Ruthven* and *Lethington* are ſent to *Athol*; the Juſtice-Clerk and *St. Colme* to *Argile*, to perſwade them to Peace.

11th *July*. The Queen's Majeſty ſent by Letters to *Randolph*, to give good Advice both to the Queen and Lords.

16th *July*, To Queen *Elizabeth*. The Queen of *Scots* was married to the Lord *Darnly* at *Holy-rood-houſe* privately (c) the 9th of this Month, and from thence went to the Lord *Seaton*'s Houſe to Bed.

16th *July*, To *Cecil*. Mr. *Randolph* writes, that the Queen and Lord *Darnly*

(a) Perhaps becauſe he did not obey the Order he received at *Newark* to go into *France*, but continued his Journey homeward notwithſtanding.

(b) This ſeems not to quadrate ſo well with *Mauviſſiere*'s Journies, as related by himſelf.

(c) Of this *private* Marriage we never heard in any other Author.

Darnly walked diſguiſed in *Edinburgh* in the Streets. The Queen chargeth Mr. *Randolph* with three Things: 1. That the Queen's Majeſty ſhould ſend a Herauld to *Edinburgh* to proclaim *Lenox* and *Darnly* Traitors to *England*. 2. That he perſwaded the Earl of *Lenox* and *Darnly*'s Men to forſake their Maſters. 3. That he had ſpoken Evil of their Servants. She alſo ſaid, That King *Henry* VIII. thought the Lord *Darnly* by his Teſtament worthy of more Favour than is ſhowed him. The Lord *Gray*, Sir *Andrew Ker*, and young *Coldingknows*, being Priſoners to *England*, ſhould be ſent for to repair into *England*; for they are not Friends.

18th *July*. Letters ſent by *Livingſton* from the Lords to *Richmond*.

19th *July*. Mr. *Randolph* anſwers her Majeſty's Letters of the 11th. The Queen hath aſſembled all her Force to be at *Edinburgh* the 20th, either to attack the Duke, *Argile* and *Murray*, who are aſſembled at *Stirling* to conſider for their own Surety; or elſe to aſſiſt at the Solemnization of the Marriage, which ſhall be the 29th of *July*.

N. B. In the Letter ſent by her for aſſembling her Force, ſhe makes Mention of her *old Enemies*.

21ſt *July*. *Randolph* anſwers the Queen's Majeſty's Letters of the 10th, for giving Advice to the Queen and Lords.

The Queen thanketh the Queen's Majeſty for her good Will; but they that are called her beſt Subjects are not ſo to be called, and therefore ſhe hath Remedy enough to ruin them, &c. At that Anſwer were the Earl of *Morton*, Lord *Areskine*, *Lethington*, Juſtice-Clerk, and Maſter of *Maxwell*. He alſo writeth, that the ſame Night after he had ſpoken with the Queen, he ſpake with the Earl of *Lenox*, putting him in mind of the former Charge given him to return, upon Pain of his Allegiance; for that he before ſuſpended his Anſwer until the Return of Mr. *John Hay*. The Earl anſwered, That conſidering the Impriſonment of his Wife, he meant not to come into *England*, except he was more ſure of the Queen's Majeſty's Favour. The Lord *Darnly* anſwered, That he did acknowledge no other Duty or Obedience but to the Queen there, whom he ſerveth and honoureth; and ſeeing (ſaith he) that the Queen your Miſtreſs is ſo envious of my good Fortune, I doubt not but ſhe may alſo have Need of me, as you ſhall know within a few Days. Wherefore to return I intend not; I find myſelf very well where I am, and ſo purpoſe to keep me.

23d *July*. *Livingſton* from the Lords. The Earl of *Murray* is commanded, upon Pain of Treaſon, to ſhew who were the Authors of the Report that he ſhould have been killed at St. *Johnſtoun*.

24th *July*. *Beaton* ſent to the Queen's Majeſty, who came to *Richmond* 28th *July*.

24th. *Randolph* writes, that the 22d, being *Sunday*, the Banns of Matrimony were asked betwixt the Queen and Lord *Darnly*.

25th *July*. The Earl of *Bedford* arrived at *Berwick* the 20th. He moveth to have Licence to ſuccour the Earl of *Murray*, and himſelf to bear the Blame.

29th *July*. The Queen of *Scotland*'s Anſwer to the Lords of *Scotland*'s Requeſt.

28th *July*. The Queen's Majeſty's Letter to the Lords by *Livingſton*.

30th *July*. *Randolph* writes, that on *Sunday* the 29th the Marriage was early betwixt Five and Six. The Lord *Darnly* was not preſent at Maſs. The Queen was thus ſerved: Earl *Athol* Sewar, *Morton* Carver, *Crawfurd* Cupbearer. He was ſerv'd by *Eglinton*, *Caſſils* and *Glencairn*.

31ſt *July*. Mr. *Tamworth* is ſent by the Queen's Majeſty with Inſtructions, to ſhew the Queen of *Scots* the Cauſes of her Majeſty's Miſlike of the Marriage, whoſe Negociations with the Anſwers are in Writing. Alſo with a Commiſſion of Lieutenendry for the Earls of *Salop* and *Bedford*.

Nota, That he was ſtaid at *Dunbar* in his Return. 19th *Auguſt* Mr. *Tamworth* returned from *Edinburgh*. 21ſt *Auguſt* Mr. *Tamworth* at *Hume-Caſtle*. 25th *Auguſt* Captain *Brickwell* ſent from *Berwick*. 27th *Auguſt* Maſter of

Maxwell's

Maxwell's Letter to the Lord *Scroop*, with a Copy of the Queen's Letter of the 23d *July* to repair to *Stirling*.

27th *Auguſt*. *Randolph* writeth, that the Queen would have had him guarded, or promiſe not to deal with her Rebels, or to reſort to *Berwick*; but with good Anſwer made, he enjoyed his Liberty. The Queen hath levied a Power, and hath in Pay 600 Harquebuſiers.

The Lord *Gordon* reſtored to Honour by Proclamation. The Provoſt of *Edinburgh* put out, and *Craigmillar* put in. *Pitarrow* the Comptroller removed, and the Laird of *Tullibardin* in his Place. *Taxly* arrived the 26th of *Auguſt*. The Queen hath gone with her Power againſt the Lords, who are in *Air*.

28th *Auguſt*. Captain *Brickwell* diſpatched with Power for 600 new Men to be levied in *Yorkſhire*.

ult. Auguſt. *Randolph* The Duke and his Company came that Day to *Edinburgh*, being about 1500 Horſe; the Queen is 5000.

1ſt *September*. The *French* Ambaſſador with *Malvaſſor*, with the Court at *Windſor*.

Stefton ſent with the Letters of the *French* Ambaſſador, and *Malvaſſor* into *Scotland*.

1ſt *September*. Earl of *Bedford* writeth of the taking of the Earl of *Sutherland* by *Wilſon*.

2d *September*. *Randolph* writeth, that the Lords departed from *Edinburgh* for the Battery of the Caſtle.

3d *September*. *Randolph* writes, that the Lords are at *Dumfries*, conducted by the Maſter of *Maxwell*.

5th *September*. The Maſter of *Maxwell* ſignifieth to the Lord *Scroop* the coming of the Lords to *Dumfries*, and requireth Aid.

10th *September*. *Beaton* came from *Berwick*, and ſo paſſed through into *France*.

11th *September*. Mr. *Melvil* with Letters from the Lords at *Dumfries*. [This was *Robert Melvil*.]

12th *September*. The Queen's Majeſty ſent to the Earl of *Bedford* to ſend 300 Soldiers to *Carlile* to be near to aid the Lords at *Dumfries*.

19th *September*. Mr. *Randolph* writes, of Juſtice denied to ſundry *Engliſhmen*.

Other Abſtracts of Letters from the Cotton *Library.*

1ſt *July* 1565, *Lochlevin*, Letter from *Murray* and *Argile* to *Randolph*. That they and my Lord *Boyd* had met about ſome Affairs which they deſigned to communicate to him; and for that End had ſent to him that Bearer, whom he would credit.

3d *July*, Letter from *Randolph* to *Leiceſter*. That the Subjects of *Scotland* are diſpleaſed with the Marriage with *Darnly*, becauſe they fear the Loſs of their Religion and Friendſhip of *England*. Many Noblemen are fear'd for their Lives; their only Expectation is from *England*, and Care muſt be taken to prevent their Ruin; they deſire Expedition and ſmall Sums of Money, and a few Men may be ſufficient to keep Life in their Party. That *Darnly* ſaid, that he cared more for the Papiſts in *England* than for the Proteſtants in *Scotland*; which ſhews his ſmall Love to the Queen of *England*, in loving her Enemies. He trims betwixt Popery and the Proteſtant Religion; ſometimes he comes to Church. He is of an inſolent imperious Temper, and thinks that he is never ſufficiently honoured. The Queen does every Thing to oblige him, tho' he cannot be prevailed upon to yeild the ſmalleſt Thing to pleaſe her. He claims the Crown Matrimonial, and will have it immediately: The Queen tells him, that that muſt be delayed till he be of Age, and done by Conſent of Parliament; which does not ſatisfy him.

10th *Auguſt*, *Randolph* to the Earl of *Bedford*. That if the Noblemen have

no

no Support from the Queen of *England*, they ſhall not be able to make head againſt their Queen.

18th *Auguſt*, *Berwick*, original Letter Earl of *Bedford* to Queen *Elizabeth*. He informeth, that he had received her Letters for the taking and fortifying of *Aymouth* to the utmoſt of his Power; but lays before her the many Difficulties in taking and ſure keeping thereof, and ſo he will wait further Orders.——

20th *Auguſt*, To Sir *William Cecil*. *Randolph* is urged to promiſe upon his Honour not to medle with the Rebels, or elſe he ſhould have a Guard upon his Gate. *Lethington* adviſed him to go to *Berwick*, which he refuſed *Randolph* is to ſend *Darnly*'s Refuſal to return to *England* to be an Evidence to the Jury.

27th *Auguſt*, To Sir *William Cecil*. *Randolph* complains to the Queen of *Scotland*, that *Tamworth* the *Engliſh* Ambaſſador was ſtopt by the Lord *Hume*. She ſaid it was his own Fault, who refuſed a Safe-conduct. He anſwered, that it was ſigned by *Darnly* his Miſtreſs's Subject, and could not acknowledge him King, whoſe Duty it was to come and wait upon his Sovereign's Ambaſſador. The Queen told him, that the *French* King would aſſiſt her. *Randolph* replied, that it was owing to her Majeſty that the Queen of *England* was not her Friend. She anſwered, ſhe demanded nothing before her marrying *Leiceſter* but what was juſt, which was refuſed her: He whom ſhe had now married had a Right, which *Leiceſter* had not. She blamed *Randolph* for entertaining Intelligence with her Rebels, eſpecially *Murray* on whom ſhe deſigned to be avenged, tho' it ſhould coſt her Crown; ſhe is gone to purſue them, and proclaims that whoſoever ſhall deſert them ſhall be pardoned.

1ſt *September*, To Sir *William Cecil*. The Duke, *Murray*, *Glencairn*, *Rothes*, *Boyd* and *Ochiltree*, with 1200 Horſe, came to *Edinburgh*; *Argile* is to join them: They deſign rather to meet the Queen without the Town than ſtay in it. *Murray* will accept of nothing but the Advice of the Queen of *England*.

4th *September*, Letter to Sir *William Cecil*. The Lords were forced to leave *Edinburgh*; they are gone from *Hamilton* to *Drumlanrig*, whoſe Lord and *Maxwell* have joined them; from thence they march to *Dumfries* or *Carlile*. She wears a Piſtol charg'd when in the Field. None but her Husband have gilded Armour. Several of the Lords are appointed to aſſaſſinate *Darnly*. He deſires that *Cecil* would order them to be relieved with more Money from *England*. The Lords doubt not but if Queen *Elizabeth* would aſſiſt them with Men and Money, but one Country will receive both the Queens (a). Queen *Mary* hates Queen *Elizabeth*; ſhe muſtered the Citizens of *Edinburgh*, and could not make above 150 Harquebuſiers, and not in all above 800. He hears from *Maxwell*, that the Lords are at *Dumfries*, and require Aſſiſtance of the Lord *Scroop*.

7th *September*, To Sir *William Cecil*. Queen *Mary* is willing that ſome may be ſent from the Queen of *England* with *Malveſſor* (b), to treat of the Differences that are betwixt them, but not to intermeddle with her rebellious Subjects.

8th *September*. The Declaration of the confederate Lords, that they took up Arms for the Defence of the eſtabliſhed Religion, and that Popery may be aboliſhed; and that the Kingdom may be governed by Advice of the Nobility, according to the ancient Laws and Cuſtoms, and not by Strangers.

8th *September*, Letter from *Murray*, then at *Dumfries*, to *Randolph*. He deſired that the Men from my Lord of *Bedford* be ready at *Carlile* according to Appointment, and that the Money be alſo ready. He deſires *Randolph*'s Advice about his going to *England*.

9th *September*, *Randolph* to Sir *William Cecil*. *Morton* has now left the

Queen

(a) *i. e.* They would be able to carry their Sovereign Priſoner into *England*.

(b) *Mauviſſiere* ſays, he found the Queen married to *Darnly* when he came into *Scotland*, *p.* 333. and that he was ſent back into *France* by our Queen, and from *France* again into *Scotland* in a very ſhort Space.

Queen (*a*). *Argile* has plundred the Countries of *Lenox* and *Athole*. The Queen is offended with *Dundee* and *Perth*, becauſe they have aſſiſted the Lords. The Queen has put Proviſions into the Caſtle of *Edinburgh*, and allows none to carry their Goods out of the Town, that the Citizens may be kept more in Awe.

19th *September*, Letter to Sir *William Cecil*. There is now no hopes of Agreement; the Lords are able to withſtand the Queen's Forces: Proclamation that all the Subjects may attend the Queen at *Stirling* with twenty Days Proviſions. Several Towns have given her a Benevolence to maintain the War. She has impriſoned ſeveral Gentlemen in *Fife*. She could not find *Murray*'s Lady. *Francis Taxely* has ſworn himſelf *Scottiſh*, and Servant to the King and Queen, and is ſent Ambaſſador to *Spain*. *David Chalmers* is this Day diſpatched to *England* (*b*). Juſtice is denied to ſeveral *Engliſh* Merchants againſt *Scotch* Pirates (*c*).

8th *October*, *Randolph* to *Leiceſter*. *Taxely*'s Employment in *Spain* is to put the Queen and her Husband into the Protection of that Kingdom. Makes this a fit Time to make Queen *Mary* ſenſible whom ſhe has injured. The only way to compaſs this, is to aſſiſt the Lords. She is adviſed now by very weak Men. Her Chancellor has forſaken her, and turned over to the Lords Party.

8th *October*, To Sir *William Cecil*. This Day the Queen marched to *Dumfries*. *Gordon* is reſtored to the Earldom of *Huntly*, and brings to her Aid the Strength of the North. The Queen gives out, that *England* will not aſſiſt the Lords; which diſcourages many. All are obliged to ſwear againſt the Rebels, and the *Engliſh* the old Enemies, and take the Oath of Allegiance to *Darnly*. *Huntly* and *Bothwell* are the new Counſellors.

13th *October*, Letter Sir *John Foſter* to Sir *William Cecil*. That the Men of *Liddiſdale* were firm in their Love to *England*, and could not by all *Bothwell*'s Promiſes be gain'd to engage to be for their Queen's Service: He thinks that Means muſt be uſed to keep them ſtill in that good Diſpoſition, for they can do notable Service to *England* upon many Occaſions.

12th *November*, To Sir *William Cecil*. *Murray* is now at *Newcaſtle*. The Duke of *Chaſtelherault* ſent his Submiſſion by *James Ormeſton*, which probably will be accepted. *Murray* and *Grange* cannot be admitted into Favour, tho' *Argile* may. It is reported that the Queen is with Child.

1ſt *December*, To Sir *William Cecil*. Complaints againſt *Lenox* for Oppreſſion in the Bounds of his Lieutenancy. *Lethington* is in favour with the Queen, but not with *Darnly*.

7th *December*. A Pamphlet againſt the ſurmiſed Title of the Queen of *Scots*, and the Favourers of the ſame: This probably is done by *Hales*. The Author thinks it dangerous to the Liberties of *England* to admit one of a ſtrange Nation, and their ancient Enemy, to their Throne; that Foreigners would be poſſeſſed of all Places of Truſt. His chief Argument againſt *Mary* Queen of *Scotland*'s Right, is from that Maxim of the Law of *England*, that *whoever is not born in* England, *or at leaſt of Father and Mother that at the Time of the Birth were at the Obedience of the King of* England, *cannot have or enjoy any Inheritance in* England. It is plain, ſays he, that the Queen of *Scotland* is not born under the Subjection of *England*. He owns that the Title of *England* to the Superiority of *Scotland* was never founded in Juſtice, &c.

25th *December*, To Sir *William Cecil*. Lord *Darnly* goes to Maſs. *Robert Melvil* ſent to procure *Murray*'s Pardon, cannot obtain it; which is more owing to *Darnly* than to the Queen. There was lately nothing but King and Queen, and now it is come to the Queen's Husband only. The Money that had *Henricus* & *Maria* upon it is recalled, and other Money ſtamped. He

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(*a*) He might indeed have left her in his Affections; but the Records of Privy-Council do teſtify that he ſat there long after this, and ſtill enjoyed the Office of Chancellor.

(*b*) Mr. *Holinſhed* ſays, this Gentleman was likewiſe ſent into *France*. He is the ſame that writes a ſhort Hiſtory of our Kings in the *French* Language. See his Life by Dr. *Mackenzie*.

(*c*) This is expreſly denied by our Queen. See her Inſtructions to Sir *Andrew Ker* in this *Appendix*.

thinks theſe private Jars will ſoon be over, and that *Amantium iræ amoris ſunt redintegratio.*

Original Letter, the Earl of Murray *to* Cecil, Newcaſtle *15th* January 1565-6.

SIR, After my moſt hearty Recommendations: My Lord *Bedford* being here in this Town, has declared to me that he underſtood by you the Queen's Majeſty's good Mind to the Furtherance of my Cauſe, and that her Highneſs is reſolved to travel with the Queen my Sovereign earneſtly for my Weal; and I heartily deſire you to render to her Majeſty my moſt humble Thanks in my Name. I do alſo moſt heartily thank you for your Pains and Travel, of which I am able to reap the Benefit, as I have often done before, and am aſſured you will continue, according to my aſſured Hope and Expectation of your Friendſhip, that will not refuſe Pains in the laſt and greateſt Extremity. I have alſo underſtood by my Lord *Bedford*, it ſhould be meant by the Queen's Majeſty to direct Commiſſion to his Lordſhip and Sir *John Forreſter* for this Conference. Sir, Albeit I perſwade my ſelf aſſuredly of theſe Noblemens Favours and great Goodwill, yet ſomewhat doubted I of my Sovereign's Opinion of them, which may make the Matters themſelves that they treat of to be the leſs pleaſing unto her Highneſs. Others, I truſt, there be with you who have not the like Impediments, and could with no leſs Dexterity handle theſe Matters, which I refer unto your Wiſdom. One Thing, Sir, I muſt put you in Remembrance of: This Parliament of *Scotland* draweth nigh, and is affix'd to the 12th of *March*; 'tis chiefly ſet and purpoſely to be holden for leading the Proceſs of Forfeiture upon me and the Noblemen here with me: Wherefore unleſs this Conference ſhall with due Time prevent the ſame, it will be found very difficult to revoke ſuch Matters having once taken Effect; and therefore, Sir, will recommend the Expedition and Haſte thereof to your accuſtomed Care of my Weal at all Times. What *Robert Melvil* hath done in my Action, I cannot tell further than this, that ſo far as ever I have underſtood, it ſtandeth worſe and worſe. So ſoon as he arrives (which I look for ſhortly) ye ſhall know my Judgment what is the beſt way that my Affairs may be brought to ſome good Point. And in the mean time, if it may be your Pleaſure, by the ordinary Poſts paſſing by, to let me know further of the Queen's Majeſty's good Mind towards me, it ſhould be to me no ſmall Comfort, whereof we are here very indigent. I incline not to trouble the Queen's Majeſty with my continual Writings, aſſuring my ſelf of your good Remembrance, whom I commit to the Protection of God.

Your Honour's moſt aſſuredly,
JA. STEWART.

P. S. Even now have I received Word from Mr. *Melvil*, that his Suit for my poor Servants, that they might reſort in that Country for their feeble Affairs, has received a plain Refuſal; whereof your Honour may conjecture what I my ſelf may look for.

24th *January* 1565-6, Letter *Randolph* to Sir *William Cecil*. That the Queen of *Scotland* had appointed the Earl of *Bothwell* and the Laird of *Ceſsford* to meet the Earl of *Bedford* and Sir *John Foſter*, to ſettle Matters that are in Debate betwixt the two Realms. *Randolph* told the Queen, that *Bothwell* was a Perſon hated by the Queen of *England*, and known not to incline to Peace; ſo if bad Conſequence followed upon her Choice, ſhe had herſelf to blame. She told, ſhe could alſo make Exceptions againſt *Bedford (a)*, and ſo would not name another in the Place of *Bothwell*. She is not ſo much an Enemy to *Murray* as formerly. *Darnly* demands the Crown Matrimonial with ſuch Impatience, that the Queen repents that ſhe has done ſo much for him.

6th

(*a*) See our Queen's Complaints againſt this Nobleman in her Letters to the Queen of *England*, 31ſt *December* 1565, &c. in the *Shatter'd MS.* together with ſome others, which ſhall be inſerted here, after theſe Abſtracts are finiſhed.

6th *February*, *Randolph* to *Cecil*. ———and that *Robert Melvil* ſhould return to the Lords with ſome good Comfort. Since that Time there came from *France*, *Clernau* by Land from the Cardinal *Lorrain*, and *Thornton* by Sea from the Archbiſhop of *Glaſgow*; ſince whoſe Arrival no Good to the Lords. Band to introduce Popery in all Chriſtendom ſign'd by Queen *Mary*, and the Original to be ſent back by Mr. *Stephen Wilſon*. *Rambouillet* came here *Sunday*; he is willing to do Service to the Lords. Queen *Mary* intends to ſend *Robert Melvil* again into *England*, and negotiate there with her Friends; but Queen *Elizabeth* will take Precaution.

8th *February*, Letter my Lord *Bedford* to Sir *William Cecil*. He writes, that the *Scotch* Parliament met at the prefixed Time; that it is their Cuſtom to conclude firſt upon ſuch Articles as ſhall be matter of Debate in that Parliament. It is agreed that the baniſh'd Lords ſhall forfeit their Eſtates. *Murray*'s Lands are given away. He deſpairs of Juſtice on the Borders while *Bothwell* is Warden, who neither fears God nor loves Juſtice. *Darnly* is a zealous Papiſt. On *Candlemas* Day the Queen and King carried their Candles. Maſs is ſaid in many Places of *Scotland*.

1ſt *March*. Proclamation by *Henry* King of *Scotland*, That with the Advice of ſome Noblemen and others who had aſſociated together, it was found neceſſary for the good Government of the Kingdom, to remove ſome dangerous Perſons and bad Counſellors from the Queen, particularly *Rizio* the *Italian*, and to puniſh them according to their deſerving where they ſhall be found, tho' it were in the very Palace and in the Preſence of the Queen. He takes the Blame of this upon himſelf, and promiſes that none ſhall ſuffer for any thing that may happen upon this Engagement.

20th *March*. Proclamation by King *Henry*, whereby he declares himſelf innocent of the Murther of *Rizio* and detaining the Queen's Perſon in Captivity; that he never counſelled, adviſed or encouraged any of the Murtherers of *Rizio* to that Murther. He owns that in this he was to be blamed, that at the Perſwaſion of the Conſpirators, without the Queen's Knowledge, he conſented to the bringing home the baniſhed Lords, as, *Murray*, *Morton*, *Glencairn*, *Rothes*, and others.

27th (*a*) *March* 1566, Letter from Earl of *Bedford* and *Randolph* to the Earl of *Leiceſter* and Sir *William Cecil*. To prevent the Condemnation of *Murray* and of his Accomplices deſign'd in preſent Parliament, *Morton*, *Lindſay*, *Ruthven*, and others, addreſs themſelves to the King, entreating him for *Murray*, and promiſing him the Crown Matrimonial, if he will follow their Advice in reſtoring theſe whom the Queen diſliked, who would be his true Friends; and to give way to them to remove *David Rizio* from the Queen, who by his Counſel and Practices hindred him from the ſole Rule.

2d *April*, Queen of *England* to the Earl of *Bedford*. Her Majeſty is willing that *Morton* may ſtay in *England* till ſhe give further Orders.

3d *April*, Letter from *Alnwick*. One of *Bothwell*'s Servants confeſſed, that himſelf and four more of his fellow Servants had conſpired to murther or poiſon the ſaid *Bothwell*, and that *Lethington* had engaged them in that Deſign. The other Servants, that were concerned in that Deſign, upon Examination confeſſed the ſame.

4th *April*, *Randolph* to Sir *William Cecil*. Queen *Mary* deſires the Caſtle of *Stirling* from the Lord *Areskine*, which he refuſes, becauſe that Truſt was committed to him by the Three Eſtates. Diverſe Arraignments at *Edinburgh*, but pardoned at the Place of Execution. *Ruthven*'s Under-Sheriff is executed for the Murther of *Rizio*. The King is not loved by the Queen upon the account of the ſaid Murther: The People hate him becauſe he has broken his Oath to the Conſpirators.

(*a*) This Letter is certainly wrong dated; for it is ſcarce poſſible the Writers of it could be ignorant that *David Rizio* was murthered more than two Weeks before this. It is therefore probable that it was dated 27th *February*.

4th *April*, Earl of *Bedford* to Sir *William Cecil*. *Lethington* deſpairs of Pardon, and muſt fly into *England*——

25th *April*. *Argile* and *Athol* are almoſt agreed. Queen *Mary* deſires *Murray* and *Bothwell* may alſo be at Peace. *Lethington* has liberty to live in *Flanders*.

26th *April*, *Lethington* to Mr. *Randolph*. The Queen of *Scotland* ordered *Mackalling* to entertain Friendſhip with *O-Neal*; and told him, that he ſhould know the Reaſon afterwards.

1ſt *May*, *Lethington* to Mr. *Randolph*. *Argile* doubts of Queen *Elizabeth*'s Affection to their Party, becauſe ſhe did not countenance them in their late Action; he aſſures him of as many Friends in *Scotland* as ever, if ſhe do not change to them. *Murray* and *Bothwell* are great Friends.

2d *May*, To Sir *William Cecil*. *Arran* has got his Liberty upon his Bond of 12000 *l. Scots* Money to anſwer when he is called. *Lethington*'s Friends intercede for him that he may not be baniſhed: The Queen is more his Friend than *Darnly*.

13th *May*, To Sir *William Cecil*. *O-Neal*'s Meſſenger had his Audience of Leave, and was ſent away with good Words. A Servant of *Argile*'s was ſent with him to ſee if he could hold againſt the Queen of *England* with ſome Aſſiſtance. But if Queen *Elizabeth* will but concern herſelf in making the Peace of the baniſhed Lords, *Argile* promiſes to aſſiſt her againſt *O-Neal*.

23d *May*, The Queen of *England* to *Randolph*. He is to deal with *Argile* to be a Friend to the Queen of *England*, and not to aſſiſt *O-Neal*; and deſires that *Murray* be employed to take off *Argile* from his correſponding with *O-Neal*, who is not only a Rebel to herſelf, but alſo an Enemy to the true Religion.

26th *May*, *Randolph* to Sir *William Cecil*. Queen *Mary* accuſes *Randolph* for having given 3000 Crowns to *Murray*, which was diſcovered by a Servant of *Murray*'s; he denied it. She alſo blames him for being the Author of a ſcandalous Book, reflecting on that Queen's Birth, Dignity and Government. She ſent *Robert Melvil* to the *Engliſh* Court to have him recalled. *Argile* is ordered to ſupport *O-Neal* the *Iriſh* Rebel; which he deſigns to do, if Queen *Elizabeth* would not befriend the *Scotch* Proteſtants, and relieve with Neceſſaries the baniſhed Lords.

31ſt *May*, Earl of *Morton* to *Randolph*. That the Queen of *England* will not allow *Morton* and his Aſſociates to ſtay in *England*: They deſire a Safe-conduct, that ſhe would intercede with Queen *Mary* for their Return home, ſeeing they had done ſo much formerly for the Queen of *England*'s Service (*a*).

7th *June*, *Randolph* to Sir *William Cecil* from *Berwick*. *Lethington*'s Licence to travel to *Flanders* is recalled, and he is confined to *Cathneſs*. The Regiſter is ordered to remain on the other Side of *Tay*. The Queen is reconciled to *Darnly*.

14th *June*, *Randolph* to Sir *William Cecil*. *Charleboys* is now at Liberty, and ſerveth *O-Neal* with all his Friends. As to the ſecret Management of *Morton*'s Conveyance, it is now well enough; he hopes to hear always the ſame Account of it, ſeeing *Morton* had ſufficient Warning.

14th *June*, *Randolph* to Sir *William Cecil*. The *Scotch* Queen has given *Argile* Liberty to ſuffer as many of his Tenants and Vaſſals as pleaſe to go over to *O-Neal* *Murray* and *Grange* have dealt with *Argile* to bring him from *O-Neal*'s Party, and that he ſhould not forget the Aſſiſtance Queen *Elizabeth* gave to drive the *French* out of *Scotland*: That 'tis not ſafe to diſoblige her, when they are ſo uncertain of their own Sovereign's Favour. *Argile* is perſwaded to leave *O-Neal*, and to promiſe his Service to Queen *Elizabeth*, provided ſhe be a Friend to their Religion and the Profeſſors of it, and procure the Return of the baniſhed Lords, and ſtop the Practices now in hand betwixt his

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(*a*) The Argument was both true and ſtrong, as Truth never fails to be.

his Sovereign and *O-Neal* and the Papiſts in *England*. *Rokesby*'s Practices are ſo managed by *Andrew Carr* and the Biſhop of *Roſſe*, that they cannot be diſcovered.

17th *June*, *Randolph* to Sir *William Cecil*. He is glad that he has Liberty to return from their Borders to Court. He acquainted the *Scotch* Proteſtant Lords that he is to be ſucceeded by Mr. *Killigrew*, with whom they are to communicate their Affairs.

20th *June*, *Randolph* to Sir *William Cecil*. *Lethington* deſires to leave *Scotland*. *Argile* ſeeks Leave to travel: And tho' *Murray* and he are in Truſt with Queen *Mary*, notwithſtanding this they deſire to be from the Court.

26th *June*, Sir *William Drury* to the Earl of *Bedford*. Proclamation at *Kelſo*, a Place near the *Engliſh* Borders, That no *Scotchman* muſt have any Commerce with an *Engliſhman*, upon Pain of Death.

17th *July*, Earl of *Bedford* to Sir *William Cecil*. *Randolph* is recalled, and *Killigrew* comes in his Place. This Change is a great Loſs to the Intelligence from *Scotland*, and which can only be ſupplied by the Laird of *Grange*.

2d *Auguſt*, *Berwick*, Earl of *Bedford* to *Cecil*. *Lethington*'s Peace is to be made with his Sovereign. *Murray* has procured the Return of *Ormeſton* and *Elphinſton*, who were with *Morton* at the Murther of *Rizio*. Queen *Mary* ſuſpects that *Morton* is in *Scotland*, and that he is with his old Miſtreſs. *Ceſford*'s Party, *Buckleugh*, and all the Sirname of *Scot*, are his Friends. The *Eliots* deſign to aſſiſt him, and for that purpoſe have procured Liberty from the Wardens of the *Engliſh* Marches to be concealed there four or five Days, if need be *(a)*. The Lord *Maxwell* and *Bothwell* are now Enemies; the former refuſed to come to Court to have thoſe Differences compoſed. *Bothwell* is generally hated, and is more inſolent than ever *David Rizio* was. *Grange* dare not write more Letters to *Bedford*, becauſe he is ſuſpected.

3d *Auguſt*, Earl of *Bedford* to *Cecil*. ——*Lethington* ſhould ſpeak with his Queen as yeſterday at *Alloway*, and 'tis thought this meeting will bring Reconciliation.——Queen *Mary* meaneth ſhortly to go againſt *Ceſford*, &c. and keep Juſtice-Court at *Jedburgh*. *Bothwell* ſhall come in with Forces. The Queen and her Husband agree worſe. *Malvaſor* worketh for calling home the Lords.

9th *Auguſt*, Earl of *Bedford* to Sir *William Cecil*. *Malvaſor* returns towards *England*, and reports that the Queen and her Husband have been together theſe two Nights; that he has uſed his Endeavours for their Reconciliation. *Bothwell* is ſtill in Favour, and has a great hand in the Management of Affairs.

13th *November*, Queen *Elizabeth* to the Earl of *Bedford*. She complains that in ſome late Book upon the Birth of the Prince of *Scotland*, he is called *Prince of Scotland, England and Ireland:* She orders him to have the Author to be puniſhed, and the Book ſuppreſſed; and that this would be a certain Sign of the true Amity betwixt her Siſter of *Scotland* and herſelf.

17th *November*, Queen of *Scotland* to the Queen of *England*. Queen *Mary* in her Sickneſs commits the Protection of her Son to Queen *Elizabeth*. And tho' ſhe knew herſelf to be next Heir to the Crown of *England*, and was appriſed of the Practices of her Enemies to call her Title in queſtion, nevertheleſs ſhe will not ſeek any Declaration from Queen *Elizabeth*. In the mean time ſhe promiſes to be an Enemy to her Siſter's Enemies.

[*Letter from the Queen of* Scotland *to the Earl of* Bedford.]

Shatter'd MS.

RYcht truſtie and weilbelovit Couſing, we greit zou weill: We haif reſſavit zour Lettre complenyng of mony Diſorderis committit be our Subjectis upoun divers Perſonis within the Boundis of zour Charge; quhairupoun we

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(a) It might perhaps be the Conſequences of this Combination the Earl of *Bothwell* was ſent to look after, at the Time he received his Wounds, and was carried to his Caſtle of *Hermitage* to be cured. However, theſe Borders were always very diſorderly.

did examinat the Lard of *Ceſfurd* our Wardane of our middill Marches, and be his Report hes underſtude that the Occaſioun of the Delay of Juſtice, gif ony hes occurrit this Tyme bypaſt, ſtude nocht in his Default, being alwayis reddie to haif obſervit Dayis of Trew, and to haif maid and reſſavit Redres of all Attemptattis according to the Law of Marchis; and zit wer the Dayis of Trew ſchot on zour Partie, nochtwithſtanding for ony thing heirtofoir attemptit, or that of Reſſoun can be requirit of our Wardanis, thai will willinglie do it, reſſevand the Semblabill, and to that Effect appoint Dayis of Trewis als oft as ze will think convenient. Mairover we haif reſſavit certane Advertiſement of the Lord *Hume*, and utherwayis, that *Colwiche* zour Deputie at ane appointit Tryſt with *Sanderis Hume* of *Hutounhall* Deputie-Wardane to the ſaid Lord *Hume*, ſpak in plane Termis upoun zour Behalffis, that gif the ſaid Lord *Hume*, or ony Nowmer of Men within his Chargeis, ſuld cum and ſerve us aganis our Rebellis, that than ze with zour haill Forceis wald invaid the *Mers* with Fyre and Swerd: This we traiſt be not the Meaning and Commandment of our guid Siſter the Quene zour Soverane, in conſideratioun of the guid Amitie ſtanding amang us; nather think we that he hes ſa ſpokin be ony Commandment procedit of zou, and thairfoir haif we purpoiſlie direct unto zou the Berare heirof, our Servand, to knaw the verie Trewth and Certantie towart the ſaidis Wordis, deſyring zou to certifie us by zour——this Berare, quhither we gaif the ſaid *Colwiche*——purpoiſis or not; and in cais he hes ſpokin of his awin—— as we truſt he hes, that than ze will mak plane——zour miſlyking of his Misbehaviour in that Behalf, in ſic Forme——the Mater being in the ſelf verie prejudiciall to the Amitie and Peace ſtanding betwix the Realmes. And thus we——Att *Edinburgh* the——Day of——

[*Letter Queen of* Scotland *to the Queen of* England.]

hatter'd MS. RYcht excellent, Rycht heich and mychtie Princeſſe, our derreſt Siſter and Couſing: As the Erle of *Sutherland* a borne Subject of this our Realme cuming from bezond Sey and reparing towart his native Cuntreis latelie takin, ſtayit and detenit as Preſonar at *Berwik (a)*; We haif thocht guid to ſignifie the ſame unto zou, and in reſpect of the Amytie and guid Peace ſtanding betwix us and our Realmis, hartlie to deſyre zou that it may pleis zou to gif ſtrict Commandment to zour Lieutennent, Officiaris on the Border, or utheris zour Subjectis in quhais Handis he is, that immediatlie thai put him to Libertie, and ſuffir him frelie to depart towart this Realme; praying zou to caus ſpedie Ordour to be takin heirin, and that a Thing tending ſa manifeſtlie to the Brek of the guid Intelligence betwix us, as taking of Perſonis in tyme of Peace be not permittit, as we ſall be willing nocht onelie to do the lyke, bot alſwa to omit na guid Offices quhairby it may appeir quhat Offices we beir to manteine Amytie and guid Nychbourheid, and all Trewis, as the Effectis ſall declair. And thus Rycht heich, &c.

Inſtructionis to our truſtie and weilbelovit Sr Andro Ker *of* Hirſell *Knycht, to be declarit in our Behalf to the Erle of* Bedford *Lord Governour of* Berwik *and Lieutennent of the North-Partis of* Ingland.

Ibid. IN the *Firſt*, Ze ſall declair that laitlie we reſſavit his Lettre complenyng of mony Diſorderis committit be our Subjectis upoun diveris Perſonis within the Boundis of his Charge; quhairupoun we did examinat the Lard of *Ceſfurde* our Wardane of our middill Merchis, and be his Report undirſtude the Occaſioun of the Delay of Juſtice, gif ony hes occurrit this Tyme bypaſt, ſtude not in his Defalt, being alwayis reddie to haif obſervit Dayis of Trew, and to haif maid and reſſavit Redres of all Attemptattis according to the Law of Merchis, and

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(a) By an Abſtract here of the 1ſt *September* 1565, we perceive this Nobleman was ſtopt by one *Wilſon* about *Berwick*; and by Sir *William Drury*'s Letter, *February* 1565-6, we find his Lordſhip was then juſt going into *Scotland*.

and zit wer the Dayis of Trew ſchot on the Partie of *Ingland*, notwithſtanding for ony thing heirtofoir attemptit, or that of reſſoun can be requirit of our Wardanis, thai will willinglie do it, reſſavand the ſemblabill; and to that Effect appoint Dayis of Trewis als oft as the Wardanis of *Ingland* will think convenient.

Secundlie, Ze ſall declair unto the ſaid Erle, Lieutennent above mentionat, that we haif reſſavit certane Advertiſement of the Lord *Hume*, and utherwayis, that Maiſter *Colwiche* his Deputie at ane appointit Tryſt with *Sanderis Hume* of *Hutounhall* Deputie-Wardane to the ſaid Lord *Hume*, ſpak in plane Termis upoun the Behalf of the ſaid Lieutennent, That if the ſaid Lord *Hume*, or ony Nowmer of Men within his Charge, ſould cum and ſerve us aganis our Rebellis, that than the ſaid Lieutennent with his haill Forceis wald invaid the *Mers* with Fyre and Swerd, quhilk we traiſt be not the Meaning nor Commandment of our ſaid guid Siſter the Quene of *Ingland*, in conſideratioun of the guid Amytie ſtanding amangis us; neythir think we that *Colwiche* hes ſa ſpokin be ony Commandment procedit of the ſaid Lieutennent, and that thairfoir we haif purpoiſlie direct zou to knaw the verie Trewth and Certaintie towart the ſaidis Wordis, and that ze in our Name deſyr him to certifie us be his writting with zou, quhyther he gaif the ſaid *Colwiche* Commiſſioun to hald ſic Purpoſis or not: And in cais he hes ſpokin thame of his awin Heid without Commandment, as we truſt he hes, that than the ſaid Lieutennent will mak plane Demonſtratioun of his miſlyking of *Colwichis* Miſbehaviour in that Behalf in ſic Forme as is convenient, the Mater being in the ſelf verie prejudiciall to the guid Nychtbourheid and Peace ſtanding betwix the Realmis. And fordir ze ſall declair, That albeit in the lait Lettre ſent us from the ſaid Lieutennent be the ſaid *Colwiche*, Mentioun is maid that he is weill inſtructit towart the Purpoſis mentionat in the ſame, and to attend our Pleſſour and Reſolutioun for that Purpois; zit nochtwithſtanding he departit without ony Declaratioun to us of his Credeit, and unreſſavit Anſwer of the ſaid Lieutennentis Lettre brocht be him, quhairin as we think the Doing ſtrange, ſa we doubt not bot the ſaid Lieutennent will nawayis allow *Colwichis* Miſbehaviour in that Part, and gif Demonſtratioun that ſic Procedingis wes not of his Commandment. Attour the ſaid *Colwiche* being inquirit be our ſelf in our Counſall, quhyther he ſpak ſic Wordis to *Sanderis Hume* of *Hutounhall*, wald nowther anſwer affirmativelie nor negativelie, bot ſaid he came nocht to anſwer to ony Queſtionis; quhilk Anſwer as we haif guid Occaſioun to find ſtrange, ſa we doubt not bot the ſaid Erle will nawayis allow.

And *Laſt*, quhair the ſaid Lieutennent dois wryte in his Lettre that he did ſtay the Erle of *Sutherland* our borne Subject, upoun the Conſideratioun of the Deniall of Deliverie of certane Pyrattis to Maiſter *Randolphe*; Ze ſall declair that as nane knawin Pyrattis wer ſtayit and deteinit be us or ony our Miniſteris, ſa wald we wyſche that——ſould nocht upoun that Pretence detene the ſaid Erle unput to Libertie——rather in reſpect of the guid Amytie ſtanding betwix the Realmis——may be deliverit without forder Delay; and in cais he will——upoun the Deliverie of the Pyrattis, ze ſall offir the ſaid Erle of *Sutherland* being deliverit, that all knawin and notorious——Men heir ſalbe likwayis deliverit.

[*Letter Queen* Mary *to Queen* Elizabeth.]

RYcht excellent, Rycht heich and mychtie Princeſſe, our derreſt Siſter and Couſing, We commend us unto zou in our maiſt hartlie Maner: Quhairas laitlie, as we ar ſuirlie informit, certane zour Subjectis to the Nowmer of Aucht hundrith Perſonis enterit within our Realme of *Scotland*, at the Townis of *Edingtoun* and *Chirnſyde*, four Mylis from *Berwik*, or thairabout, and thair nocht onlie maid Slauchter, tuke Preſonaris, ſpulzeit and reſt a greit Quantitie of Gudis, bot alſwa uſit thame in ſic ſort as it had bene oppin Weir and Hoſtilitie betwix the twa Realmis; and zit detenis and kepis ſum of the Preſonaris at Shatter'd MS.

Berwik, as gif it wer inſtant Weir: A Thing quhilk we undirſtand to be expres aganis zour Mynd and Pleſſour, in reſpect of zour Declaratioun diveris wayis notifyit unto us, That zour Meaning hes bene, and is alwayis, to interteny Peace and Quietnes amangis the Subjectis of bayth the Cuntreis. And albeit our Counſall in our Abſence twa ſindrie tymes wrait to the Erle of *Bedforde* zour Lieutennent for Redreſſe of the ſaid Attemptate, he nocht onlie refuſit to mak the ſamen, bot alſwa be his Servand *Colwiche* ſent with his Anſwer, ſaid, That he wald planelie tak the Deid upoun himſelf, avowing the ſame to be done att his Command, as zour Agent Mr. *Randolphe* being preſent at the Declaratioun thairof can teſtifie. Quhairupoun, and being movit with the lamentabill Complaint of our Subjectis, we haif takin Occaſioun to wrait preſentlie unto zou, derreſt Siſter, that ze will ponder the Mater according to the Wecht thairof, and Conſequence that thairon may follow; and nocht onlie tak haiſtie Ordour that the ſaid Attemptate may be ſpedelie redreſſit, bot alſwa to mak plane Demonſtratioun that ze miſlyke this and mony uther ſtrange Procedingis in him, quha being zour Miniſter, aucht to be maiſt cairfull to nureis Quietnes and interteny the gude Nychtbourheid that heirtofoir hes continewit betwix us, and zit be his Behavour of lait diveris wayis, ſa far as in him lay, endangerit the Peace. And this not dowting be zour Anſwer with this Berare, to be certifyit of zour guid Mynd in this Behalf, tending to the dew Reformatioun of this ſa notorious an Offence, Rycht excellent, Rycht heich and mychtie Princeſſe, our derreſt Siſter and Couſing, we commit zou to the Protectioun of Almychtie God. Gevin under our Signet at our Palace of *Halieruidhous* the laſt Day of *December* and of our Reginie the xxiv. Zeir.

[*Letter Queen* Elizabeth *to Queen* Mary.]

Shatter'd MS. Rycht excellent, Rycht heich and mychtie Princeſſe, our derreſt Siſter and Couſing, We commend us hartlie unto zou: Be zour Lettre daitit the laſt of *December*, and brocht to us be ane of zour Herauldis of Armis, we perſave that ze haif bene informit of ane Entre maid into the Realme of *Scotland* at the Townis of *Edingtoun* and *Chirnſyde*, be certane of our Subjectis, to the Nowmer of Aucht hundrith Perſonis, making Slauchter, taking of Preſonaris, and ſpulzeing of thame, as it had bene oppin Weiris; and that ſum of the ſame Preſonaris ar detenit at *Berwik*: A Thing quhilk ze ar content to underſtand to be expres aganis our Mynd and Pleſſour, as indeid Reſſoun is. And quhair forder ze wryte, that althoch zour Counſall had ſent twa ſindrie tymes to our Couſing the Erle of *Bedforde* our Lieutennent, for Redreſſe thairof, that he did not onlie be his Anſwer refuſe the ſame, bot did avow it to be done be his Commandment: Quhairupoun ze requeir us to ponder the Mater and Conſequence thairof, and to tak Ordour for ſpedie Redreſſe; with forder Demonſtratioun of our miſlyking baith of this and uther Procedingis in our ſaid Lieutennent. Upoun the Conſideratioun of this zour Lettre, finding the Materis thairin, for the maner of the ſame, as thai be expreſſit with thair Circumſtances, verie ſtrange and unlyklie; and underſtanding that zour Servand had na Inſtructioun to explane the Mater forder than wes contenit in the Lettre, bot onlie to requeir ſpedie Anſwer; We find it meit to mak Anſwer preſentlie be this our Wryting, according to our Knawlege, That we knaw of na maner of ſuch Entre into *Scotland* with ſic Nowmeris, nowther of ony Slauchter, ſpulzeing, or ony uther thing belanging to Hoſtilitie; and thairfoir ze haif verie weill conſavit, that na ſic thing could be bot aganis our Mynd and Pleſſour. And foraſmekill as our Lieutennent thair hes maid Anſwer, That he wald avow his Doingis; We preſuming ſurlie of his guid Diſpoſitioun to keip Amytie, and knawing the Feir he hes to offend us in doing ony thing to the contrarie, ar thairby movit to think that the Informatioun quhilk is maid unto zou of this Mater is ſcharpened and ſet furth by ſum ſic as haif moir Diſpoſitioun to pick Querrellis than to compound thame: And we be the rather inducit heirunto, becaus we tak this

Mater

Mater to be the ſame quhairof we hard in the begynning of *December* laſt, quhilk wes, as we were informit credibly, ſa far different from this as ze complane, aucht rather to have bene maid be our Subjectis, being firſt ſpoyled, robbed, takin, hurt and careit away be zouris; for Recovery quhairof, ſome of ouris ſeking to apprehend the Thevis, quho had not onlie robbed our Subjectis, and ſpoyled of thair Victuales quhilk thai had lauchfullie bocht, bot alſwa robbed ſum of zouris, wer by Ambuſches of Men of Weir aſſailed and perſewit in ſuche maner of Hoſtilitie, as fyve or ſix of our Subjectis wer takin lyke Preſonaris, with thair Horſs and Gudis; and ſum utheris wer woundit and hurt to the Perrell of Deith: Quhairupoun as followed, as we think, that quhairof the Complaint is now maid ſo grevous, that a Couple of the Capitanis of *Berwik*, with a ſmall ordinarie Nowmer, leſs be ane half than is contenit in zour Lettres, reſorted quietlie to the Place quhair our Subjectis wer kepit as Preſonaris, to demand thame, and to bring thame home with thair Horſs and Gudis, quhilk thai could not fullie nor quietlie obtene, bayth becaus thai wer refuſit; and for that thre of our Subjectis wer careit as Preſonaris further in the Land, and zit do remane, contrarie to the Ordour of Peace: And of ony Wyer or Hoſtilitie uſit, we nevir hard, bot rather by this had Caus to complene for our Subjectis, quha receaved the firſt Harmes, by ſpoyling, robbing, taking and detening thame as Preſonaris. Nevirtheleſs conſidering be zour Lettres, that quhilk ze wryte is bot upoun Informatioun, and we alſo can preſentlie anſwer; bot as we have bene informit, and that we tak it zour Meaning is, as ouris alſo is, to have Peace and Quietneſs kept upoun the Frontieris, and the contrary Attemptis redreſſit: We have thocht it meit furthwith ſtraitlie to command and charge our ſaid Lieutenent to have guid and erniſt Regaird to theſe Complaintis, and as he will anſwer to us at his Perrell, bayth to adverteis us the verie Trewth, with all the Circumſtances of all this Mater paſſed, and not ſpair to mak dew Report of ony Miſdemeanour in ony of ouris, gif ony ſic wer. And fordir alſo, in the mene tyme, to mak Satiſfactioun and Redreſſe of ony thing that ſall lye in his Power; for ſo is our Pleſſour and plane Intentioun, truſting that the lyke will be ordourit and commandit be zou to zour Officiaris, in ſic Caiſes as ouris ſall haif neid. And eftir that we ſall haif Anſwer from our Couſing of *Bedford*, quhairin we will command him to uſe Speid; We ſall caus zou to underſtand planelie, that as we haif ſignifeit heirtofore our Meaning towartis the keping of Peace betwix our Realmes, ſo it ſall manifeſtlie appeir by our Ordouris that ſall inſue in this Mater, that we do not change in our Determinationis. And thus, Rycht excellent, Rycht heich and mychtie Princeſſe, our derreſt Siſter and Couſing, we commit zou to the Tuitioun of Almychty God. Gevin under our Signet at our Palace of *Weſtminſter* the nynt Day of *Januarie*, the aucht Zeir of our Regime, 1565.

Zour gude Siſter and Couſing,
ELIZABETH.

¶ Beſides the Act of Privy-Council 11th *February* 1562, prohibiting the eating of Fleſh, as it is ſet down in the *Appendix* here, *p.* 96; there is juſt ſuch another in the preceeding Year, *viz.* 12th *February* 1561: And the Continuation of the Prohibition is therein inſerted to be from the Publication of the Act till the 29th *March* next to come. And to this Act is ſubjoined another of the ſame Date, as followeth;

THe ſamyn Day, Forſamekle as be Tempeſt and Stormis of Weddir fallin this laſt Wynter, the maiſt part of the Scheip of *Scotland* ar periſcht and deid, quhilk cauſis the Derth thairof ſa to increſs, that the Poor cannocht gudlie abyde the ſamyn; and giff the Lammis be lykewayis waiſtit and conſumit, the Derth ſall nocht onlie increſs, bot als the Scheip of the Cuntre ſall ſa decay, that few or nane ſalbe left thairin for ſuſtenyng of the Liegeis of this Realme: For Remeid quhairof, it is ſtatute and ordanit be the Quenis Majeſtie, with Avyſs of the Lordis of hir ſecreit Counſale, That na maner of Lammis be ſlaine or eittin be ony of the Liegis of this Realme for the Space of thre Zeris nixttocum, under the Pane of eſcheting of all the movable Gudis of the Perſonis controvenaris of this preſent Ordinance, Statute and Act, to our Soverane Ladeis Uſs; and ordanis Letteris to be direct to Officiaris of the Quenis Shireſſis in that Part, chargeing thame to paſs to the Mercat Croces of *Edinburgh*, *Linlythgow*, *Striviling*, and utheris Places neidfull, and thair be oppin Proclamatioun in our Soverane Ladeis Name and Autoritie, command and charge all and ſindrie Fleſchouris and Manglaris of Fleſche, and utheris oure Soverane Ladeis Liegis, that nane of thame tak upoun hand to ſla or eit ony maner of Lammis, fra this tyme furth, for the Space of thre Zeris nixttocum, under the Pane foirſaid: And to charge all and ſindrie oure Soverane Ladeis Shireſſis, Stewartis, Crownaris and thair Deputis, Proveſtis, Auldermen and Baillies of Burrois, diligentlie to ſerche quhair ony Perſonis beis fundin brekand this preſent Ordinance, and to report the ſamyn to oure Soverane Ladeis Theſaurar, that the Panis above writtin may be execute upoun the ſaids Brekaris, under the Pane of Tinſall of thair Offices, &c.

¶ By one ſingle Act in the Body of the original Regiſter of Privy-Council, dated at St. *Andrew*'s the 20th *April* 1563, we learn that the Queen has been in thoſe Parts at this Time; an Occurrence I had not formerly obſerved, by reaſon that the Act reſpects only a very private Perſon, upon which Account I had eaſily overlookt the Place and Date. See more of the Queen's being at St. *Andrew*'s at this Time, in the Additions to *Appendix*, Book III. And by the following original Paper delivered juſt now into my Hands by a Deſcendent of the Gentleman mentioned therein, we come likewiſe to know of another Progreſs the Queen had made in the Spring of the Year 1564, concerning which we have not the leaſt Hint any where elſe.

REGINA,

THeſaurair, Forſamekle as we, at the Nominatioun of our traiſt Counſallour *Williame Maitland* of *Lethingtoun* zoungar, our Secretair, have admittit our Lovit *Alexander Hay* (*a*) as Subſtitute and Depute under him in the Office of Clerkſchip of our ſecrete Counſell, during the Tyme that our ſaid traiſt Counſallour ſall brouk the ſamyn: Thairfore it is our Will, and we charge zou, that ze thankfullie anſwer and mak Payment to the ſaid *Alexander* of the Sowme of ane hundreth and fiftie Pundis Money of our Realme zeirlie, for his Service in awaiting upoun the ſaid Office, payand the ſamyn monethlie to him, ſiclike as ze had wont to pay to *Johne Johneſtoun*, begynand upoun the firſt Day of *Marche* laſt bipaſt, at the quhilk Day the ſaid *Alexander* enterit in Service; and the ſamyn ſalbe thankfullie allowit to zou in zour Compts be the Auditors of our Chekker, quhom we command to allow the ſamyn to zou, thir Preſents being anys [*once*] ſchewn upoun Compt, and regiſtrat in the Rollis as uſe is. Subſcrivit with our Hand at *Falkland* the firſt Day of *Aprile* the Zeir of God 1564 Zeirs.

MARIE R.

BOOK

(*a*) He was a Son of *Park*'s, one of the eldeſt Branches of the noble Family of *Errol*. He came afterwards to be Lord Regiſter, and purchaſed the Eſtate of *Eaſter-Kennet*. From him deſcended *Hay* of *Woodcockdale* and *Hay* of *Caribber*; and his lineal Repreſentative preſently is *David Bruce* of *Kinnaird*, by being the Son of the Heireſs of this Family.

BOOK III.

N°. I. *Apud Edinburgh, 22. Decembris 1561.*

SEDERUNT *Jacobus Dux de Chattellarault, Georgius Comes de Huntlie, Archibaldus Ergadie Comes, Willelmus Mareſcalle Comes, Joannes Atholie Comes, Willelmus Comes de Montroſs, Jacobus Comes de Mortoun, Alexander Comes de Glencarne, Jacobus Commendatarius Sancti Andree & Pittenweme, Joannes Dominus Erskin, Magiſter Robertus Richardſoun Theſaurarius, Magiſter Jacobus Mackgill de Nether-Raukeilour Clericus Regiſtri, Joannes Ballenden de Auchnoule miles Clericus Juſticiarie, Willelmus Maitland de Lethingtoun junior, Secretarius.* Præſentibus etiam Dominis ſubſcriptis ratione Conventionis, viz. *Joanne Comite de Sutherland, Georgio Comite de Cathnis, Andrea Comite de Rothes, Joanne Domino de Menteith, Joanne Domino Glammis, Hugone Domino Somervell, Roberto Domino Boyd, Joanne Domino Flemyng, Georgio Domino Seytoun, Joanne Domino Innermeth, Alexandro Domino Hume, Davide Domino Drummond, Andrea Domino Stewart de Vchiltrie, Jacobo Domino Sancti Joannis, Joanne Magiſtro de Maxwell, & Jacobo Dowglas de Drumlangrig, milite.*

Regiſter of Privy-Council. IT is ſtatute and ordanit be the Quenis Majeſtie, with Advyis of the Lordis of hir ſecreit Counſale and Nobilitie aſſemblit at this preſent Conventioun, That na maner of Perſone nor Perſonis be removit fra thair Rowmes or Stedingis of quhatſumevir Kirk-landis ſett in Feu ſen the vi Day of *Marche*, the Zeir of God 1558 Zeris, bot bruke and joiſs the ſamyn without Danger of Violence, quhill the Feiſt of *Witſounday* in the Zeir of God 1563 Zeris, that in the mean tyme Ordoure may be takin thairin be the Eſtaitis in Parliament for the Weall of the Cuntre; and ordanis the Lordis of Seſſioun, and utheris Jugis of this Realme, to deſiſt and ceis fra all proceding aganis ony of the ſaids Perſonis callit for violent Occupatioun of the ſaids Landis, ſett in Feu ſen the ſaid vi Day of *Marche*, as ſaid is, quhill the ſaid Feiſt of *Witſounday*, the Zeir of God foirſaid, diſchargeing thame thairof, and of thair Offices in that Part, in the mean tyme; and ordanis Letteris to be direct heirupoun, gif neid beis.

Ibid. THe ſamyn Day, Forſamekle as the Quenis Majeſtie, be the Advyis of the Lordis of hir ſecreit Counſale, forſeand the eminent Truble quhilk appearandlie wes to ryis amangis the Liegis of hir Realme, for Materis of Religioun: To evaid the ſamyn, and to ſtay all Inconvenientis that may follow thairupoun, intercommonit with ane Pairt of the Clergie and Stait Eccleſiaſticall; with quhome than reſſonyng being had, it wes thocht gude and expedient be hir Hienes, that ane generall Conventioun ſuld be appointit the xv Day of *December* inſtant, quhairto the reſt of that Eſtait mycht have reparit; and be the Advyis of the hale, ane reſſonable Overture maid, and Ordoure takin for ſtaying of the apperand Truble, and quieting of the hale Cuntre. Quhilk Conventioun being be hir Majeſtie appointit, and ſindrie Dayis of Counſale kepit, and the ſaid Eccleſiaſticall Eſtait oftymes requirit, that the ſaid Ordoure mycht be takin, and Overture maid, for ſtaying of Truble, and quieting of the Cuntre. Laſt of all, in Preſence of the Quenis Majeſtie and Lordis of Counſale foirſaid, and utheris of the Nobilitie of this Realme, comperit *Johne* Archibiſchop of *Sanctandrois*, *Robert* Biſchop of *Dunkeld*, *Patrik* Biſchop of *Murray*, and *Henrie* Biſchop of *Roſs*, and for thameſelffis *reſpectivè*, offerit to the Quenis Grace to be content with thre Partis of the Rentis of thair Benefices, and the ferd Part thairof to be employit as hir Grace thocht expedient: And becaus the Certaintie thairof wes not knawin, nor zit quhat Sowmes of Money wald ſufficientlie ſuſtene the Miniſterie and Miniſteris of Goddis Word within this Realme, nor zit how mekle wes neceſſare to ſupport the Quenis Majeſtie, above hir awin Rent, for the commone Effaris of the Cuntre; Thairfoir it is concludit, decernit and determint be the Quenis Grace and Lordis of Counſale foirſaid, and utheris of the Nobilitie preſent, That gif the ferd Pairt of the Frutis of the hale Benefices Eccleſiaſticall within this Realme may be ſufficient to ſuſteine the Miniſteris throw the hale Realme, and ſupport the Quenis Majeſtie, to interteny and ſett fordwart the commone Effaris of the Cuntre; failzieing thairof, the thrid Pairt of the ſaids Frutis, or mair, quhill it be fund ſufficient to the Effect foirſaid, to be takin up zeirlie in tyme cuming, quhill ane generall Ordoure be takin thairin; ſamekle thairof to be employit to the Quenis Majeſtie, for intertenyng and ſetting fordwart of the commone Effaris of the Cuntre, and ſamekle thairof to the Miniſteris and Suſtentatioun of the Miniſterie, as may reſſonablie ſuſtene the ſamyn, at the Sycht and Diſcretioun of the Quenis Majeſtie and Counſale foirſaid, and the Excreſcence and Superplus to be aſſignit to the auld Poſſeſſouris: And to that Effect that the Rentis and zeirlie Avale of the hale Benefices within this Realme may be cleirlie knawin to the Quenis Majeſtie and Counſale foirſaid, it is ſtatute and ordanit, That the hale Rentalis of all Benefices within this Realme be producit befoir hir Grace and Lordis foirſaid at the tymes undirwrittin; that is to ſay, of the Benefices on this Syde of the *Month* (a), the xxiv Day of *Januar* nixttocum, and bezond the *Month*, the x Day of *Februar* nixt thaireſtir: And ordanis Letteris to be direct to Officiaris of the Quenis Shireffis in that Part, to paſs, charge and require all and ſindrie Archibiſchoppis, Biſchoppis, Abbottis, Commendataris and Prioris of this Realme, on this Syde of the *Month*, perſonalie, gif thai can be apprehendit; and failzieing thairof, at the ſaids Archibiſchoppis, Biſchoppis, Abbottis, Commendataris and Prioris Dwelling-places, Cathedrale-Kirkis or Abbayis; And all Denis, Archdenis, Subdenis, Chantoris, Subchantoris, Proveſtis, Parſonis, Vicaris, and utheris beneficit Men, thair Chalmerianis and Factoris, perſonalie, or at thair Dwelling-places, or at thair Paroche-Kirkis quhair thai ſuld remane: To exhibit and produce befoir the Quenis Majeſtie and Lordis foirſaids, the ſaid xxiv Day of *Januar* nixttocum, the juſt and trew Rentale of the Avale and Rentis of thair Beneficis, to the Effect foirſaid; And to charge the Prelattis, and utheris beneficit Men on the zond Syde of the *Month*, in maner *reſpective* foirſaid, To produce the juſt and trew Rentale of thair Beneficis befoir the Quenis Grace and Lordis foirſaids, the ſaid x Day of *Februar* nixttocum, to the Effect above reherſit; with Certificatioun to thame that failzeis, the Quenis Majeſtie and Counſale will proceid heirin as accordis. And ſiclyke, to charge the hale Superintendentis, Miniſteris, Eldaris and Deaconis of the principale Townis and Schiris of this Realme, to gif in befoir the Quenis Grace and Lordis of Counſale foirſaids, the ſaid xxiv Day of *Januar* nixttocum, ane formale and ſufficient Roll and Memoriall, quhilk may be ſufficient and reſſonable to ſuſtene the Miniſterie and hale Miniſteris of the Realme, that hir Majeſtie and Lordis of Counſale foirſaids may tak Ordour thairintill as accordis. And forder, that the Quenis Majeſtie and Lordis of Counſale foirſaids, ryplie and digeſtlie wey and conſider quhat neceſſar Support is requirit to be takin zeirlie of the Frutis of the ſaidis Beneficis, by hir Graces awn zeirlie Rent, to interteny and ſett fordwart the commone Effaris of the Cuntre, agane the ſaid xxiv Day of *Januar* nixttocum, that than it may be procedit in the ſaid Mater, all Parteis be ſatisfeit, and the hale Cuntre and Liegis thairof ſett in Quietnes.

Ibid. THe ſamyn Day, Forſamekle as the weichtie and debatable Cauſis ſtandand amangis the Liegis of this Realme, quhilk mycht gif Occaſioun of breking and inquieting of the hale Eſtait of the ſamyn; for eſchewing thairof, the Quenis Majeſtie appointit ane Conventioun of the Nobilite and Clergye of hir Graces Realme foirſaid, to compeir the xv Day of *December* inſtant; quhilk being

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(a) *i. e.* Mount, or Mountains; meaning the *Grampian* Mountains. *Month* was an ordinary Expreſſion in this Kingdom to ſignify *deſart Mountains*. The *Grampian* Mountains run from about *Dumbarton* in a continued Chain towards *Aberdeen*.

being haldin, and divers tymes continewit, comperit *Johne* Archibiſchop of *Sanctandrois*, *Robert* Biſchop of *Dunkeld*, *Patrik* Biſchop of *Murray*, and *Henrie* Biſchop of *Roſs*, and offerit as eftir followis; that is to ſay, That thai being reſtorit to thair Beneficis and Privilegis, and anſwerit thairof, offerris to the Quenis Majeſtie for the Space of ane Zeir, the ferd Part of the Rentis of thair Beneficis, to be employit as hir Grace thinkis expedient: And this thai offerit, and na forder.

Apud Edinburgh, 12. *Februarij* 1561.

SEDERUNT *Georgius Comes de Huntlie, Archibaldus Comes Ergadie, Jacobus Comes de Mar, Willelmus Mareſcalli Comes, Joannes Atholie Comes, Alexander Comes de Glencarne, Jacobus Comes de Mortoun, Joannes Dominus Erskin, Joannes Ballenden de Auchnowle miles Clericus Juſticiarie.*

THe quhilk Day, Forſamekle as be Statute and Ordinance maid be the Quenis Majeſtie and Lordis of ſecreit Counſale, and hir Hieneſſes Letteris direct thairupoun, all and ſindrie Archibiſchoppis, Biſchoppis, Abbottis, Commendataris, Prioris, Archidenis, Denis, Subdenis, Chantoris, Subchantoris, Proveſtis, Parſonis, Vicaris, and utheris beneficit Men of this Realme, wer chargit to exhibit and produce the Rentalis of thair Beneficis befoir hir Majeſtie and Lordis foirſaid, in maner following; that is to ſay, The ſaids beneficit Men on this Syde of the *Month*, the xxiv Day of *Januar* laſt bipaſt; and on the uther Syde of the *Month*, the x Day of *Februar* inſtant to that Effect, that Ordour mycht be takin thairin, conforme to the ſaid Ordinance: With Certificatioun to thame and [*if*] thai failzeit, the Quenis Majeſtie and Counſale wald tak Ordour thairin, as the ſamyn Ordinance beris: Notwithſtanding the quhilk, and that the Quenis Majeſtie and Counſale, and utheris appointit be hir for reſſaving of the ſaids Rentalis, hes continualie ſen the ſaid xxiv Day of *Januar* awaititt upoun the reſſaving thairof; zit ane varray ſmall Nowmer of thame hes producit the ſaids Rentalis, contempnand thairthrow nocht onlie hir Graces Ordinance and Proclamatioun foirſaid, bot als hirſelf and hir Autoritie, lyke as thai wer Princis and nocht Subjectis, expres aganis Reſſone, Equitie and Juſtice. For Remeid quhairof, the Quenis Majeſtie ordanis, be Advyis of the Lordis of hir ſecreit Counſale, That Factouris and Chalmerlanis be appointit to intromett, gadder, uplift and reſſave, to oure Soverane Ladeis Uſs, all and ſindrie Malis, Fermis, Teindis, Rentis, Proventis, Emolumentis, Canis, Profittis, and Dewteis of quhatſumevir Beneficis, quhairof the Rentalis ar nocht producit, conforme to the ſaid Ordinance: And gif ony Rentale ellis producit beris nocht the juſt Avale, bot is fraudefullie maid; to intromett and uptak ſameikle of the Frutis and Profittis of the ſaids Beneficis as ar omittit furth of the ſaid Rentale: And the Ingevaris of the Rentalis, and Poſſeſſouris of the Beneficis thairof, ſall nevir haiff Actioun to craif, claime or reſſaif fra the Tennentis and Poſſeſſouris forther nor [*than*] is contenit in the ſaids Rentalis ellis producit be thame; And the ſaids Tennentis and Poſſeſſouris ſall nawayis be haldin to pay ony moir for thair Rowmes to the Poſſeſſouris of the ſaids Beneficis and Ingevaris of the ſaid Rentalis nor is contenit in the ſamyn Rentalis ellis producit, as ſaid is: And that the ſaids Factouris and Chalmerlanis to be appointit be the Quenis Majeſtie ſalhave ſufficient Power to intromett and uptak the Frutis and Profittis foirſaid, ſiclyk as gif ſpeciale Letteris of Factourie and Chalmerlanrie wer grantit to thame thairupoun; and ordanis the Lordis of Seſſioun to direct furth Letteris at the ſaids Factouris and Chalmerlanis Inſtance, owther Horning or Poinding, as ſalbe thocht expedient, for cauſing of thame to be anſwerit of the Frutis of the ſaids Beneficis, to be forthcomand to the Quenis Majeſteis Behuif, quhill forther Ordour be takin thairin. *Ibid.*

Apud Edinburgh, 15. Februarij 1561-2.

SEDERUNT *Georgius Comes de Huntlie, Archibaldus Ergadie Comes, Jacobus Comes de Mar, Joannes Atholie Comes, Jacobus Comes de Mortoun, Willelmus Mareſcalli Comes.*

Ibid. THe quhilk Day, Forſamekle as the Quenis Majeſtie, be the Advyis of the Lordis of hir ſecreit Counſale, and utheris divers of the Nobilitie, had of befoir, upoun the xxii Day of *December* laſt bipaſt, ordanit, That gif the fourt Part of the Frutis and Rentis of all the Beneficis within this Realme, wer nocht ſufficient for the Support of hir Majeſtie, and uther particular Chargis underwrittin, neceſſar to be borne for the Tranquillitie of the Cuntre, then the thrid Part of the ſaids Frutis, mair or leſs, ſuld be takin up, to the Effectis foirſaid: And attoure, ordanit Letteris to be direct, chargeing all and ſindrie beneficit Men on this Syde of the *Month*, to produce thair Rentalis upoun the xxiv Day of *Januar* laſt bipaſt; and the x Day of *Februar* inſtant wes prefixt be the ſaids Letteris, for inbringing of all Rentalis of the Beneficis bezond the *Month*: With Certificatioun, that quha producit nocht the ſaids Rentalis at the Dayis foirſaid *reſpective*, the Quenis Majeſtie and hir Counſale wald provide Remeid. According to the quhilk Certificatioun, hir Hienes, with Advyis of hir Counſale foirſaid, hes ordanit, that thai quha hes nocht producit thair Rentalis, hale and full Intromiſſioun ſalbe had of thair Frutis, be thame quhome hir Majeſtie ſall direct thairto; and quha hes nocht gevin in thair juſt Rentalis, quhatſumevir Part omittit in thair ſaids Rentalis ſalbe intromettit with in lyke maner. And forthir, having conſultit ryplie, and diligentlie advyſit upoun the commone Effaris and Neceſſiteis concerning the Quenis Majeſtie, and Chargis to be borne for the commone Weill of the Realme, and Suſtentatioun of the Precheouris and Readaris, conforme to the ſaid Ordinance maid thairupoun of befoir, hes fundin and declarit the hale thrid Partis of all Beneficis within this Realme of the quhilks the Rentalis ar producit, to be takin up be the Perſone or Perſonis to be nominate be hir Majeſtie, and to begin upoun this laſt Crope of the Zeir of God 1561 Zeris, the ſamyn to be employit to the Effect foirſaid; togidder with the hale Frutis of the Beneficis, quhairof the Rentalis ar nocht producit, and alſua of ſamekle as is omittit in the Rentalis producit: And that Ordoure be directit be the Quenis Majeſtie to the Lordis of Seſſioun, that the auld Poſſeſſouris may be anſwerit of the remanent Frutis of the ſaids Beneficis, providing that the thrid Part foirſaid be full and hale takin up be the Perſonis to be depute to the uptaking thairof; and this Ordoure to continew and ſtand, ay and quhill forther Ordoure be takin be the Quenis Majeſtie, with Advyis of hir Eſtaitis. Mairovir hir Hienes, be the Advyis of hir Counſale foirſaid, hes ſtatute and ordanit, That all Annuellis, Malis and Dewiteis within fre Burrowis, or utheris Townis of this Realme, alſweill pertenyng to Chapellanreis, Prebendareis, as to Freris; togidder with the Rentis of the Freris Landis quhairevir thai be ſetting and diſponing thairupoun, be intromettit with and takin up be ſik as hir Grace ſall depute thairto, for employing of the ſame be hir Hienes to Hoſpitaliteis, Scolis, and utheris godlie Uſis as ſall ſeme beſt be hir Hienes, be the Advyis of hir Counſale: And knawing that nathing is mair commodious for the ſaid Hoſpitalitie nor the Places of Freris as zit ſtandand undemoliſſit, as als to the intertenyng of Scolis, Collegis, and utheris Uſis foirſaids; Ordanis the Proveſt and Baillies of *Abirdene*, *Elgin* in *Murray*, *Innernes*, *Glaſgow*, and utheris Burrowis of this Realme quhair the ſamyn ar nocht demoliſſit, to interteny and uphald the ſaids Freris Places ſtandand in the ſaids Townis, upon the commone Gude thairof, and to uſs the ſamyn to the commone Weill and Service of the ſaids Townis, ay and quhill the Quenis Majeſtie be forther advyſit, and tak finale Ordour in ſik Thingis; nochtwithſtanding ony uther Gift, Title or Interes gevin to quhatſumevir Perſonis of the ſaids Places, with thair Zardis, Orchardis and Pertinentis, be oure Soverane Lady of befoir.

Apud Edinburgh ultimo Februarij, Anno 1561-2.

SEDERUNT *Georgius Comes de Huntlie, Archibaldus Comes Ergadie, Jacobus Comes de Mar, Jacobus Comes de Mortoun, Willelmus Mareſcalli Comes.*

☞ The firſt Part of this Act recapitulates the Acts *December* 22d and *February* 12th preceeding: After which it proceeds thus,

——— And becaus the Quenis Majeſtie and Counſale foirſaid underſtanding and perfytlie knawing that the auld Poſſeſſouris, be vertew of Letteris purcheſt and raſit be thame of auld on that ſane Part, and certane utheris Perſonis pretendent thame to be conſtitute Collectouris and Factouris in the Quenis Majeſteis Abſence, to the Frutis of the Beneficis, be virtew of Letteris purcheſt be thame conforme thairto, on the uther Part, tendis to intromett with the hale Frutis of the ſaids Beneficis, alſweill of Zeris and Termis bigane as tocum, expres aganis the Tennor of the ſaid Ordinance, to the greit Hurt and Hinder of the commone Effaris and Weill of this Realme, Tranquillitie and Quietnes thairof, and aganis Juſtice: For Remeid quhairof, the Quenis Majeſtie, with Advyis of hir ſecreit Counſale, ordanis Letteris to be direct to hir Hieneſſes Officiaris, Shireffis in that Part, chargeing thame to paſs to all Paroche-Kirkis and Mercat-Croces of the Burrowis of this Realme, and utheris Places neidfull, and thair be oppin Proclamatioun, in hir Hieneſſes Name and Autoritie, command and charge all and ſindrie Parochinaris, Takkiſmen, Teliſmen, Fewaris, Rentalaris, Poſſeſſouris, and utheris Intromettouris with quhatſumevir Teind-ſchavis, and utheris Teindis, Frutis, Rentis, Proventis, Emolumentis, Males, Fermes, Fiſchengis, Cayne-Fowlis, Areages, Careages, Greſſumes, and utheris Dewiteis of quhatſumevir Kirkis, alſweill Parſonages as Vicarages, Chapellanreis, Landis, Rowmes and Poſſeſſionis pertenying to ony beneficit Men within this Realme, alſweill Freris Landis, Annuellis or utheris; That nane of thame tak upoun hand to anſwer, intend or obey to ony beneficit Men, thair Chalmerlanis or Factouris, or to ony of the Collectouris or Factouris conſtitute in the Quenis Majeſteis Abſence, to the uplifting of the ſaids Frutis, thair Servandis or Chalmerlanis in thair Names, of the ſaids Teind-ſchavis, and utheris Teindis, Frutis, Rentis, Proventis, Emolumentis, Males, Fermes, Cayne-Fowlis, Areages, Careages, Greſſumes, or uther Dewiteis of quhatſumevir Kirkis, alſweill Parſonages as Vicarages, Chapellanreis, Landis, Rowmes, Fiſcheingis, Coalheuchis and Poſſeſionis, pertenying to ony beneficit Men within this Realme, be quhatſumevir Letteris paſt, owther under the Quenis Majeſteis Signet or Subſcriptioun-manuale, be Deliverance of the Lordis of Seſſioun, Lordis of previe or ſecreit Counſale, or ony uther maner of way, precedand the firſt Day of *Marche* nixttocum; bot that thai retene, keip and hald the ſaids Males, Fermes and Dewiteis foirſaid, in thair Handis, undeliverit to the ſaids beneficit Men, thair Chalmerlanis or Factouris, or to ony of the ſaids Collectouris or Factouris conſtitute in the Quenis Majeſties Abſence, unto the Tyme thai be chargit of new be Letteris, paſt be Deliverane of the Lordis of Seſſioun, daitit eftir the ſaid firſt Day of *March* nixttocum: With Certificatioun to thame that failzeis heirin, thai ſalbe compellit to refound and pay againe to the Quenis Majeſtie, and utheris as ſalbe appointit be hir thairto, the Dowble of thair ſaids Males, Fermes, Teindis and Dewiteis. And als, to charge all and ſindrie Shireffis, Stewartis, Baillies, Heraldis, Purſevandis, Meſſingeris, and utheris oure Soverane Ladeis Officiaris, That nane of thame tak upoun hand to execute ony Letteris purcheſt at the Inſtance of ony uther beneficit Men, thair Chalmerlanis or Factouris, or at the Inſtance of ony uther Collectoure or Factoure conſtitute for uplifting of the ſaids Frutis, daitit befoir the ſaid firſt Day of *Marche* nixttocum, under the Paine of Tinſale of thair Offices, and Deprivatioun of thame fra all forther uſing of the ſaid Office in tyme cuming. *Ibid.*

¶ In Conſequence of theſe ſeveral preceeding Acts, Rentals were given up of all the Eccleſiaſtical Benefices within the Kingdom, Two-parts whereof were to remain with the beneficed Perſons, and the other Third was appointed to be uplifted by Collectors nominated by the Queen; out of which Third-part her Majeſty was to ſupport the new Miniſters, and the Superplus to be employed by her in the Adminiſtration of the State. I have been at Pains to draw out an Account of the Revenues of the Biſhopricks and principal Religious Houſes, which I thought would be an agreeable Piece of Inſtruction to my Readers; and the Books from which I have made up the ſame, are theſe, *viz.* 1*mo*, The Collectors Books of the *Thirds* of Benefices, by way of Charge and Diſcharge, to be ſeen among the other Records in the Laigh Parliament-houſe, *Edinburgh*. The firſt of theſe Books is for the Years 1562 and 1563; and for Brevity's ſake I have marked them *C.* 2*do*, The Books of *Aſſumption*, the only Copy whereof that I have chanced to ſee or hear of, is in the Poſſeſſion of the Family of *Panmure*. This contains the particular Payments which make up the full Rental of the ſeveral Benefices; and is ſo much the more valuable, that the Rentals are ſigned either by the Biſhops, Abbots, *&c.* themſelves, or by their Chamberlains and Factors; and that by it are to be ſeen what *Lands* up and down the Nation pertained to the Church. However there is this Misfortune, that it contains only the *North* and *South* Parts of the Kingdom: That Part of the Book containing the *Weſtern* Rentals, being either altogether loſt, or lying in ſome Corner where we have not heard of it as yet. This Book I have marked *A.* 3*tio*, The original Books of *Aſſignation*, and *Superplus* of the Thirds of Benefices, in which are contained ſometimes the *Whole* of the greater Benefices, (for theſe Books never deſcend below Biſhopricks, Abbays, Nunries, and principal Priories) and ſometimes only the *Thirds*; the particular Aſſignments alſo paid to the Miniſters, and the Superplus redounding to the Crown. Theſe I have marked by the Letter *S.* The eldeſt of the Books of Aſſignation and Superplus together, is only for the Year 1594; but the Books of Aſſignation to the Miniſters and Readers are full twenty Years before that.

There is now and then ſome Variation of the Rents among theſe ſeveral Books; but except where the ſame is pretty remarkable, I have taken no notice thereof. A Pound or two of Money, or as many Bolls of Victual, was not worth the regarding.

An Alphabetical Liſt of the Biſhopricks within the Kingdom of *Scotland*, with an Account of the Revenues thereof.

Biſhoprick of Aberdeen.

MOney, 1653 *l.* 16 *s.* 9 *d.* Wheat, 3 Chalders, 8 Bolls, 0 Firlots, 0 Pecks. Bear, 35 c. 8 b. 3 f. 3½ p. Meal, 24 c. 4 b. 2 f. Oats, 8 c. 2 b. 3 f. 2 p. Mairts, Number 46. Mutton (*a*), n. 141. *A.* Wedders, n. 121. Capons, 65½ Dozen. Poultry, 119 d. Geeſe, n. 55. Muirfowls, 19 d. *A.* Swine, n. 17. Salmon, 12 Laſts, 10 Barrels. But all the Books do agree, that in the Money-Rent as above ſet down, is contained the Price of the Salmon at 4 *l. per* Barrel.

Archbiſhoprick of St. Andrew's.

Money, 2904 *l* 17 *s.* 2 *d.* Wheat, 30 c. 8 b. 3 f. 1 p. Bear, 41 c. 10 b. 2 f 1 p. Meal, 12 b. Oats, 67 c. 13 b. 3 f. Peaſe, 4 b.

By the Book of Aſſumptions there is Deduction allowed to the Archbiſhop for neceſſary Payments; ſo that the Money is brought down to 2460 *l.* 17 *s.* Wheat to 21 c. 8 b. 1 f. 3½ p. Bear to 29 c. 10 b. 2 p. Oats to 51 c. 5 b. 1 f. 3½ p.

Biſhop-

(*a*) The Word *Mutton* is made uſe of for the moſt part in all our ancient Books, to denote the Article of *Sheep*; and the Word *Wedders* being uſed here, and ſome other Places of the Book of *Aſſumptions*, &c. it may be preſumed that by Muttons may be always underſtood Wedders.

Biſhoprick of Brechin.

In this Biſhoprick there is great Confuſion and Uncertainty. *C* takes no notice of Money-Rent at all. Other Payments by *C* ſtand thus; Wheat, 11 b. Bear, 61 c. 5 b. Meal, 123 c. 3 b. Salmon, 9 Bar.

The Rental of the Spirituality contained in *A*, is this; Wheat, 11 b. Bear, 23 c. 12 b. Meal, 38 c. 2 b. Horſe-corn, 15 b. Salmon, 3 Bar. and let for 1 *l. per* Bar.

By another Rental in *A*, ſaid to pertain to *Alexander Campbell* Biſhop of this Dioceſe, the Temporality ſtands thus, *viz.* Money, 410 *l.* 5 *s.* Capons, 11½ d. Poultry, 16 d. and 10. Geeſe, n. 18. Horſe-corn, 1 c. 2 b. Salmon, 3 Bar. *Item*, Money of Teinds, 241 *l.* 6 *s.* 8 *d.* Teind-Wheat, 11 b. Bear, 14 c. 6 b. Meal, 25 c. 5 b.

Another Rental in *A*, given up the 28th *January* 1573 by *James Campbell* of *Ardkinglen*, Brother to *Alexander* the Biſhop, who is ſaid to be in *Geneva* at the Scuillis, [*Schools*] is, Bear, 21 c. 5 b. 2 f. Meal, 38 c. 2 b. Wheat, 3 b. Horſe-corn, 12 b. Money of temporal Lands, 357 *l.* 10 *s.* 8 *d.* Silver-Teinds, 56 *l.* And the Earl of *Argile* has ſeveral Feus. Compare this laſt low Rental, &c. with what is ſaid *p.* 508.

Biſhoprick of Cathnes.

Money, 1283 *l.* 19 *s.* *N. B.* Tho' in none of all the Books there be any other Payment recorded as pertaining to this Biſhoprick, yet I have been informed by Gentlemen of that Bounds, that their own Charters do mention other Payments.

Biſhoprick of Dumblain.

Money, 313 *l.* Wheat, 1 c. Bear, 11 c. 11 b. 3 f. ½ p. Meal, 50 c. 1 b. 1 f. 3½ p. Oats, 9 c. 12 b.

Biſhoprick of Dunkeld.

Money, 1505 *l.* 10 *s.* 4 *d.* Wheat, 4 c. Bear, 37 c. 6 b. 3 f. 3⅓ p. Meal, 64 c. 12 b. 2 f. 3 p. Oats, 28 c. 2 b. This Rental is ſigned by the Biſhop himſelf at *Cluny* the 4th of *January* 1561; and in the Front is the following remarkable Preamble, *viz.* "Heireſtir followis the Rentale of the Biſchoprick of *Dunkeld*, to be preſentit befoir the Quenis Majeſtie and Counſale, conforme to the Offer maid to hir Grace be the Prelatis for that Tyme preſent at the laſt Conventioun in *December anno* 1561: Quhilk wes in this Effect, *The Kirkmen and Prelatis of* Scotland *being reſtorit to thair Levingis, Rentis, Poſſeſſionis and Juriſdictionis* (a); *Thay grantit to give hir Grace, for the outſetting of hir Majeſties honeſt Effairis, the fourt Pairt of thair Levingis for ane Zeir allanerlie: Proteſtand* (b), &c. *and adherand to the Proteſtatioun maid in Name of the haill Clergie and Kirkmen of* Scotland, *be ane maiſt Reverent Fadir in God* Jhone *Archbiſchope of* Sanctandrois."

Biſhoprick of Galloway.

Money, 1137 *l* 8 *d.* Bear, 6 c. 15 b. 3 f. Meal, 7 c. 9 b. Salmon, n. 268. *S* n. 228.

The Abbay of *Tungland* (ſituated in *Galloway*) is by *C* always annexed to this Biſhoprick, tho' neither *A* nor *S* take any notice of ſuch Annexation; and yet the Rent of the Biſhoprick is ſtill the ſame. But then they always omit to mention the Abbay of *Tungland*.

Archbiſhoprick of Glaſgow.

Money, 987 *l.* 8 *s.* 7 *d.* ½. Bear, 7 b. 3 f. 3 p. Meal, 32 c. 2 b. Malt, 28 c. 5 b. 1 f. Horſe-corn, 12 c. 13 b. 3 f. Salmon, n. 168.

(*a*) The Reſtitution here mentioned by this Biſhop is very plainly affirmed in the Act, *p.* 177. but the Grant by the Clergy for one Year *only* is not ſo clearly affirmed, except in this Senſe, *viz.* That if the Fourth-part of the Benefices was not ſufficient for the Queen's Affairs, the Third-part ſhould be afterwards given to her Majeſty.

(*b*) 'Tis a Pity this Biſhop had not inſerted here his own and the Archbiſhop of St. *Andrew*'s Proteſtation; for this is the only Time and Place I have heard of any ſuch Proteſtation. He ſigns the Rental, *R. Dunkeld.* His Name was *Robert Creighton*; and ſeems to have been a Man of Parts.

Biſhoprick of Murray.

Money, 1649 *l.* 7 *s.* 7 *d.* Wheat, 10 b. Bear, 77 c. 6 b. 3 f. 2 p. Oats, 2 c. 8 b. Salmon, 8 Laſt. *C.* Poultry, n. 223.

Biſhoprick of Orkney.

Money, 251 *l.* 2 *s.* 6 *d.* Coſt, *i. e.* Malt, 78 Laſt, 21 Meil, 3 Setting, 21 Mark *(a)*. Fleſh, 12 Laſt, 12 Meil, 14 Setting, 20 Mark. Mairts, n. 4. Swine, n. 2. Poultry, n. 217. Scra-fiſh *(b)*, 24 Mais *(c)*. Butter, 8 Laſt, 8½ Bar. 6 Leiſpound *(d.)* Oil, 4 Laſt, 2 Bar. Wax, 20 Pound. Peats, 55 Fathom.

Biſhoprick of Roſs.

Money, 504 *l.* 1 *s.* 2 *d.* Bear, 78 c. 4 b. 1 f. 1 p. Oats, 7 c. 4 b. Mairts, n. 40. Mutton, n. 169. Kids, n. 132. Capons, 10 dozen. Poultry, 57 d.

N. B. As for the Biſhopricks of *Argile* and the *Iſles*, and the Religious Houſes in theſe Bounds, ſuch as the Abbay of *Icolmkill* or *St. Columba* in the Iſle of *Iona*, the Priories of *Ardchattan* and *Oronſay*, &c. no Rentals of them were given up. There is indeed in the Book of Annexation of the Eccleſiaſtical Benefices to the Crown, made in the Year 1587, and to be ſeen among the other Records in the Laigh Parliament-houſe, a Rental of all theſe Benefices; but the ſame is ſo indiſtinctly drawn out, at leaſt to my Capacity, that I cannot from thence venture to offer any thing to my Readers. Howſoever, I reckoned the more curious of them would probably receive in good part theſe two following Proportions of the Rents of the ſeveral Biſhopricks of the Kingdom (the *Iſles* or *Sodoren* excepted) taken from the original old Chartulary in the Abbacy of *Aberbrothock* in the Advocates Library; by which Scroll the Rent of the Biſhopricks in that Time may be ſomewhat diſcerned.

Æſtimatio Epiſcopatuum Regni Scotiæ ſecundum quoſdam.

Epiſcop.	*Glaſguenſis,* L.	4080	13	4
	Katenenſis,	386	13	4
	Roſſenſis,	352	19	8
	Moravienſis,	1418	15	4
	Leſmorenſis Argile	281	06	8
	Candidæ Caſæ,	358	15	0
	Brechinenſis,	341	03	4
	Dunkeldenſis,	1206	06	8
	Dumblanenſis,	606	13	4
	Aberdonenſis,	1610	09	4
	Sancti Andreæ,	8018	03	0

It appears I have not been able to read exactly the ſeveral Numbers; for my Sum here extends only to 18660 *l.* 19 *s.* whereas the Sum in the Chartulary is plainly 18750 *l.* 19 *s.* 7 *d.*

Summa de quolibet Epiſcopatu Scotiæ quand. 4 denarii dantur de marca.

Epiſcop.	*Sti Andreæ,* L.	200	09	00
	Glaſguen.	102	00	04
	Abirden.	40	05	03
	Moravien.	35	09	04
	Dunkelden.	30	03	02
	Dumblan.	15	03	10
	Brechyn.	11	00	07
	Candidæ Caſæ,	08	19	00
	Roſſen.	08	11	00
	Katenen.	07	03	04
	Ergad. Argile	08	00	08
		467	05	06

An Alphabetical Liſt of the principal Abbays, &c. within *Scotland*, together with an Account of their Revenues.

Benedictin Abbay of Aberbrothock [commonly *Arbroath*] *in the Shire of* Angus *or* Forfar.

C. Money, 2483 *l.* 5 *s.* Wheat, 26 c. 9 b. 1 f. Bear, 118 c. 7 b. 2 p. Meal, 168 c. 8 b. 2 f. Oats, 27 c. 10 b. 3 f. 3½. Salmon, 1 L. 3 B.

A. Money,

(*a*) 24 *Marks* make one *Setting*, 24 *Settings* make one *Meil*, 24 *Meils* make one *Laſt*, and one *Meil* is 11 Stone-weight and a half.

(*b*) *Scra* fiſh is a Year old *Seathe* dried in the Sun without Salt; and a *Seathe* is a coarſe grey ſort of Fiſh as large as a big *Cod*: But the *Scra* is no larger than a *Whiting*.

(*c*) A Mais of Scra contains ſome 1000, others 1500, according to the Size.

(*d*) This Meaſure contains about two Stone of *Amſterdam* Weight.

A. Money, 2553 *l*. 14 *s*. Wheat, 30 c. 3 b. 3 f. 2 p. Bear, 143 c. 9 b. 2 p. Meal, 196 c. 9 b. 2 f. Oats, 27 c. 11 b. Salmon, 3 Laſt, 1 Barrel.
“ Omittit Capons, Poultry, Graſſumes, Dawikis, and all other Services and
“ ſmall Dewties. Alſua, *N. B.* That the Kirkis of *Abirnethy* and *Monyfuith*
“ are nocht comptit heirin.”

In another Patt of *A*, a like Rental is given up in the *Latin* Tongue ſoon after the Year 1561; in which beſides 37 Barrels of Salmon, are contained likewiſe 2 Barrels of Glyſſort. [*Grilſes*, f. i. e. *young Salmon.*] To this *Latin* Rental is added the Valuation of the Kirks of *Abernethy*, *Monyfuith* and *Tanadies*, viz. *Abern*. 273 *l*. *Tan*. 237 *l*. 5 *s*. 4 *d*. *Monyf*. 0 *l*. 0 *s*. 0 *d*. Wheat, 4 c. 12 b. Bear, 12 c. 9 b. Meal, 15 c. 10 b. None of all which is put into the Rental.

S. Money, 2594 *l*. in the other Articles agrees with *C*, except in the Salmon with *A*.

Auguſtinian Priory of St. Andrew's *(a) in the Shire of* Fife.

Money, 2237 *l*. 18 *s*. 1½. Wheat, 38 c. 1 b. 3 f. 1 p. Bear, 132 c. 7 b. Meal, 114 c. 3 b. 1 p. Oats, 151 c. 10 b. 1 f. 1½ p. Peaſe and Beans, 3. c. 7 b.

Ciſtercian Priory [a Nunry] *of St*. Bothan's, *in the Shire of* Merſe.

Money, 47 *l*. 2 *s*. 4 *d*. Wheat, 2 c. 1 f. Bear, 3 c. 8 b. 2 f. 3½ p. Peaſe and Beans, 12 b. *S*. Oats, 7 c. 9 b.

Ciſtercian Abbay of Balmerinoch *in the Shire of* Fife.

C. Money, 704 *l*. 2 *s*. 10½. Wheat, 4 c. Bear, 21 c. 12 b. 3 f. 1½ p. Oats, 1 c. 14 b. 1 f. 3½ p. *A*. adds Meal, 15 c. 12 b. 2 f. and Poultry, n. 763.

Reformed Ciſtercian Priory of Beauly, *in the Shire of* Roſs.

Money, 136 *l*. 13 *s*. 4 *d*. Bear, 14 c. 2 b. 3 f. 3½ p. Oats, 7 b. 3 f. 3½ p. Mairts, n. 10. Mutton, n. 20. Poultry, *C*. 21 doz. *S*. 24 d. Salmon, 2 L. 6 B.

Auguſtinian Priory of Blantyre, *in the Shire of* Clidſdale.

Money, 131 *l*. 6 *s*. 7½.

Auguſtinian Abbay of Cambuskeneth, *in the Shire of* Stirling.

Money, 930 *l*. 13 *s*. 4½. Wheat, 11 c. 11 b. 2 f. Bear, 28 c. 12 b. 3 f. 3½ p. Meal, 31 c. 6 b. 3 f. 3½ p. Oats, 19 c. 15 b. 3 f. 3½ p.

Auguſtinian Priory of Cannabie *on* Solway-Firth. See *Jedburgh*.

Carthuſian Priory of Charter-houſe (b) within the Town of Perth.

C. Money, 0 *l*. 0 *s*. 0 *d*. Wheat, 24 c. 15 b. Bear, 20 c. Meal, 2 b. Oats, 24 c.

A. Money, 509 *l*. 6 *s*. 2 *d*. Wheat, 8 c. 5 b. Bear, 20 c. Meal, 2 b. White Oats, 12 c. 6 b. Black ditto, 12 c. 9 b. 3 f. This given up in the Year 1563 by *A. Forman* Prior. And in the Year 1570 the Lords Auditors of the Chequer ordain the following Rental only to be charged, *viz*. Money, 366 *l*. 8 *s*. 8 *d*. Wheat, 7 c. 5 b. Bear, 19 c. Meal, 2 b. White Oats, 9 c. 6 b. Black ditto, 12 c. 9 b. 3 f. Signed, *George Balfour* Prior. Mention is herein made of there being taken away by the River *Tay*, *viz*. Wheat, 1 c. Bear, 1 c. White Oats, 3 c. *S* agrees with this laſt Rental.

Benedictin Priory of Coldingham, *in the* Merſe.

Money, 818 *l*. 10 *s*. 9 *d*. Wheat, 6 c. 7 b. 3 f. 2 p. Bear, 19 c. 12 b. 1 f. 2 p. Oats, 55 c. 4 b. 1 f. Rye, 1 c. 4 b. 1 f. Peaſe, 3 c. 13 b. 3 f. 2 p.

Ciſtercian Abbay [a Nunry] *of* Coldſtream, *in the Shire of* Merſe.

Money, 201 *l*. Wheat, 3 c. 11 b. 2 f. 3½ p. Bear, 3 c. 11 b. 2 f. 3½ p. Meal, 3 c. 11 b. 2 f. 2 p.

(*a*) It was a Miſtake to ſay, *p*. 279, that this Priory was a Pendicle to the Abbay of *Holy rood-houſe*.

(*b*) This is a Corruption only for the French Word *Chartreux*, or for the Latin *Chartuſia*.

A makes Mention of nine aged Women, Siſters in the Place.

Benedictin Abbay of St. Colm's *Inch, in the River* Forth.

S. Money, 426 *l.* There is nothing elſe concerning this Rental, except in *A*, and even there it is very confuſed, tho' given up by *James Stewart*, who moſt probably has been the Abbot himſelf. The beſt I could make of it is thus, Wheat, 2 c. 8 b. 1 f. 10 b. Bear, 8 c. 9 b. Meal, 14 c. 14 b. Oats, 11 c. 12 b.

Cluniac Abbay of Corſraguel, *in* Carrict.

Money, 466 *l.* 13 *s.* 4 *d.* Bear, 18 c. 7 b. 3 f. 3½. Meal, 37 c. Oats, 4 c. 15 b. 3 f. 3½ p.

Ciſtercian Abbay of Coupar, *in the Shire of* Angus.

Money, 1238 *l.* 14 *s.* 9 *d* Wheat, 7 c. 13 b. 1 f. Bear, 75 c. 10 b. 3 f. ½ p. Meal, 73 c. 4 b. 3 f. 3½ p. Oats, 25 c. 4 b. 2 f. 2 p.

Ciſtercian Abbay of Culros, *in the Shire of* Perth.

Money, 768 *l.* 16 *s.* 7½. Wheat, 3 c. 3 b. Bear, 15 c. 10 b. 2 f. Oats, 13 c. 12 b. 3 f. 3½ p. Salt, 1 c. 2 b. Wedders, n. 10. Lambs, n. 22. Capons, 7 doz. Poultry, 26½ d. Butter, 7½ ſtone. Cheeſe, 79½ ſt. *A.* Straw, 8 Turſſes. And the Abbot ſays, there were nine Monks in the Convent, five whereof had recanted; but the other four would not by any Perſwaſion. And he mentions a certain Allowance he had given to thoſe that had recanted; but had given nothing to the others.

Ciſtercian Abbay of Deir, *in* Buchan.

C. Money, 572 *l.* 8 *s.* 6 *d.* Wheat, 14 b. Bear, 14 c. 10 b. Meal, 65 c. 7 b. 1 f. 3 p. *A.* Money, 805 *l.* 15 *s.* 2 *d.* Meal, 59 c. 11 b. And again, Meal, 63 c. 9 b. 1 f. *S* wants the Article of Wheat.

Premonſtratenſian Abbay of Dryburgh, *in* Teviotdale.

Money, 913 *l.* 19 *s.* 1 *d.* Wheat, 1 c. 14 b. 3 f. 3½ p. Bear, 24 c. 7 b. 3 f. 3½. Meal, 22 c. 15 b. 3 f. 3½ Oats, 3 c. 15 b. 1 f. *S.* Money, 1044 *l.* 16 *s.* 8 *d.*

Ciſtercian Abbay of Dundrenan, *in* Galloway.

Money, 500 *l.*

Benedictin Abbay of Dunfermline, *in* Fife.

C. Money, 2513 *l.* 10 *s.* 8 *d.* Wheat, 28 c. 11 b. 1 f. Bear, 102 c. 15 b. 1 f. 3 p. Meal, 15 c. Oats, 61 c. 6 b. 2 f. Horſe-corn, 29 c. 1 b. 1 f. 2½ p. *S* agrees with this, except in the Article of Oats, being in all 152 c. 2 f. 2 p. And then adds, Butter, 34 ſt. Lime, 19 c. 15 b. Salt, 11 c. 8 b. *A* agrees with *S* in Oats, *viz.* White Oats, 64 c. 12 b. 2 f. Horſe-corn, 87 c. 4 b. 1 f. Which is given up by *Allan Couts* in the Year 1561, in Name of my Lord of *Dunfermline*, viz. *George Dury* Abbot.

There is likewiſe another Rental by the ſame Perſon, *viz.* Money, 2404 *l.* 4 *s.* Wheat, 27 c. 4 b. 3 f. Bear, 83 c. 11 b. 2 f. 2 p. Oats, 158 c. 5 b. 2 f. whereof 84 c. White Oats. Lime, 20 c. Salt, 11 c. 8 b. Capons, n. 374. Poultry, n. 746. By the ſame Rental we learn, that in the Convent were 26 Monks, whoſe Aſſignations were in Money, 394 *l.* Wheat, 9 c. Bear, 32 c. White Oats, c. 38 Horſe-corn, c. 26.

Priory [a Nunry] *of* Eccles, *in the* Merſe.

Money, 647 *l.* 13 *s.* 8 *d.* *A* ſays, Caines, Cuſtomes, Graſſumes, and uther Dewties, Capons and Poultry are omitted.

Ciſtercian Priory [a Nunry] *of* Elcho, *in* Strathearn.

Money, 64 *l.* 6 *s.* 8 *d.*

Ciſtercian Abbay [a Nunry] *of* Emanuel, *in* Weſt-Lothian.

Money, 52 *l.* 14 *s.* 8 *d.* Bear, 3 c. Meal, 7 c. Salmon, n. 24.

Miniſtry of Failford, *in* Kyle.

Money, 174 *l.* 6 *s.* 7½ *d.* Bear, 3 c. Meal, 15 c. 4 b.

Premonſtratenſian Abbay of Fern, *in* Roſs.

Money, 165 *l.* 7 *s.* 1½ *d.* Bear, 30 c. 2 b. 2 p. Oats, 1 c. 6 b.

Ciſtercian Abbay of Glenluce [*i. e.* Vallis Lucis] *in* Galloway.

Money, 666 *l.* 13 *s.* 4 *d.*

Ciſtercian Abbay [a Nunry] *of* Haddington, *in* Eaſt-Lothian.

Money, 308 *l.* 17 *s.* 6 *d.* Wheat, 7 c. 11 b. Bear, 40 c. 1 b. 2 f. 3 p. Meal, 11 c. This Rental given up in *A* by a venerable Lady, *Elizabeth Hepburn* the Prioreſs, on the —— Day of *February* 1561, tells, That in the Convent are eighteen Nuns, each having in the Year 4 b. Wheat. 3 b. (Meal no doubt.) For Fleſh and Fiſh to each of them for every Day in the Year, 8 *d.* And for Cloaths in the Year to each, 4 *l.* This Rental likewiſe obſerves, that Graſſums, Carriages, Capons and Poultry are omitted. *S* adds Oats, with great Variation.

Auguſtinian Abbay of Holy-rood-houſe, *beſide* Edinburgh.

C. Money, 2926 *l.* 8 6. 6 *d.* Wheat, 27 c. 10 b. Bear, 40 c. 9 b. Oats, 34 c. 15 b. 3 f. 3½ p. But *A* and *S* add theſe Articles, *viz.* Capons, n. 501. Hens, n. 24. Salmon, n. 24. Salt, 12 Loads. *S* alone, Swine, n. 3.

Premonſtratenſian Abbay of Holywood, *in* Nithſdale.

C and *S.* Money, 425 *l.* *A.* 394 *l.* 18 *s.* 8 *d.* And there is likewiſe in *A* another Rental as far back as the Year 1544, containing 700 *l.* Meal, 19 c. 14 b. 3 f. Bear, 9 b. 3 f. Malt, 1 c.

Auguſtinian Abbay of Jedburgh, *in* Teviotdale.

N. B. In *S* there are annexed to this Abbay *Reſtennet* and *Cannabie*; and ſo is *Reſtennet* in *C.* *A* and *C.* Money, 974 *l.* 10 *s.* Wheat, 2 c. 2 b. Bear, 23 c. Meal, 36 c. 13 b. 1 f. 1 p. But *S* gives in Money, 1274 *l.* 10 *s.* and it may be ſuppoſed that this Addition of 300 *l.* ariſes from one or both the other Priories. Omitted Cains, Cuſtoms, *&c.*

Auguſtinian Abbay of Inchaffray, *in* Strathearn.

Money, 666 *l.* 13 *s.* 4 *d.*

Auguſtinian Priory of Inchmahomo, *in* Perth-ſhire.

Money, 234 *l.* Bear, 7 c. Meal, 59 c. 13 b. 1 f. 3½ p.

Ciſtercian Abbay of Kelſo, *in* Teviotdale.

C mentions not this Abbay at all. *S* connects with it the Priory of *Leſmahago*, and gives the Rental thus, Money, 2501 *l.* 16 *s.* 8 *d.* Wheat, 9 c. Bear, 52 c. 6 b. 2 f. Meal, 92 c. 12 b. 3 f. 1 p. Oats, 1 c. 3 b. Hay, 1 Fidder. Pepper, 1 Pound. In *A* is contained a great deal concerning this Abbay; yet I could perceive nothing clear and ſatisfactory. Here follow ſome of the *Summa*'s, *viz.* Money, 2057 *l.* Wheat, 9 c. Bear, 40 c. 4 b. 3 f. 1 p. Meal, 65 c. 6 b. 2 f. 3 p. Oats, 8 b.

Another is, Abbay of *Kelſo* and *Leſmahago*, Money, 1682 *l.* 5 *s.* 6 *d.* *Kelſo* Victual by [*i. e.* beſides] *Leſmahago*, Meal, 91 c. 4 b. Bear, 91 c. 4 b. *Leſmahago* ſedinker [*f.* aſunder] Meal, 28 c. 1 b. 3 f. 3 p. Bear, 12 c. 1 b. 2 f. 2⅓ p.

Another is, Money, 1983 *l.* 17 *s.* 8 *d.* Wheat, 3 c. Bear, 30 c. 11 b. 2 f. Meal, 57 c. 14 b. Oats, 8 b.

Tyronenſian Abbay of Kilwinning, *in the Shire of* Aire.

C. Money, 850 *l.* 3 *s.* 4 *d.* Wheat, 8 b. Bear, 14 c. 1 b. 3 f. 3 p. Meal, 67 c. *S* has no Rental of this Abbay; and *A* reaches not to the Weſt-Country where it is ſituated.

The Book of Annexation contains the Rental thus, 355 *l.* 3 *s.* 10 *d.* Bear, 9 b. 2 f. 3 p. Meal, 1 c. 8 b. 3 f. 2½ p. Stirks, [*Bullocks*] n. 13. Capons, n. 140. Hens, n. 106. Cheeſe, 269 ſt. Peats, 9 Fuir.

Ciſtercian Abbay of Kinloſs, *in* Murray.

A. Money, 1152 *l.* 1 *s.* Victual in Bear and Meal, 47 c. 11 b. 1 f. 3 p. *C.* Bear, 47 c. 14 b. 1 f. 2 p. Oats, 10 b. 3 f. Wedders, n. 34. Geeſe, n. 41. Capons, n. 60. Poultry, n. 125.

From this Rental are marked the following Deductions, *viz.* " To fourteen " Monkis for Habit-ſilver, ilk Monk haiffand 50 *s.* be Zeir, 35 *l.* *Item,* For " thair Fiſche and Fleſche be Zeir, ilk ane haiffand 8 *d.* in the Day for thair " Fleſche, and 2 *d.* in the Day for thair Fiſche, 93 *l.* *Item,* For thair Fyir, " Buttir, Candill, Spice and Lentron Meat, 12 *l.* *Item,* For Braid and Drink, " ilk ane of thame haiffand in the Zeir 19 b. 1 f. 2 p. extending in the haill to " 16 c. 15 b. 1 p." And among other Deductions is, " 40 *l.* to Mr. *Johne* " *Ferrarius* for his Penſioun quhilk he hes under the commoun Seill of the " Place for his Lyftyme zeirlie."

Priory of Leſmahago, *in* Clidſdale.

Beſides what is ſaid of this Priory in the Abbay of *Kelſo,* there is in *A* a very diſtinct Rental of its Revenue drawn up in the Year 1556 in the *Latin* Tongue, extending to, Money, 1214 *l.* 4 *s.* 6 *d.* Bear, 15 c. 8 b. 1 f. 2 p. Meal, 41 c. 8 b. 3 f. Oats, 4 c. 3 b.

Tyronenſian Abbay of Lindores, *in* Fife.

A. Money, 2240 *l.* 14 *s.* 4 *d.* Wheat, 11 c. 12 b. 3 f. 3 p. Bear and Malt, 40 c. 7 b. 1 f. Meal, 49 c. 5 b. 3 f. Oats, 2 c. 7 b. " Omittit " Graſſumes, Entrey-ſilver, Zairds, Fiſcheingis, Capons, Poultrey, Caynes, " Cuſtomes, Martis, Carriages, and uther Dewties."

Auguſtinian Priory of St. Mary Iſle, *in* Galloway.

Money, 307 *l.* 11 *s.* 4 *d.*

Ciſtertian Abbay of Melroſs, *in* Teviotdale.

C. Money, 1144 *l.* 15 *s.* 4 *d.* Wheat, 19 c. 9 b. Bear, 77 c. 3 b. Meal, 14 c. Oats, 47 c. 1 b. 2 f. Butter, 105 ſt. Salt, 8 c. *S* in ſome Years agrees, and in other Years diſagrees from *C.* And it adds, Cane-fowls, called alſo Muir-fowls, n. 376. Capons, n. 24. Peats, 340 Load. *A.* Money, 1758 *l.* Wheat, 13 c. 9 b. Bear, 56 c. 5 b. 1 f. Meal, 78 c. 13 b. 1 f. Oats, 43 c. 10 b. Capons, n. 104. Poultry, n. 520. Butter, 105 ſt. Salt, 8 c. Peats, 340 Load. 500 Carriages. With this *S* ſometimes agrees.

Out of this Rent Aſſignation is made to eleven Monks and three Portioners, of 20 Merks to each. *Item,* Wheat, 4 b. Bear, 1 c. Meal, 2 c. to the Monks; and the Meaſures are ſaid to be Country-mett. *N. B.* This Country to this Day uſes a Meaſure different from the reſt of the Kingdom.

In the Books of *A* and *S* there is a particular Rental of the Penſion of *Melroſs.* Money, 1060 *l.*

Auguſtinian Priory of Monimuſk, *in* Aberdeen-ſhire.

A and *C.* Money, 400 *l.* *S.* 384 *l.*

Ciſtercian Abbay of New-Abbay *or* Sweet-heart, *in* Galloway.

Money, 682 *l.*

Ciſtercian Abbay of Newbottle, *in* Mid-Lothian.

C and *S.* Money, 1334 *l.* Wheat, 15 b. Bear, 15 b. Oats, 5 c. 10 b. *A.* Money, 1413 *l.* 1 *s.* 2 *d.* but the Victual is *in cumulo* 120 Bolls. And yet there is added after; Wheat, 6 c. 3 b. Bear, 3 c. 5 b. 2 p. White Oats, 15 c. 10 b. 2 f. This Rental given up by *Mark* Commendator thereof; and among other Deburſements is 240 *l.* to Six aged, decrepit, and recanted Monks.

Ciſtercian Abbay [a Nunry] *of* Northberwick, *in* Mid-Lothian.

A and *C.* Money, 556 *l.* 17 *s.* 8 *d.* Wheat, 9 c. 12 b. Bear, 19 c. 4 b. Oats, 14 c. 4 b. *A.* Peaſe and Beans, 3 c. *C.* 9 b. *A.* Salmon, 6 B. *C.* 1 L. 9 B. ditto. *A.* Malt, 1 b. 3 f. 3 p. Oxen and Cows, n. 11. *S.* 18 Oxen, 13 Cows. In this Convent are eleven Nuns, to each of whom is aſſigned 20 *l.*

Cluniac Abbay of Paiſley, *in the Shire of* Renfrew.

Money, 2468 *l.* Bear, 40 c. 12 b. Meal, 72 c. 3 b. 3 f. 1½ p. Oats, 43 c. 1 b. 1 f. 1 p. Cheeſe, 705 ſt.

Miniſtry of Peebles.

Money, 323 *l.* 13 *s.* 4 *d.*

Auguſtinian Priory of Pittenweem, *in* Fife.

Money, 412 *l.* 12 *s.* 6 *d.* Wheat, 4 c. 5 b. Bear, 7 c. 2 b. Meal, 4 c. 12 b. 2 f. 1½ p. Oats, 7 c. 2 b. 1 f. 3½ p. Peaſe, 1 c. 11 b. Salt, 24 c.

Reformed Ciſtercian Priory of Pluſcardy, *in* Murray.

C. Money, 525 *l.* 10 *s.* 1½ *d.* Wheat, 1 c. 1 b. 2 f. Bear, 51 c. 4 b. 3 f. Salmon, 30 L. *A* agrees in Money and Salmon. Wheat, 1 c. 1 b. 2 f. Dry Multures, 9 c. 11 b. Victual, Malt, Meal and Bear, 51 c. 4 b. 3 f. 1 p. Oats, 5 c. 13 b.

This Rental, ſign'd by the *Oeconomus* in 1561, has among other Deductions, To the Suſtentatioun of fyve Monkis, ilk ane of thame in Kething and Habit-ſilver, 16 *l.* and to ilk ane of thame in Victual, 1 c. 5 b. And *Note*, The Wages to the Maſter-Cook, Porter, Baker, Gardener and Malt-maker, is 14 Bolls to each. Graſſums, Cains, Cuſtoms, Poultry, Capons, *&c.* omitted.

Auguſtinian Priory of Portmoak, *in the Shire of* Kinroſs.

Money, 111 *l.* 13 *s.* 4 *d.* Bear, 1 c. 12 b. Oats, 4 c. 8 b.

Auguſtinian Priory of Reſtennet, *in* Angus. See it in *Jedburgh.*

Ciſtercian Abbay of Saulſeat, [*i.e.* Sedes animarum] *in* Galloway.

C. Money, 253 *l.* 6 *s* 7½ *d.* and adds no more. Nor is there any thing of this Abbay in *A.* But *S* gives the Rental thus; Money, 333 *l.* 6 *s.* 7 *d.* Bear, 7 c. 8 b. Meal, 13 c. 4 b. 2 f. Oats, 6 c. Capons, 13 d. Wax, 1 Pd.

Auguſtinian Abbay of Scone, *in* Perth-ſhire.

Money, 1140 *l.* 6 *s.* 6 *d.* Wheat, 16 c. 2 f. Bear, 73 c. 13 b. 2 f. 2 p. Meal, 62 c. Oats, 18 c. 3 b. Salmon, 1 L. Of this Rent *A* ſays, there is aſſigned to the Convent conſiſting of eighteen Perſons, the Prior having double Allowance; Money, 352 *l.* 3 *s.* 4 *d.* Wheat, 6 c. 12 b. Meal, 7 c. 1 b. 3 f. Bear, 22 c. 12 b. 2 f.

Miniſtry of Scotland-well, *in* Kinroſs.

Money, 102 *l.* Bear, 2 c. 11 b. Meal, 5 c. 11 b. 3 f. 3½ p.

Priory [a Nunry] *of* Siens *(a)*, *beſide* Edinburgh.

Money, 219 *l.* 6 *s.* 8 *d.* Wheat, 8 b. Bear, 6 b. Salmon, 1 B.

Auguſtinian Priory of Strathfillan, *in* Perth-ſhire.

Money, 40 *l.* This from *C. Anno* 1575.

Premonſtratenſian Abbay of Tungland.

I find no Rental of this Abbay ſeparate from the Biſhoprick of *Galloway*; which ſee.

Premonſtratenſian Priory of Whitern, *in* Galloway.

C. Money, 1016 *l.* 3 *s.* 4½ *d.* Bear, 15 c. 14 b. 2 f. 3½ p. Meal, 51 c. 15 b. 1 f. 3½ p. *S.* Money, 1159 *l.* 3 *s.* 4 *d.* Bear, 16 c. 6 b. 3 f. Meal, 53 c. 9 b. 2 f.

(a) So denominated from St. *Katharine* of *Sienna* in *Italy*, for whom theſe Nuns had a particular Veneration.

Having thus laid before the Readers theſe foregoing Rentals, they may likewiſe know that by the Collector's Books it appears that the whole Money ariſing from the Thirds of theſe, and all the other Benefices of the Kingdom for the firſt Year, amounted to (*Reſts* included) 49,956 *l.* 18 *s.* The Wheat to 123 c. 2 f. 1⅔ p. The Bear to 689 c. 11 b. ⅓ p. The Meal to 551 c. 4 b. 2 f. ½ p. Malt, 10 c. 10 b. 1 f. 1⅓ p. Oats, 314 c. 2 b. 2 f. ⅓ p. Victual called Coſt in *Orkney*, 26 Laſt, 7 Meil, 1 Setting, 7 Mark. Other Victual in *Orkney*, 7 c. 8 b. Peaſe and Beans, 5 c. 4 b. 1 f. 1⅓ p. (The Amounts of the other Payments are ſo clear, that they need not be here inſerted.) And it appears alſo by the ſame Books, that the total Sum of Money, Victual, and all other Payments whatſoever, converted into Money, for that ſingle Year, amounted to 72,491 *l.* 13 *s.* 3½ *d.* *(a)*. And now it may be reaſonably expected I ſhould alſo afford ſome Satisfaction as to the *Manner* and *Vſes* to which this large Sum was employed. And firſt, as to the Manner; the ſame was all diſpoſed of by Warrants ſubſcribed by the Queen. Next, as to the Uſes; I perceive by the ſame Books ſtill, that the Superintendents, Miniſters, Exhorters and Readers throughout the Kingdom, received 24,231 *l.* 17 *s.* 7 *d.* beſides theſe following ſeparate Articles to four Superintendents and to *John Knox*, *viz.* To the Superintendent of *Angus (b)* and *Mearns*; Of Wheat, 5 c. Bear, 10 c. Meal, 0. Oats, 0. To the Superintendent of *Fife*; Wheat, 2 c. Bear, 5 c. Meal, 2 c. Oats, 3 c. To the Superintendent of *Lothian*; Wheat, 2 c. Bear, 4 c. 5 b. Meal, 1 c. Oats, 3 c. 8 b. 2 f. 2 p. To the Superintendent of the *Weſt*; Wheat, 2 c. Bear, 5 c. Meal, 3 c. Oats, 3 c. 8 b. To *John Knox* Miniſter *(c)*; Wheat, 2 c. Bear, 6 c. Meal, 0. Oats, 4 c. But I can find nothing at all marked to *John Kerſwell* Superintendent of *Argile* and the *Iſles*; perhaps becauſe no *Thirds* were hitherto given up, nor received from theſe Bounds. Only among the other Deburſements of Money made by the Collector, I ſee 26 *l.* 13 *s.* 4 *d.* given to Mr. *John Kerſwell* Prebend of the Chapel Royal of *Stirling*; and this is the firſt Time I have found any thing concerning this Man.

In the Article of Victual given to the Superintendents, there is likewiſe of Bear, 2 c. 5 b. 1 f. and of Meal, 2 c. 8 b. 1 f. 1⅓ p. marked to *Alexander* Biſhop of *Galloway*; and in the Article of Money, where he gets the Remittance of his own Thirds, he is ſtiled *Biſhop of Galloway*, *Commendator of Tungland*, and *Overſeer* there.

Another Article of Diſcharge to the Collector is, 1018 *l.* given by the Queen to ſo many Friars; and 754 *l.* 3 *s.* 11 *d.* given to a certain Number of Nuns: And the Names of all the Friars and Nuns are ſet down.

But the grand Gulph that ſwallowed up the whole Extent of the *Thirds*, were Penſions given *gratis* by the Queen to thoſe about the Court; and Remittances of their *Thirds* to ſeveral Biſhops, Abbots, Priors, *&c.* of which laſt the Earl of *Murray* was always ſure to obtain the Thirds of his Priories of St. *Andrew's* and *Pittenweem*. The Earl of *Argile* likewiſe comes in for a good large Share, and the Lord *Erskine* for no leſs; and, if I miſtake it not, the Penſionaries both of Church and State, were moſtly ſuch as followed the new Form of Religion.

This was the *Manner* and theſe the *Vſes* to which the Monies ariſing from this new Fund were employed; and ſo far was the Queen or the State from reaping any Benefit therefrom, that in all the many Articles of Deburſement made by the Collector, I could hardly perceive any one political Article, except 9000 *l.* for Payment of the Queen's Guard, and 303 *l.* 13 *s.* 8 *d.* for Pallieſſes to ditto. I almoſt perſwade my ſelf that it ſhall not be taken in bad part; that I ſet down this other ſingle Deburſement, *viz.* "150 Franks, in *Scots* Money 75 *l.* to "*David Riccio* Valet of the Chamber."

Follows

(*a*) Several ſmall Benefices had been omitted at firſt to be given in; the Sum whereof in the Year 1578, by the ſame Books, extended to 1389 *l.* 10 *s.*

(*b*) In all the Books of Aſſignation, which are pretty regular after the Year 1573, I can obſerve no Stipend marked to any of the Superintendents, except to this one, which amounts to 786 *l.* paid partly in Money, partly in Wheat, Bear and Meal.

(*c*) In C, for the Year 1568, I ſee 333 *l.* 6 *s.* 8 *d.* given to Mr. *Knox*.

Follows here the Price in Money of the greateſt Part of thoſe Things which compoſe the Rents of the Nation, by means whereof we can enter into the full Knowledge of the true Value of the foregoing Rentals.

In the Beginning of the Book of *Aſſignations* for the Year 1573, are inſerted the following Prices of Victual, *viz.*

In *Cathneſs*, the Victual 20 Merks the Chalder. *Roſs*, 16 *l.* the Chalder. *Murray*, alſmekill. *Aberdene*, 16 *l.* the Chalder. *Angus* and *Mearns*, Wheat, 24 *l.* the Chalder; Bear, 20 *l.* the Chalder; Meal, 20 Merks the Chalder. *Stratherne*, alſmekill as *Angus* and *Mearns*. *Fyfe*, Wheat, 26 *l.* 13 *s.* 4 *d.* the Chalder; Bear, 21 *l.* 6 *s.* 8 *d.* the Chalder; Meal, 16 *l.* the Chalder; Oats, 20 Merks the Chalder. *Lothian* alſmekill as in *Fyfe*. *Merſe* and *Teviotdale* alſmekill, with *Lothian* Mett. *Nithiſdale*, 16 *l.* the Chalder, with *Lothian* Mett. *Galloway*, 16 *l.* the Chalder, with the ſame Mett. *Kyle*, *Carrict* and *Cunninghame*, 20 *l.* the Chalder of Victual. *Cliddiſdail*, *Renfrew* and *Lenox*, 20 *l.* the Chalder of Victual. *Stirline-ſhire*, 20 *l.* the Chalder of Victual. *Orkney*, the Laſt of Coſt, 20 Merks; Barrel of Butter, 8 *l.* Barrel of Oyl, 5 *l.* 6 *s.* 8 *d.*

In the Book of *Aſſumptions* theſe Prices are found ſcattered up and down, *viz.* Bear and Meal, 10 *s.* the Boll; Oats, 5 *s.* the Boll; Salmon, 4 *l.* the Barrel; Mairts, 1 *l.* 10 *s.* the Piece; Wedders, 5 *s.* the Piece; Poultry, 4 *s.* the Dozen; Capons, 8 *s.* the Dozen; Swine from 7 to 10 *s.* the Piece; Geeſe, 1 *s.* the Piece.

In the Collector's Books the converted Prices are thus ſet down, *viz.* Wheat, 1 *l.* the Boll; Bear, 1 *l.* 13 *s.* 4 *d.* the Boll; Meal, 1 *l.* 13 *s.* 4 *d.* the Boll; Malt, 2 *l.* the Boll; Rye, 2 *l.* the Boll; Peaſe and Beans, 2 *l.* the Boll; Oats, 10 *s.* the Boll. Coſt of *Orkney*, 5 *l.* the Laſt; Victual of *Orkney*, 1 *l.* 5 *s.* the Boll; Butter, 18 *l.* the Laſt; Oyl, 1 *l.* the Barrel; Fleſh of *Orkney*, 3 *l.* the Laſt. Mairts of *Aberdeen*, 2 *l.* 13 *s.* 4 *d.* the Piece; Ditto of *Beauly*, 2 *l.* the Piece; Ditto of *Orkney*, 1 *l.* 6 *s.* 8 *d.* the Piece. Mutton of *Aberdeen*, 9 *s.* the Piece; Ditto of *Kinloſs*, 6 *s.* the Piece. Capons of *Aberdeen*, 12 *s.* the Dozen; Ditto of *Kinloſs*, 10 *s.* the Dozen. Swine of *Aberdeen*, 1 *l.* the Piece; Kids, 1 *s.* the Piece; Poultry, 4 *s.* the Dozen; Geeſe, 1 *s.* the Piece; Muirfowls, 4 *s.* the Dozen; Cheeſe, 6 *s.* 8 *d.* the Stone.

As by theſe foregoing Prices it will evidently appear that the Victual is now riſen about five times higher than it was formerly, and that all other Eatables are riſen far above Victual in this preſent Time by what they were formerly in compariſon of Victual; ſo alſo will the difference of Proportion be readily diſcerned between Silver and the Neceſſaries of Life in that Time, and the ſame Silver and Neceſſaries of Life now in this Time. *Silver*, if conſidered by its arbitrary and extrinſick Value, that is, by its Denomination of Pounds, Shilling and Pence, has formerly been ſeven times at the leaſt more valuable in the general than it is now a-days; becauſe one Pound, Shilling, or Peny, would purchaſe ſeven times the Quantity of the Neceſſaries of Life (*a*) (Victual and other Eatables being mixed together) than it can do *now*. But if Silver be conſidered by its fixed intrinſick Value, *i. e.* by its Weight in Pounds, Ounces and Drops, it would only purchaſe about three times and a half more the Quantity of Eatables than it does *now*, by reaſon that the Denomination or the extrinſick Value of Silver is now become double of what it was *then*; ſo that one Ounce of Silver yields *now* with us three Pounds of Denomination, whereas in that Time it yielded only one Pound ten Shillings: And we find, that as the Denomination or extrinſick Value of Money came gradually to be raiſed, the Prices of Victual and all Eatables did gradually increaſe likewiſe, tho' indeed *theſe* with a greater Proportion, by reaſon, I ſuppoſe, of the greater Quantity or Plenty of Silver in all Parts of *Europe* from the Silver and Golden Mines of *America*. Thus in the Year 1587, Silver is at 40 *s.* or 2 *l.* *per* Ounce, and

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(*a*) There is one Article in the Collector's Diſcharge which ſomewhat ſurprized me, *viz.* "To *Johne de Spynaceo*, Frenchman, "40 *l.* to buy a Horſe." It would ſeem that either Horſes have been very dear in this Kingdom at that Time, or this muſt have been a finer Horſe than might be ſuppoſed neceſſary for ſuch a Perſon.

Victual at 32 *l. per* Chalder. *Vid. Ja.* 6. *Parl.* 11. *c.* 52. Upon the whole Matter, this much ſeems to be certain, that for all domeſtick Uſes, one hundred Pounds of the Money of the Time we are now treating of, was, at a moderate Computation, as valuable in all Points as ſeven hundred Pounds are now-a days, becauſe the one did purchaſe as many Neceſſaries *then*, as the other will do *now*.

Before I leave this Subject of the *Thirds* of the Benefices, I'll take the Freedom to ſuggeſt a Scruple which ariſes to me from this following Record of Privy Council; and it is this, *viz.* Whether the Queen's Collectors of the *Thirds* did not lift the entire Rents of the Benefices, and thereafter deliver to the beneficed Perſons the two remaining Parts? Beſides the Suggeſtion of this Scruple, (which however I will not pretend to ſay is ſufficiently juſtified) this Record will likewiſe plainly diſcover the bad Treatment which ſome, at leaſt of the beneficed Men, (ſuch probably who were moſt averſe to the new Form) received from the Comptroller and Collectors of their Rents. And the other Record which I here alſo ſubjoin, will in like manner diſcover the ſame ſort of Treatment which the poor Monks, *&c.* have received from thoſe Abbots who complied with the new Model.

Apud Edinburgh 14. *Decembris, Anno* 1563.

SEDERUNT *Jacobus Moraviæ Comes, Jacobus Comes de Mortoun, Willielmus Maraſcalle Comes, Johannes Dominus Erskin, Patricius Dominus Ruthven, Theſaurarius, Secretarius, Clericus Regiſtri, Clericus Juſticiariæ.*

ANent the Petitioun and Clame gevin in befoir the Quenis Majeſtie and Lordis of hir ſecreit Counſale be Dene *Adame Forman*, ſumtyme Priour of the *Charterhous* beſyde *Perth*, aganis *Johne Wiſchart* of *Pittarro* Knicht, Comptrollar to oure Soverane Lady, makand mentioun, That howbeit hir Hienes had commandit oft and ſindrie tymes hir ſaid Comptrollar to anſwer the ſaid Dene *Adame* of the Frutes of the ſaid Place, the Thrid thairof firſt tane up to hir Graces Behalf, with ane Penſioun to *Adame Stewart*: And laſt of all, be Deliverance and Advyis of the ſaids Lordis of Counſale, berand in effect, That the ſaid Comptrollar ſuld tak ſik Ordour with the ſaid Dene *Adame*, that hir Hienes ſuld heir na forther Complaint. Nochttheles hir Graces Command and Ordinance forſaid is on nawayis obeyit, nocht only to the ſaid Dene *Adamis* greit Hurt, bot als of the puir, agit and ſeik Men, Brether of the ſaid Place, and ar drevin to ſik extreme Povirtie and Indigence, throw lak of the Obedience to the ſaids Commandis and Ordinances, quhilk the ſaid Priour knew and ſchew wes to be, albeit the Quenis Grace wald nocht beleif, quhill the Deid ſelf preſentlie previs, that howbeit ſum Credite thai had afoir this amangis godly and peaceable Perſones, quha of reuthfull Compaſſioun wes helplie unto thame, lippynand*, as Reaſone cravis, for Recompence and Payment, quhilk cannocht be maid ſa lang as this Inobedience is unremedit, with this thair Credite is faſtlie tynt: And albeit the ſaid Comptrollar allege, that it is nocht gottin fra the Tennentis; his Indiſcretioun (gif it durſt be ſayd) is to be blamit thairof, quha nocht only in ane Part to hurt the ſaid Priour, in ane uther Part alſweill to hurt utheris, is to ſatisfie his indiſcrete Appetite, throw ſik Cullor, ſylis the Quenis Grace *ſimpliciter*, and oppreſſis hir Hienes puir Liegis; for he and his Factouris nocht only refuſe to tak the Vittalis in dew tyme, and quhen thai wer in Place, and mycht and wald haif bene payit, and wer offerit to pay; bot als burdingis thame with exorbitant Prices *(a)*, as at mair lenth is contenit in the ſaid Supplicatioun.

* i. e. *looking for.*

This Buſineſs is continued in ſeveral Diets of Privy Council, until at laſt we ſee no more of it; and ſo it appears to have been altogether dropt.

The

(*a*) How exorbitant ſoever the Prices might be which the Comptroller made the Tenants pay to him; yet 'tis very obvious, by the converted Prices juſt now ſet down, that he and the Collectors have made the Excreaſe become a Perquiſite of their own, ſeeing the Prices they gave up in their *Charge* are far from being exorbitant; nor has the Queen reaped any Advantage thereby.

The other Record is this;

Apud Edinburgh 18. *Januarij*, *Anno* 1562-3.

SEDERUNT *Jacobus Dux de Chatellarault*, *Jacobus Comes de Mortoun Cancellarius*, *Willielmus Maitland de Lethingtoun junior Secretarius*, *Johannes Wiſchart de Pittarro miles Rotulator*, *Johannes Bellenden de Auchnoule Miles Clericus Juſticiariæ.*

ANent the Supplicatioun gevin in to the Quenis Majeſtie be *Johne Harvy*, *Thomas Guld*, *Adame Scot* and *George Simſoun*, aganis *Mark* Commendatar of the Abbay of *Newbottill*, makand mentioun, That he put thame fra thair Levingis thir thre Zeris bigane, and he hes intromettit and intromettis with the hale Frutis of the ſaid Abbey, and ſenſyne wald nevir gif thame worth ane Penny to leif on; and in the mene tyme thai haif ſpendit all that thai had, and is awand mekill in the Cuntrie that thai tuke in thair extreme Povirtie and Neceſſitie, to thair Suſtentatioun, and dailie moleſtit and cravit therefore, as at mair lenth is contenit in the ſaid Supplicatioun. And anent the Charge gevin to the ſaid Commendatar to compeir befoir the Quenis Grace and Lordis of hir ſecreit Counſale, at ane certane Day bigane, to anſwer to the ſaid Complaint: The ſaid Commendatar being perſonalie preſent, and the ſaids *Johne*, *Thomas*, *Adame* and *George*, ſiklike being perſonalie preſent; The Lordis of ſecreit Counſale decernis and ordanis the ſaid Commendatar to content, pay and thankfullie deliver to ilk ane of the Perſonis above writtin the Soum of twentie Pundis Money of *Scotland*, betwix this and the ſecund Day of *Februar* nixt tocum, and that in Contentatioun and full Satisfactioun to thame of thair Suſtentatioun, Leving and Furneſching of all Zeris and Tymes bigane befoir the Dait heirof, reſtand, awand, undeliverit to thame. And ſiclike, decernis and ordanis the ſaid Commendatar to content and pay to ilk ane of thame zeirlie in tyme cuming at twa Termes in the Zeir, *Witſunday* and *Martimes* in Winter, be evin Portionis, the Soum of twentie Pundis, for thair Suſtentatioun, Leving and Furneſching, ay and quhill farthir Ordoure be takin thereintill, and Letteris to be direct heirupoun, gif neid beis.

N. B. This and many other Abbots, by conforming themſelves to the new Model of Religion, had the Intereſt to get their Abbacies transferred to them or erected into temporal Lordſhips; and the other Abbacies were generally either gifted away to ſome great Families, or erected into temporal Titles for them, after the Death of the *preſent* Abbots, or their Forfeiture in the Troubles which enſued upon the Queen's Misfortunes.

When the preceding Liſt of Biſhopricks and Religious Places was working at the Preſs, a learned Gentleman of the Profeſſion of Law deſired I might inſert likewiſe a Liſt of all the Parſonages within the Kingdom, aſſuring me the ſame would be of Uſe in adjuſting the debateable Rights of the modern Titulars, as himſelf had experienced in his Practice. In compliance with this Deſire, I give here a Liſt of them in the ſame Order as they are in the Collectors Books, diſperſed here and there among the other Benefices; and I ſuppoſe the ranking them according to the ſeveral Shires (as they are in theſe Books) will alſo be found to be the more uſeful, both in reſpect that there may be two or three of theſe Parſonages of the ſame Name and Appellation, and likewiſe that the Titulars and Heritors in the ſeveral Shires may more eaſily diſcern where this or that particular Parſonage is ſituated.

Liſt of Parſonages.

In Orkney: *St. Colm* in *Sanday*, *Croſskirk* in *Sanday*, *Weſtray*, *Stanehouſe* Inverneſs: *Aſſint*, *Kildonan*, *Far*, *Spittal*, *Kiltern*, *Urray*, *Logy* in *Roſs-ſhire* *Cannesby* *Kilmure*, *Lymlair*, *Rosken*, *Contan*, *Kincardin* in *Roſs*, *Alveſs*, *Cullycuddin*, *Olrik*, *Dunnet*, *Dingwell*, *Kincardin* in *Strathſpey*, *Kirkmichael*. Murray: *Bonoth*, *Aberlowre* and *Skeirduſtan*, *Abdy* and

Cromdail, *Dipple* and *Ruthven*, *Inverkeithny*, *Rothes*, *Moy*, *Spynie*, *Kinguſſy*, *Londychtie*, *Croy* and *Moy*, *Duthel*, *Petty*, *Vnthank*, *Boleskene*, *Alwy*. Aberdeen *and* Banff: *Aberdowre*, *Towch*, *Tullyneſſil*, *Lonmay*, *Vne*, *Tyrie*, *Ochterleſs*, *Crimond*, *Rayne*, *Tureff*, *Spittal* at *Old Aberdeen*, *Methlick*, *Clat* and *Rynie*, *Kincardin-O-Neil*, *Belhelvy*, *Snaw*, *Invernochty*, *Auckindoir*, *Fetternier*, *Cuſhnie*, *Forglan*, *Murthlack*, *Kinkell*, *Monimusk*. *Rathven*, *Philorth*, *Coddilſtains*, *Cruden*, *Forbes*, *Botarie* and *Elchis*, *Kinnoir* and *Dunbennet*, *Dalmaok*, *Furvy*, [now over-blown with Sand] *Glaſs*, *Eſſy*. Forfar *and* Kincardin: *Kinnell*, *Nava*, *Eccles-John*, *Logy-Montroſe*, *Idvay*, *Lundy*, *Edzel*, *Kilmoir*, *Finevin*, *Invercarity*, *Newdisk*, *Cookſtoun*, *Kirkbuddo*, *Buttergill*, *Cortachy*, *Lethnet*, *Lochley*, *Monyfuith*, *Kinnettles*, *Benholm*, *Fettereſſo*, *Dunnotar*, *Glenbervy*, *Arbuthnot*, *Durris*, *Nig*, *Menmure*, *Tannades*, *Fern*, *Eſſy*, *Dunloppy*, *Fetter-cairn*, *Banchory-Deveny*, *Strathmartin*, *Balumby*. Fife: *Cleiſh*, *Ochterderry*, *Terbat*, *Tory*, *Methill*, *Kirkforther*, *Ballingery*, *Flisk*. Perth: *Abirnyte*, *Comery*, *Glendovan*, *Forteviot*, *Weyme*, *Blair* in *Atholl*, *Strowan*, *Kilmaveynok*, *Lud*, *Culleſs*, *Kinowl*, *Muckarſy*, *Langcardy*, *Lundeiff*, *Creif-Secundo*, *Rattray*, *Abernethy*, *Benvy*, *Monydie*, *Muckert*, *Rannoch*, *Samadoſs*, *Creif-Tertio*, *Aberfoil*, *Tullyellen*. Stirline: *Slamannan-moor*, *Killern*. Lanerk: *Kilbryde*, *Thankertoun*, *Dolfinton*, *Douglas*, *Cambuſlang*, *Dunſyre*, *Carmichael*, *Carnwath*, *Glaſgow*, *Heartſyde*, *Torrence*, *Carſtairs*, *Lamington*, *Cobinton*, *Dalziel*, *Codquen*, *Liberton*, *Crawford-John*, *Cowter*, *Wellſtoun*, *Biggar*, *Glasford*. Renfrew: *Govan*, *Erskin*, *Egleſholme*, *Renfrew*. Dumbarton: *Cardros*, *Inchcalzeoch*, *Luſs*, *Bothernok*, *Campſay*. Air: *Cumnock*, *Air-Tertio*, *Commonel*, *Invertig*, *Terbolton*. Wigtoun: *Wigton*, *Kellis*, *Balmaclellan*, *Dalry*, *Zudeik*, *Staniekirk*, *Kilbride*, *Loncaſter*. Kirkcudbright: *Kirkpatrick-Juxta*, *Partoun*, *Kirkcriſt*. Annandale: *Cumbertrees*, *Mouſwald*, *Huton*, *Hoddom*, *Moffet*, *Wamfray*, *Lochmaben*, *Johnſton*, *Reidkirk*, *Trailtrow*, *Garvel*, *Dalton-Meikle* and *Dalton-Little*, *Annand*. Dumfries: *Durriſdeir*, *Kirkbryde*, *Kirkmichael*, *Sanchar*, *Kirkmacho*, *Rowel*, *Tynwald*, *Kirkpatrick-Iron-Gray*. Berwick: *Dunſe*, *Hiltoun*, *Vpſetlintoun*, *Chirnſyde*, *Whiteſom*, *Cranſchaws*, *Lauder*. Roxburgh: *Bedrewl*, *Welton*, *Askirk*, *Abbotsrule*, *Ancrum*, *Suddoun*, *Merbottle*, *Auldroxburgh*, *Yettane*. Pebles: *Glenquhome*, *Kilbocho*, *Newlands*, *Lyne*, *Skraline*, *Lintoun*, *Kirkurd*. Selkirk: *Minto*, *Hawik*. Linlithgow: *Aldcathie*, *Ecclesmachan*, *Strabrok*. Edinburgh: *Keith*, *Calder*, *Kirknewton*, *Pentland*, *Curry*, *Melvil*, *Reſtalrig*, *Penycook*, *Carington*, *Gogar*. Haddington: *Dunbar*, *Hauch*, *Morham*, *Spot*, *Auldhamſtocks*. There is one other Parſonage, *viz.* *Ardewnan*; but I could not diſcover in what Shire it is ſituated, tho' it ſeems to be in *Perth-ſhire*.

N. B. I omitted to tell that in the Collector's Book there is Mention of the Trinity Friars of *Aberdeen*, whoſe Rental is marked no more but 54 *l.* 1 *s.* 1½ *d.* Thoſe who are verſed in theſe Matters will know, that there is a *Miniſtry* of theſe Friars ſaid to have been at *Aberdeen*; but it would appear the Revenue has been ſo low, that this Title of Dignity has been neglected about this Time.

N°. II. *Act of the General Aſſembly allowing of Mr.* John Craig's *Purgation.*

Edinburgh 6. Julij 1569.

Records of the General Aſſembly.

ANent the Defence given in the Aſſemblie halden in *December* 1567, be Mr. *John Craig* ane of the Miniſters of *Edenburgh*, twitching the proclaming the Queene and the Erle of *Bothwell*: The ſaid Defence beand publictlie read, the haill Pointis thairin containit be the haill Aſſemblie maturelie conſiderit; it was found be the haill Brethren, That he had done the Dewtie of a faithfull Miniſter, and had committit nathing ſclanderous to ſik as hes reichteous Judgement,

ment, in reſpect of the Defence forſaid, whilk was found baith godly and ſufficient for Declaratioune of his Innocencie thairanent, quhilk the haill Aſſemblie declarit and teſtifeit, and ordainit the ſame to be notifeit to all and ſundrie.

No. III. *Act of the General Aſſembly reſtoring the Biſhop of* Orkney.

Edinburgh 10. *Julij* 1568.

Ibid.

TOutching the Biſchop of *Orkneys* Suſpenſione from the Miniſtrie the laſt Aſſemblie, and his Obedience and Submiſſione; The Kirk reſtoris him again to the Miniſtrie of the Word; and als ordains him on ſome *Sunday*, quhen he beſt may, for waiknes of his Body, to mak an Sermoun in the Kirk of *Halieruidhouſe*, and in the End thereof to confeſs his Offence in marieing the Queene with the Erle of *Bothwell*; and deſire the Kirk thair preſent for the time to forgive him his Offence and Sclander given be him in doing the forenamit Act: The quhilk he promiſit to do.

Addition to this *Appendix* of Book III. which may relate to *p.* 501.

Copy of a Letter from Quintin Kennedy *Abbot of* Croſraguel, *To* James Bethune *Archbiſhop of* Glaſgow, *7th* April 1559.

From the Original in the *Scots* College in *Paris*.

MY Lorde, Eſtir all hertlie Commendatioun of Service, I reſavit twa Wryttingis of zour Lordſchip fra this Berir this 7 of *Apryll*; and ſall nocht faill (God willing) to meit zour L. in *Glaſgo* at zour Seynze, accordyng to zour Wrytting. As to the ſecret Purpois quhilk zour L. wryttis to me, I haif herd little or nathing therof as zett, bot ſall labour to gett the Intelligence that I can, and thereſtir adverteis zour L. with Dilligence; therefore referris ferther in this Purpois, till the Tyme I ſpeik zour L. quhilk ſalbe (God willing) as ſaid is. Ferther pleis zour L. to witt, accordyng to zour Wrytting ſent to me with the Priour of the Black Friaris, I paſſit on *Paſch* evin till *Ayr*, and thair remainit aught Dayis. Afoir my cumin, *Willok* had prechit with intolerabill Exclamatiouns, cryand out on the Meſs, perſuadand the haill Peple, that he exponit certane Scripturis allegit be him, truelie conforme to the Jugement of the Doctoris, and allegit thame to be expreſlie agains the Meſs, and the Ydolatrie uſit be it. The Names of the Doctoris quhilk he allegeit, wer thir, *Irenæus*, *Chryſoſtome*, *Hilarius*, *Origene* and *Tertulliane*. Fra hand eſtir that the Mater wes ſchawin to me, I perſavit the Craft of the Knaif, quha belevand to haif gottin na Recountar, allegeit ſic Doctoris, belevand thair Workis had nocht bene in this Cuntre, quhairthrow he mycht apply thame as he pleiſit: It fortunit I had all the Doctoris he allegeit, and diverſe uthers, quha treittis *quod cœna* is *ſacrificium*, ſpeciallie *Irenæus* and *Chryſoſtome*; I perſaivand the Peple abuſit in the Maner, I wes conſtreinzit on my Conſcience to oppone my ſelf to this wickit Lymmaris Hereſie and Doctrine, and nochttheleſs eſtir ane generall Maner, and cauſit my Wryttingis to be maid manifeſt to all the honeſt Men of the Town: Schortlie thair wes diverſe Wryttingis paſt amangs us, ſic as I beleif zour L. hes nocht herd of befoir, of the quhilk zour L. ſall reſave the juſt Copie. For Concluſioun, I draif the Lymmar to that Point, that I conſtreinzit him to refuſe the Interpretatioun of the Doctoris allegeit be him and all utheris, bot ſa far as he thocht thay war agreable with the Worde of God, quhilk wes as gud as rycht nocht. Quhen the Day of Reſſoning come, I cauſit ane Gentilman of this Cuntre (quha is very expert) paſs with ane Notar and Witneſſes to the Houſe quhair our Reſſoning ſould haif beyn, and tak Documentis that I wes reddy to fulfill my Promiſe conforme to my Wryttingis; and that the Reſſoning ceiſſit on his Pairt, in ſa far as he gaif me nevir Anſwir to my Wryttingis, nor zit baid at his Sayingis, as zour L. will

cleirlie perſaif be baith our Wryttingis. Zour L. ſall undirſtand, that quhen the Day of our Reſſoning come (quhilk wes *Sounday* laſt wes) thair convened above four or five hundred to fortifie him: Truelie, my Lord, and I had pleiſſit, I culd haif beyn twyſe als mony; for my Broder Sone, my Lord *Eglinton*, and all thair Friendis and Servandis, wes in reddines as I wald pleiſſe to charge, bot alwyſe I wold nolder ſuffer thameſelfis nor zit thair Servandis to cum; for gif I had done utherwyſe, it had not failzied Cummyr: Thairfoir I wes allutterely cumpanied with religious Men, with ſwa mony Gentilmen as I cauſit bere witnes to the Mater; for I tuke Documentis baith att the Mercat-croce and in the Pariſche-kirke oppinlie, he beand at his Precheing, of the quhilk the Principallis of the Broder wes merveleuſlie miſcontentit. I aſſuyr zour L. my Lord of *Glencarne* did not his Pairt to me, as the Berrar will ſchaw zour L. at lenth. Eſtir my Opinioun, this Cuntre may be eaſilie helpit, quhilk to wryte to zour L. war owr prolixe; thairfoir I referr it to our Meitting, as ſaid is. Nottheles thair is ſum Thingis quhilks wald be preſently done (and that in ane verray ſecreit Maner) as zour L. ſall perſaif on the uther Syde of the Leafe; zit I may wryte un mot * to zour L. quhilk the Laird of *Loffynorys* ſchew me, ſayand, That thair wes diverſe of the new Sect of the Principallis that are in thir Partis, that ſaid till him, that I wes nocht qualifiet to reſſone with *Willok*, becauſe he wes choſen Primat of thair Religioun in this Realme, and I wes bot ane meyne Man in our Eſtait; ſwa that thair wes nane qualifiet to reſſone with him bot my Lord of *Sanct Androis*. Prayand God, gif the haill Actioun wer referrit to thame twa, ſwa thai had competent Jugeis, for my Opinioun. Als zour L. pleis to witt, thair come ane of the Brether to me, within twa Dayes eſtir that I had givin in my Wryttingis aganis *Willokis*, and ſaid, Gif I pleiſſit, *Willok* wold come himſelfe, and ane Boy with him, and ſpeik with me in my awin Chamber; quhilk I alwyſe refuſit. Truelie, my Lord, *Willok* wryte nevir ane Worde to me, bot he hes 20 or 24 landit Men and Gentilmen of his Counſell, and cauſit evir the Wryttingis to be deliverit to me, owther quhen I wes paſſand to my Bed, or to my Supper: Quhairfoir zour L. man tak in Pacience, albeit my Anſweris be not ſwa perfyte as myſter war; for truelie thai war wryttin in gryte Haiſt, bot I held me evir faſt at ane Grounde. I pray zour L. appardone me that I moleſt zou with ſic Tryffils. I am ſwa hamelie with zour L. that I thinke I cannot abuſe zou.

* *a Word.*

It will pleiſe zour L. to commend my hertlie Service to my L. of *Sanct Androis*, and lat his L. knaw ſic Novellis as ar amang us and the Brethir in this Cuntre. I aſſure zour L. the Priour of the Black Friaris in *Ayr*, zour L. Oratour and Servand, did his Pairt as become him to haif done in all ſortis, and that richte manfully: Bot he wes alluterlie diſſobeyit, and culd haif na Entres in the Peroche-kyrke; as I haif wryttin to the Quenis Grace, and als ſent to hir Grace the Copy of *Willokis Colloquium* and myne, ſic as I beleif hir Grace hes not oftymis ſeyne of befoir. Zour L. will nocht beleif ſwa ſatisfiet as money are, that thai refuſe the Jugement of the Doctoris towart the Interpretatioun of the Scripturis; for thai maid the Cuntre till * beleif, that the auld Doctoris war for thame all the way, and wald not beleif me for na Sayingis I culd ſay, ſpeciallie ſome of my awin Friendis, quhill now that it come till this Prief. *Willok* and the reſt of his Counſell labourit earneſtlie to ſie gif I wald admitt the Scripture onlye Juge, and be that meines to haif maid me contrarray to my awin Buke *(a)*; bot thair Labouris wes in waiſt. This referris to the Berrar, prayand God to haif zour L. in his Keiping. Att *Mayboil* the 7 *April* 1559, be

* *to.*

Zour Lordſchipis awin,

CORSRAGUELL.

The

(*a*) He means the Book ſet forth by himſelf, under the Title of, *Ane compendius Tractive*, &c. an Account of which Book immediately is ſubjoined here.

The firſt Wrytting generall.

CORSRAGUELL.

QUhaſumevir will mayntene, byd att, and ſay, that the Meſs is Ydolatrie, I will preiſ him ane Heretick be the expreſs Worde of God; conforme to the Doctryne, Jugement and Underſtandyng of the maiſt anceant and godlie Wryttaris and Doctoris quhilk evir hes bene ſen the Tyme of *Jeſus Chriſt* unto thir Dayis; and is contentit that he (quhatſumevir he be) cheis twelf, ſic as he thinkis gude, to be Auditoris, (quhilkis are Men of reſonable Jugement and Underſtanding;) and I uther twelf, providand that I be advertiſt 24 Houris afoir hand, that I may bring all the Doctoris and auld Wryttaris that I may gett, to the effect that every Manis Allegeance may be ſeyng: And failzeing I do the ſamyn, God willing (as ſaid is) I oblyſs my ſelf be this my Subſcriptioun, to to be puniſt as ane Heretick. Att *Ayr* the 26 Day of *Marche* 1559.

WILLOK.

PRovockit be this Wrytting, I anſwer this for the preſent tyme; Quhaſumevir affirmes that he is habill to preiſ the Papis Meſs to be the Supper of the Lorde, or Inſtitutioun of *Jeſus Chriſt* our Lorde, be the Worde of God, affirmis that Thyng quhilk he ſall not be hable to preiſ thereby; for I do affirme it to be nane of bayth, bot playn Ydolatrie and vayn Superſtitioun: And I am contentit to admitt the Conditioun expreſſit within the Wrytting deliverit to me; the Tyme and Place beand appoyntit (openlie) be the Noble and Gentlemen of the Schyr, quha (as I underſtand) will be in this Town ſchortly, att quhais comeing Advertyſement ſall be maid of the Day and Company, with the Names of ſic Perſonis as is requyrit; aggreand to the Number conteinit in the ſaid Wrytting. Att *Ayr* the 27 Day of *Marche* 1559.

Willok *eſtir langer Advyſement.*

THeſe may be to advertyſe zou, that the Daye whiche wee have thought gude for Diſputatioun is *Sounday* nixt to cum, at ten Houris of the Clok afoir Noon, in Sanct *Johns* Kirk of *Ayr*, oppinlye; becauſe I do teache my Doctryne oppinlye befoir the Pepil thair. The Auditoris, my Lord of *Glencarne*, my Lord *Boyde*, my Lord *Vchiltre*; the Sherriff of *Ayr*, the Laird of *Craigy*, the Laird of *Ceſnok*, the Laird of *Bar*, the Laird of *Carnell*, the Laird of *Keris*, the Laird of *Rowallan*, the Laird of *Blantyre*, the Laird of *Dregarne*, *Robert Campbell* of *Kinzanecleugh*, the Laird of *Carleton*, the Laird of *Sornebeg*, the Laird of *Kelwode*, twelf of this foirnaimit Perſonis, conforme to zour awin Wrytting daittit at *Ayr* the 26 Day of this inſtant: The Order of Diſputatioun to begin at Godis Worde, as the ſaid Wrytting proportis; deſyring zour Anſwer in lykewiſe agane in Wryte, with the Names of the twelf Perſonis to be ſend quhilkis ze cheis for zour Pairt, to be delyverit to thir honorabyl Berirs. Att *Ayr* the 29 Day of *Marche* 1559.

CORSRAGUELL.

MY Anſwir to ane Wrytting of *John Willok*, deliverit to me in the Gray Friaris Kirk of *Ayr* the 29 Day of *Marche* inſtant, by the Laird of *Keris*, is this; I am content on *Sounday* nixt to cum afoire None att ten Houris of the Knoke, to cum till ony Lugene within the Town of *Ayr*, and bring with me twelf reſonable and honeſt Men to be Auditoris for my Pairt, he bringand twelf ſicklike; providand always that there be na ma bot 24 Perſonis allannerlie for baith the Sydes, nolder in the Houſe where wee reſſone, nor zit on the Back-ſtairs, Loftis nor Back-dooris, becauſe this ſamyne Numer is ſufficient to be Auditoris; for I deſyre nolder Tumultuatioun, Cummyr nor Stryfe, bot only the juſt Tryal of Goddis Worde, in ſic maner as may be to the Glore of God and Quietneſs of the Congregatioun: And in this maner foirſaid, I oblyſs

my ſelf be this my Hand-wryte, with the Grace of God, to preif him ane Heretyke be Goddis Worde, conforme to the Doctryne, Jugement and Underſtandyng of the maiſt anceant and godlie Wryttaris and Doctoris quhilkis evir hes bin ſyn the Tyme of *Jeſus Chriſt* untill thir Dayes, gif he will ſaye and byd att that the Meſs is Ydolatrie; and I am content to begyn at Goddis Worde to preif the ſamyne. Att *Ayr* the penult Day of *Marche*, the Zeir of God 1559.

WILLOK.

GIf this uther Wrytting lyke zou not, becauſe of the deſyred publick Place, I am contentit, according as the Letter deliverit to me offeris, to joyne and conveine in the Laird of *Carnels* Houſe in this Town, having the Nowmer that ze zourſelf deſyre, deſyring zou to proceid in the Diſputatioun, begynnyng with the Worde of God, according to the ſaid Letter, by whiche I am content alſo to be jugeit accordingly; and the ſaid Diſputatioun to be upoun *Sounday* nixt to cum att ten Houris befoir None, att the Place foirſaid appoynetit. Zour Anſwer wee requyer in Wryttinge. At *Ayr* this *Wedneſday* the penult Day of *Marche* 1559.

CORSRAGUELL.

I Have receaved ane Wrytting, to the quhilk I accorde all through, except that in the hynder-end thairof is ane Worde quhilk may give occaſioun of Cavillatioun, ſuperfluous Stryfe and Contentioun, rather than that our Intent ſall take Effect: The Worde is this, Zee deſyre that the Reſſoning begyn att the Worde of God, (of the quhilk I am verray hartilie content;) bot quhair zee deſyre to be jugeit be the Scripture, that is to mak bot ane endleſs Pley; for quhy zee will ſay that the Scripture is for zou, and I in lykwise will ſay it is for me; and appeirandlie wee are not able to have ane competent Juge preſentlie to decerne quhilk of us alleiges the Scripture maiſt truelie, (and I deſyre effectuouſly that thair be na Difference:) Quhairfor the maiſt competent Jugeis quhilkis we can haif preſentlie (in cace we differ for underſtandyng of the Scripture) are the anceant Fatheris and Doctouris, ſic as, *Irenæus*, *Origenes*, *Cypriane*, *Chryſoſtome*, *Damaſcene*, *Gregor-Nazianzene*, *Hilarius*, *Hierome*, *Ambroſe*, *Auguſtine*, *Theophylact* and *Tertullian*, quhais Wryttingis are a thouſand Zeir auld, and of quhome ane greit pairt ſufferit Martyrdome for *Chriſts* ſaike; and but Dout, without Affectioun, ſhaws truelie thair Jugement toward the undirſtanding of Goddis Worde: And on thys maner, quhilk is according to all my Wryttingis, and as I am informit of honeſt Men, was zour awin Deſyre and Allegeance to reſaive the Jugement of the Doctouris towart the true Interpretatioun of the Scripture, ſwa that Frute may be had of our Reſſoning. I am gladly content to keip Day, Tyme, Place, and Nowmer of Perſonis contenit in zour laſt Wrytting: Deſyrand that ze be ſchortlie reſolvit; for this Wrytting, and all the reſt quhilkis I haif wryttin ſen our firſt Commonyng of this Purpois, is but Declaratioun of my firſt Wrytting, quherby I will ſtand, and nolder eik nor pair; becauſe I traiſt it ſall be found be Men of reſſonable Jugement, agreable with Goddis Worde and all Reſſone. *Penultimo Marcij* 1559.

WILLOK.

I Haif receaved twa Letteris this penult Day of *Marche*, the firſt quhairof ſhawed that ze are content with the Place, Tyme and Company, and alſo that ze deſyre the juſt Tryal of Goddis Worde, and that ze are content to begyn the Diſputatioun att the ſamyne; all quhilk I do well admitt and allow. But in the ſecond, it apperis to me that ze think it ſall be ane endleſs Pley to ſtand att the Jugement of the Scripturis, except I ſuld admitt the Jugement of thoſe Doctouris that ze name upoun the ſamyne. This may be thairfoir to geif zou Advertyſment, that my Mynde is and evir was (as it may appeir by my Letteris) to ſtand to the Jugement of Goddis Worde onelie, be whiche all maner of Hereſies muſt be confoundit, as it evir hitherto hath bene: And the Mynde of thoſe and uther Doctouris, I will glaidlie admitt, ſa lang as thai ſpeake not

not contrare thairto; I meyn that I will allow all the Doctouris, ſo far as thair Sayingis and Jugementis aggreis with the ſaid Worde of God, expreſſelie contenit in the holie Scripturis; utherwayis not. Att *Ayr* the Day above wryttin, 1559.

CORSRAGUELL.

THis is my Anſwer ſchortlie to zour third Wryttinge, quhair ze ſaye, that zee are glaid to admitt the Sayingis and Jugementis of the anceant Doctouris, ſa far as thai are not contrary the Worde of God, and aggreis expreſſelie thairwith; and utherwayis nocht. It is as meikle to ſaye, as zee will be Juge to the anceant Doctouris, and decerne upoun thair Jugementis towart the underſtandyng the Scripturis. Truelie in my Conſcience I cannot gif zou that Pre-emynence and Place, but gif † I knew ſome excellent godlie Learning and gude Lyfe in zou mair than all the anceant Doctouris, quhilk as zet is conſeillit fra me. Thairfoir gif ze will be contentit, accordyng to my firſt Wrytting, to ſtand to the Interpretatioun of the Doctouris, reherſit in my uther Anſwer, or ony uther anceant, godlie and approven Doctouris, without Cavillatioun or Exceptioun, (quhenſumevir Queſtion ariſes amang us for underſtanding of the Scripture) quha aſſuredlie wryt nolder for Affectioun of zou nor me, and ſall be found alwyſe agreable with Goddis Worde: I am contentit, accordynge to the reſt of all my Wryttingis, to kepe Tyme, Place and Nowmer of Perſonis afoir mentionit in my uther Wryttingis, utherwyſe the hail Warld may ſe that is but Differrence * that ze deſyre, and not to haif the Mater at ane perfyte Tryall, conſideryng ze haif ſaid in Pulpit planelie, That the anceant Doctouris are alwyſe for zou, as I will preif be honeſt Men: And I am contentit to admitt in ſpecial ſic anceant Doctouris as ze haif allegit alreadie. Forther, that all the noble Gentlemen of this Schyre ſall perfytly knaw how ze go about to circumvene and abuſe thame be zour preching ſpeciallie this Day, quhare ze haif oppynlie cryit out, bot older ‡ Scripture or Doctour, affirmand falſlie and ungodlie, That it is ane falſe Ydoll quhilk is uſit in the Meſs: Gif ze will produce ony approvin anceant Doctour or Wryttar ſen the Tyme of *Jeſus Chriſt*, unto thir Dayes, that ſayes as zee ſaye, or zet find ony Text of Scripture that hes ony maner of appearance for Confirmatioun of zour Doctryne, conforme to the Interpretatioun of the anceant Doctouris or Wryttaris, I quyte zou the haill Cauſe without farther Diſputatioun. Zee may thraw the Scripture as zee pleis contrare the godlie Meining of the ſamyne, and in contrare the Doctryne of the Kirk of God, and all the anceant Fatheris thairof, quhilk hes evir bene famyliar to all Heretykis in all Ages, Zeirs and Tymes. And take thys for finall Concluſion, conforme to my firſt Purpois and Wrytting, quherat I abyd, and evir did, and ſall do. Att *Ayr* the penult Day of *Marche* 1559.

† *unleſs*

* *Delay.*

‡ *without either.*

WILLOK.

I Haif reſſavit zour Wrytting thys laſt of *Marche* at elevin of the Clok befoir None, daitit the penult Day of the ſamyne, quhairin zee interprete my ſaying, that I ſayd I wald admitt the Doctouris ſa far as thai aggre expreſſelie with the Worde of God, utherwyſe nocht; eftir this maner it is, ſaye zou, as meikle as to ſaye, that I will be Juge to the anceant Doctouris, decerne upoun thair Jugementis towart the underſtandyng the Scripturis; quhilk Place and Pre-emynence (zee ſaye) zee will nocht gif me, becaus baith my Lernyng and gude Lyfe are to zou unknawin: Thairfoir ze will me to be contentit, accordyng to zour uther Wrytting, to the Interpretatioun of the Doctouris allannerlie, or elſe the differring of the Cauſe may be (as zou ſaye) juſtlie imputit unto me. This is the Sum of the firſt Pairt of zour Letter. To quhilk I anſwer, The Jugement of the old Authoris as well as new, is and evir hes bene referrit to the godlie Redars: Nether wald the old Authoris be utherwyſe uſit thamſelfis, as it may appeir be St. *Auguſtines* Wordis *ad Hieronymum Epiſtola, Jampridem charitati tuæ*: And be *Hierome ad Letam, De inſtitutione filiæ*; quhairin he wald haif her to be ane Juge to mony of the Doctouris; & *ad Demetriadem*.

And be *Tertullian* in his Buke *de præſcriptionibus hæreticorum*, and be diverſe utheris Places as I can allege be the ſaidis Doctouris, as of *Auguſtyne contra Maximinum*, and upoun the 147 Pſalme, and be *Juſtyne* the Marthyre *contra Marcionem*, and be *Ambroſe, l.* 3. *de virginibus*. All quhilk Doctouris appellis to the Scripturis as thair Juge, and exhortis Men to the ſamyne from thame, ſo as thay ſeek no ferther Credyte bot quhen thay aggre with the Scripturis, as I am be thame well able to preif, ſa as it may appeir I ſeik na unreſſonable Thing; whiche as zou refuſe to lat me haif, ſo muſt I refuſe the ſamyn unto zou, becaus zour Lernyng and gude Lyfe are lykewiſe to me unknawn. Nether do I in ony Point differr the Caus, nor will nocht. Gif ze war Juge, and the Mater nocht zour awin, I wold aſke quhilk of us differreth the Caus, quhether he that promiſeth to prief ane Heretyke be the expreſs Worde of God, and alſo ſayeth he is contentit to beginn his Diſputatioun at the ſamyne, and now falleth to the Interpretatioun of Doctouris; or he quhilk ſeiks the Jugement of his Caus att Goddis Worde only? I ſaye, quhilk of both is the Differrer of the Caus? I nevir ſayd I wold byde be the Doctouris contrare to the Scripture, nether will I ſaye att this preſent: Bot I am contentit to be jugit be the Scripture, truelie underſtand; for I knaw the Holie Goiſt and the Scripture are not contrare one to the uther. To the ſecond Pairt of zour laſt Wrytting, quhairin ze burthen me with Circumventioun, falſe and ungodlie Prechingis: I anſwer, Ze haif ſaid that quhilk ze are not hable to preif; for I proved my Doctryne thair be gude Argumentis, groundit upoun the Scripture, without Colluſioun, for whiche I ſall be alwyſe reddy to anſwer, be Goddis Worde, as well be oppin Diſputatioun as be my Pen. Bot becaus I thinke ze will kepe zour Daye appointit for Reſſonning, and this Mater is that quhilk ze go about to impreif, I will differr the full Anſwer for my Pairt to the Daye of our Reſſoning: Doyng zou to wit, that I haif nocht thrawin the Scripturis, as zou do wryte, contrare to Goddis Menyng. Take thys for my laſt Anſwer, nocht mynding to trouble zou with ony ferther Wrytting unto the Daye of our Reſſoning be paſt. Att *Ayr* the ſaid laſt of *Marche* 1559.

CORSRAGUELL.

I Reſſaved zour Wrytting this Day, quhilk to reherſe were owre prolixt. Schortlie I anſwer to zou, conforme to all my Wryttingis ſent to zou of befoir, That gif ze will ſaye that the Meſs is Ydolatrie, I will preif zou ane Heretyke be Goddis Worde, conforme to the Doctryne and Interpretatioun of auld, godlie, anceant Doctouris and Wryttaris thairupon: And is content to beginn our Reſſoning at Goddis Worde; provydande alwyſe, that gif we differr for the underſtandyng of the ſamyne, that the Declaratioun thairof be referrit to the Doctouris, as ſayd is; and failzeing of thys, I can perſave na Fruit can cum of our Reſſoning, but rather Contentioun and Stryſe. As to the uther Pairt of zour Wrytting, quhair ze ſaye, Ze will ſubmitt zou to the Jugement of the Scripture onlie: Quhat ſaye zee in that pairt bot as *Arrius*, *Macedonius*, *Neſtorius*, and the maiſt deplorit Heretykis quhilks evir wes, ſayd, ay allegeand Scripturis for thame, ſtandand at thair awin Interpretatioun for the ſamyne? Quhairfoir I conclude, the Interpretatioun of the Doctouris are neceſſar to be admittit for us baith, or elſe na Fruit ſall be had of our Reſſoning, as ſayde is: And all thys by my Pretenſe * I haif wryttin, not believand bot ze wald haif biddin att the Jugement of the anceant Doctouris, ſpecialie ſic as zour ſelf in Pulpit did allege. Att *Ayr* the laſt Day of *Marche* 1559. And zour finall Anſwer quhether ze will reſſone conforme to thys Wrytting, or nocht.

* *more than I intended.*

WILLOK.

THeſe are to advertyſe zou, that I will kepe the Daye, the Houre and the Place, with the Nowmer of the Perſonis, God willing, as is appoinctit; cheis zou quhether ze will kepe or nocht. Att *Ayr* the laſt Daye of *Marche* att nyne Houris att Nycht, 1559.

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And be *Tertullian* in his Buke *de præſcriptionibus-hæreticorum*, and be diverſe utheris Places as I can allege be the ſaidis Doctouris, as of *Auguſtyne contra Maximinum*, and upoun the 147 Pſalme, and be *Juſtyne* the Marthyre *contra Marcionem*, and be *Ambroſe*, *l.* 3. *de virginibus*. All quhilk Doctouris appellis to the Scripturis as thair Juge, and exhortis Men to the ſamyne from thame, ſo as thay ſeek no ferther Credyte bot quhen thay aggre with the Scripturis, as I am be thame well able to preif, ſa as it may appeir I ſeik na unreſſonable Thing; whiche as zou refuſe to lat me haif, ſo muſt I refuſe the ſamyn unto zou, becaus zour Lernyng and gude Lyfe are lykewiſe to me unknawn. Nether do I in ony Point differr the Caus, nor will nocht. Gif ze war Juge, and the Mater nocht zour awin, I wold aske quhilk of us differreth the Caus, quhether he that promiſeth to prief ane Heretyke be the expreſs Worde of God, and alſo ſayeth he is contentit to beginn his Diſputatioun at the ſamyne, and now falleth to the Interpretatioun of Doctouris; or he quhilk ſeiks the Jugement of his Caus att Goddis Worde only? I ſaye, quhilk of both is the Differrer of the Caus? I nevir ſayd I wold byde be the Doctouris contrare to the Scripture, nether will I ſaye att this preſent: Bot I am contentit to be jugit be the Scripture, truelie underſtand; for I knaw the Holie Goiſt and the Scripture are not contrare one to the uther. To the ſecond Pairt of zour laſt Wrytting, quhairin ze burthen me with Circumventioun, falſe and ungodlie Prechingis: I anſwer, Ze haif ſaid that quhilk ze are not hable to preif; for I proved my Doctryne thair be gude Argumentis, groundit upoun the Scripture, without Colluſioun, for whiche I ſall be alwyſe reddy to anſwer, be Goddis Worde, as well be oppin Diſputatioun as be my Pen. Bot becaus I thinke ze will kepe zour Daye appointit for Reſſonning, and this Mater is that quhilk ze go about to impreif, I will differr the full Anſwer for my Pairt to the Daye of our Reſſoning: Doyng zou to wit, that I haif nocht thrawin the Scripturis, as zou do wryte, contrare to Goddis Menyng. Take thys for my laſt Anſwer, nocht mynding to trouble zou with ony ferther Wrytting unto the Daye of our Reſſoning be paſt. Att *Ayr* the ſaid laſt of *Marche* 1559.

CORSRAGUELL.

I Reſſaved zour Wrytting this Day, quhilk to reherſe were owre prolixt. Schortlie I anſwer to zou, conforme to all my Wryttingis ſent to zou of befoir, That gif ze will ſaye that the Meſs is Ydolatrie, I will preif zou ane Heretyke be Goddis Worde, conforme to the Doctryne and Interpretatioun of auld, godlie, anceant Doctouris and Wryttaris thairupon: And is content to beginn our Reſſoning at Goddis Worde; provydande alwyſe, that gif we differr for the underſtandyng of the ſamyne, that the Declaratioun thairof be referrit to the Doctouris, as ſayd is; and failzeing of thys, I can perſave na Fruit can cum of our Reſſoning, but rather Contentioun and Stryfe. As to the uther Pairt of zour Wrytting, quhair ze ſaye, Ze will ſubmitt zou to the Jugement of the Scripture onlie: Quhat ſaye zee in that pairt bot as *Arrius*, *Macedonius*, *Neſtorius*, and the maiſt deplorit Heretykis quhilks evir wes, ſayd, ay allegeand Scripturis for thame, ſtandand at thair awin Interpretatioun for the ſamyne? Quhairfoir I conclude, the Interpretatioun of the Doctouris are neceſſar to be admittit for us baith, or elſe na Fruit ſall be had of our Reſſoning, as ſayde is: And all thys by my Pretenſe * I haif wryttin, not believand bot ze wald haif biddin att the Jugement of the anceant Doctouris, ſpecialie ſic as zour ſelf in Pulpit did allege. Att *Ayr* the laſt Day of *Marche* 1559. And zour finall Anſwer quhether ze will reſſone conforme to thys Wrytting, or nocht.

* *more than I intended.*

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Head in the humane Body governs and directs all the other Members of the Body. He maintains, that Eccleſiaſtical Councils have always conſiſted of the moſt devout and beſt learned Men, who have always concurred uniformly in all material Points concerning *Faith, i. e.* Things neceſſary to be known in order to Salvation; but acknowledges, that in Points of *Religion*, that is, as he explains it, in Ceremonies, civil Ordinances, and Laws, they may have appointed ſome Things at ſome certain Times, which the Circumſtances of People have required to be altered afterwards; which, he ſays, is no more than what God himſelf has been pleaſed to do, by the Ceremonies of his own Appointment. And he affirms, that tho' the Lives of the principal Members of the Chriſtian Congregation ſhould be ſuppoſed to be not ſo exemplary as might be wiſhed, yet even in that Caſe GOD will take Care to direct their Deciſions aright. In ſupport of this, he gives the Inſtance of *Cajaphas*'s prophecying, *becauſe he was the high Prieſt*; the Advice of our Saviour to hearken to the Scribes, *becauſe they ſit in* Moſes'*s Chair*; and the Anſwer of the Prieſts to *Herod*'s Queſtion, *Where Chriſt ſhould be born.* And the Author all along interſperſes ſeveral not unprofitable Obſervations, together with ſuch Solutions of the Objections as appeared to him moſt ſatisfactory, as may be ſeen by this following 12th Chapter, which I have taken the Liberty to inſert here at length.

The Tvelft Chapitre.

SEn we have had juſt Occaſioun (conforme to Goddis Worde and all Reſſoun) in the Chapitre abone reherſit, na wayis to have Dout of the Thyng, quhilk hes bene done be the Kirk, in reſpect of thare Lyfe, quha convenit in General Counſalis. Now wyl we cum to the ferde Part of the Argument, quhare Queſtion is, Gyf thair Lawis and Conſtitutionis ar conforme to Goddis Worde or not? For underſtanding of the ſamyn thou ſal conſidder, that thair is twa Extremiteis now ryngand in the Warld. Sum Men ar ſua fer gevin tyl Superſtitioun, that geve ony Man ſpeik ane Worde aganis thair indurit Cuſtum, ze perchance albeit it be lytle or na thyng aggreable with the Worde of God, bot croppin in the Kirk be ane Abuſe rather than be ane Ordour, fra hand thay ſall eſtime that Man ane Heretike. Be the contrar thare is ſum ſua raſche of Jugement, that nocht allanerlie thay wyll cry oute on Abuſe and Superſtitioun, bot miſordourlie wyll thay condempnne al maner of thyng that evir hes bene uſit or appoyntit be the Kirk fra the Begynning. Betwix thir twa Extremiteis geve it pleſit God that the Myddis ſulde cum furth, apperandlie it wer ane gret Eaſe, and ane gret Occaſioun of Quietnes to the hale Congregatioun. To cum to the Myddis (efter my ſobir Jugement) the nerreſt way wer to eſteme firſt the Commande and Lawe of the Lorde (quhilk hes procedit of God allanerlie) abuſe all thing. The ſecunde, to regarde the Conſtitutionis of the Kirk, as Conſtitutionis of Men.

Bot nocht allanerlie as Conſtitutionis of Men, bot as Conſtitutionis procedyng of God mediatlie (as I wald ſay be the wirkyng of God be Man in Authoritie) quhilkis aucht and ſuld be obeyit, nocht allanerlie (as ſayis the Apoſtole) *Rom.* 13. for feare of Man, bot als for feare of God: Nocht in compair of the Worde of God, bot to be regardit as the Commandimentis of the trew Miniſteris, and Organis of Almychtie God ſterit up be the Spirite of God, diſponand every gude chriſtin Man to be the mair able to keip the Law of God. Heir wyl we ſchortlie anſweir to the injuſte Murmur of divers Men ſpekand aganis the Kirk on this maner, ſaying that the Kirk puniſſis Men mair cruellie for Tranſgreſſioun of thair Law (as it wer Hereſie) nor for the Tranſgreſſioun of the Law of God, quhareby it may be perſavit that the Kirk preferris thair Law to the Law of God. For Conſideratioun of this Purpoſe, thou ſall underſtand, that Man is nocht puniſte to the Rigour for Tranſgreſſioun of the Law of the Kirk, bot for Diſſobedience, and the indurit Opinioun quhilk he conſavis thairefter, thynkand that he dois na Offence in doyng of the ſamyn; quhilk but Dout is Hereſie expres aganis the

Worde

Worde of God, as ſayis the Apoſtole, *He that reſyſtis the hiear Power, he reſyſtis unto God, and wirkis the thyng quhilk is his awin Dampnatioun.* Geve ane Man tranſgres the Command of God, he grantis hym ſelf to have done wrang: Bot geve ony Man wald be indurit, ſaying, it wer na Syn to tranſgres the Law of God, trewly he aucht and ſulde be puniſſit as ane Heretike. Sua it is the Opinioun with Pertinacitie, and Induritnes, that makis the Hereſie (quhair upon the Puniſchement followis) and not the Nature of the Deid: For, nocht all Syn is Hereſie, bot all Hereſie is Syn. And to the Effect that thou may perfectlie knaw, that the Kirk na wayis regardis nor eſtimes thair Law, in compair of the Law of God; it is leſum, in tyme of Neceſſitie, to tranſgres the Law of the Kirk without Syn or Puniſchement, quhilk wes never permittit be the Kirk towart the Law of God, for ony maner of Neceſſitie. Sum murmouris, ſaying, that the Kirk offendis, commanding thair Law to be kepit under Paine of deidlie Syn. Trewly albeit the Kirk mak the Law, it is God quha all reddy hes declarit the brekyng thairof, ſyn; nocht be Nature of the Deid for the maiſt part, (as I ſchew the off before) bot be reſſoun of Diſſobedience to the hiear Poweris: Specialie in tranſgreſſioun of ſic Conſtitutionis as gevis occaſioun to Men to be the mair habyll to keip the Commande of God, and is to the Weill of the hale Congregatioun committit to thare Cure, as we reid in divers Partis of the Scripture, creuell Puniſchement following for Diſſobedience, as I ſchew the of before of *Chore, Dathan* and *Abiron.* According to this Purpoſe wrytis the Apoſtole on this maner, *Brether, ſtand ze faſt, and keip the Traditionis quhilkis ze have learnit, older be our precheing, or be our Epiſtole.* Now wyll we returne to our Purpoſe; quhare Conſideratioun is to be had, how the Lawis and Conſtitutionis of the Kirk diſponis all chriſtin Man to be the mair hable to keip the Law of God, and is nocht comparit (conforme to the godlie Menyng of the Kirk) to the Worde of God. As be Exempyll, we wyll compair the Wourde of God to the Wynezarde; and the Commande of the Kirk, and all uther hiear Power, to the Dyik or Cloſure of the Wynezarde: Than ſall thow underſtand, that the Dyik is not ordanit for the ſelf, bot to the effect that the wylde Beiſtis tramp not doun the tender Branchis of the Wyne. Swa the Commandimentis of the Kirk, and all uther hiear Poweris, ar nocht allanerlie ordanit for thame ſelf, bot rather to geve Men occaſioun to be the mair habyl to keip the Commande of God. Thus ar thay in Errour and Extremitie, quha wald perſuade the Ordinance of the Kirk to be tane away; for than ſulde Goddis Wourde be abuſit, as gyff the Cloſure of the Wynezarde be caſtin doun, than ſulde the wylde Beiſtis diſtroye and devore the tender Wyne-branchis. Of this rigorus Jugement (movit perchance on *Zele but Knawlege,* as ſayis the Apoſtole) thair is mony in thir Dayis belevyng tyll awance the Glore of God, quhilkis oppinnis ane plane Port tyll all kynd of Miſordour, incontrar the Commande of God; as but dout, gyff thou wyll tak away the Ordinancis of the hiear Poweris, and Lawis of the Kirk, quhilkis the Tyme hes evir techeit ws; and nocht allanerlie the Lawis, bot tak away the Ceremonyes, with proces of tyme the Peple in the Warld ſulde forzet thair wer ane God. For be the outwart Ceremonyes we ar brocht to the mair perfect Knawlege of God, conforme to the Doctryne of all Men of godlie Learnyng. Treuth it is, geve Men levit conforme to the Law of God, the Law of the Kirk, and all uther Lawis and Ceremonyes, mycht be the better ſparit: As geve thare wer na wylde Beiſtis to trampe doun the Wynezarde, the Dyik wer the les neceſſare. Perchance thow wyll murmour and ſay, that under the Colour of the Conſtitutionis of the Kirk, thair is growin ſic Abuſioun, that Goddis Worde is ſclanderit and abuſit. Albeit that wer trew, it is nocht Cauſe to tak away ane gude Conſtitutioun, for ane wrang Abuſioun; be reſſoun Mennis Maneris ſulde be thrawin * to the Law, the Law ſulde nocht be thrawin to Mennis Maneris. For quhat is mair precius nor is the Law of God? and zit it is daylie brokin and abuſit. Als thow may ſee, that of all Hereſyis quhilkis evir hes bene, for the maiſte parte Men hes tane occaſioun of the Scripture. Nochteles the

Rom. 13.

Numb. 16.

2 *Theſ.* 2.

Act. 15.

Rom. 10.

* *drawn. conformed.*

the Falt wes not in the Scripture, bot in thare awin perverſte Mynd, and laik
of gude Doctryne: As in cais, throw Negligence of the Gardnare, thare enterit
divers wylde Beiſtis in the Zarde, and under the Umbre of the Dyik thay make
thare Dennis and Cavernis, and thairefter cum oute and devore and trampe doun
* *Fault.* the tender Wyne-branchis; the Dyik hes nocht the Wyte *, bot the Gardnare
quhilk wes ſua negligent. This wyll thow conſidder all the Conſtitutionis
quhilkis evir wer maid be the Kirk, havyng Conſidderatioun of the Tyme, and
the Occaſioun quharefore thay wer maid; thow ſall fynd thame aggreabyll with
Goddis Worde. Than ſall thow evir perſave the Falt principalie to be in thame
to quhame it appertenis of thare Vocatioun to be Inſtructaris of the Peple, and
nocht in the Ordinances of the Kirk.

Perchance thou wyll ſay, that thare is ſum Conſtitutionis quhilkis wer tollerabyll
and convenient for the Tyme; and now the Tyme hes wrocht ſua, that
thay ar improffitabyll. Trewlie I thynk that to be verray trew of ſum: Nochtheles
every Man quhilk perſavis the Falt aucht not to be ane Correctare of the
ſamyn, bot ſulde complane to the hiear Poweris; and in cais thay be negligent,
deſyre of God to ſteir up the Hartis of thame to quhame it appertenis of thare
Vocatioun to be Correctaris, and nocht to every private Man to thynke upone
his Zele, that he wyll correct it (quhilk is done be ane Ordour) miſordourlie.
For I dar baldlye ſay, thair ſall mair Inconvenientis follow on all Thingis quhilkis
‡ *without.* ar done by † ane Ordour, nor to thole the Abuſe, to the tyme God provide ane
Remeid be ane Ordour. As be Exempyll, in cais thair be ane part of the Dyik
quhilk is conſumit, and ſervis of not, zit every Man quhilk paſſis by, ſulde not
caſt doun the Place quhilk he thynkis falteis at his Pleſour, bot ſuld (geve his
Zele be godlie) ſchaw to the Gardnare to quhame it appertenis to correct the
Falt. Thus, ſulde chriſtin Men ſeik Reformatioun (and that be ane Ordour)
and nocht plane Diſtructioun and Confuſioun, as Men dois in thir Dayis.

In the 14th Chapter there are likewiſe ſome Things which it may not be impertinent to ſhew the Reader, in the Author's own Words.

The Fourtent Chapitre.

* *Pity.* PErchance ſum zelus Man havynge Pietie * of the pure miſerabyll Pepyll,
wyll ſay, Quhat Wounder is it, albeit the ſimple Peple in thir unhappy
Dayis be abuſit with Errouris, blyndit in Ignorance, drounit in Vice?
† *without.* Is not Hereſie precheit planelie but † Puniſchement be Men cumand but Authoritie?
And thay quha ſulde preche the trew Worde of God, conforme to thair Vocatioun
Eſay 56. and Levyng quhilk thay have thairfore, ar (as ſayis the Propheit) *lyke
dum Doggis, quhilkis can nocht bark*; nolder precheis thair ſelfis, nor cauſis
Precheyng ſufficient to be maid to reſyſte Errouris: Ar nocht thay quha ſulde
gyde the Peple mair ignorante nor the ſimple Peple ſelf? And quhat can cum of
Mat. 15. that, bot, as ſayis our Salveour, *Quhen the blynde ledis the blynde, baith
fallis in the Fowſie?* Ar thay not oppin Sclanderaris of the Congregatioun
(for the maiſt part) quhilkis ſulde be Myrrouris of gude Lyfe? Ar nocht all Eſtatis
Pſal. 52. declynit fra the Way and Wyll of the Lorde? Se we nocht daylie be Experience,
gyf ane Benefice vaick, the gret Men of the Realme wyll have it for temporale
Rewarde (and ſua the Prince is maid to be ſubject to the unreſſonable Deſyre
of thame quha ſulde be Subjectis to thair Prince) or ellis thay wyll ſteir up
Seditioun, be diſſobedient contrar Goddis Command, ſerve as thay think gude,
with perpetuale Grudge and Diſdane? And quhen thay have gottin the Benefice,
gyf thay have ane Brother, or ane Sone, ze ſuppoſe he can nolder ſing nor
ſay, noriſcheit in Vice all his Dayis, fra hand he ſall be montit on ane Mule,
with ane ſyde Gown and ane round Bonett, and than it is queſtioun quhether
Numb. 22. he or his Mule knawis beſt to do his Office. Perchance *Balaames* Aſſe knew
mair nor thay baith; quhat Wounder is it (quhen ſick diſagyſit Perſonages ar
choſin to have *Chriſtis* Flok in gyding) that the ſimpyll Peple be wickit, (as
thay ar in deid) eſtimand Vice to be Virtew, and Virtew to be Vice? And

nocht

nocht allanerlie ſick Men ar croppin in the Kirk be meanis of ſum wickit gret Perſonages: Bot thow maye ſe daylie lykewyſe be Experience, ane Bairne and ane Babe, to quhame ſcarcelie wald thow geve ane fair Apill to keip, gett perchance fyve thouſand Saules to gyde; and all for Avarice, *the Rute of all Vice*, that thair Parentis may gett the Profect of the Benefice to thair awin ſingulare Commoditie, and the pure ſimpyll Bairne ſcarſlie gett to bryng hym up vertuuſlie; the Convent and Place quhare God ſulde be daylie honourit and ſervit, gais clene to rewyne: And zit thay quha ar the Procuraris, Diſponaris and Upſteraris of ſick monſterus Farſſis to be in the Kirk of God, ar the maiſt principall Cryaris out on the Vices of Kirk-men. Geve the Kirk had the auld ancient Libertie (as perchance ſum tyme it had) that ane Byſchop wer frelie choſin be his Chaptire, the Abbot and Prior be the Convent, and of the Convent; than ſulde be qualifeit Men in all the Eſtatis of the Kirk; than ſulde all Hereſeis be ſtemit, and the Peple weill techeit. This wer the Way to cum in att the Dure to be ane Miniſter in the Kirk of God, quhilk our Salviour ſpekis of; quhare now be Tyrannie and Avarice (for the maiſte part) as it wer Thevis or Brygantis, we creip in at Wyndois or Bak-durris. And this (blyndit in Avarice) gret Men trowis to mak up thair Houſis be Abuſioun of the Patrimony and Rentis of the Kirk, quhilk but Dout ſalbe utter Rewyne (albeit it be pleſand for the preſent) to mony gret Houſis, beſydis the gret Perrel and Dainger on the latter Day. ☞ The Day, the Day, the terrible Day ſall cum quhen the unhappy avaricius Man ſall warry * the Tyme that ever he had the Brother, or Sone, to quhame he bure ſic fleſchelie and ungodlie Favour, as to ſteir hym up to be ane Gydare and Rewlar of *Chriſtis* Floke, quhilk culde not gyde himſelf: The malheurius Prince ſall warry the Tyme that evir he wes ſua miſcheantlie ſubject to the unreſſonable Deſyre of his Subjectis: The miſerable Ignorant ſterit up in Authoritie ſall curs the Tyme that evir he tuke on hym the Charge, quhilk wes na wayis convenient for hym. In the mene tyme the pure ſimple Peple ſua deirlie bocht be the Blude and Deith of *Jeſu Chriſt* our Salviour, miſerablie periſcheis: The Kirk is ſclanderit, God is diſhonorit, all Hereſeis, Wickitnes and Vice regnis. As to me, I wyll ſay na thyng; bot humelie beſeik the Lord God tyll illuminat the Hartis of the Magiſtratis (ſpecialie quhilkis hes the Authoritie, to be the Upſteraris of faithfull Miniſteris in the Kirk of God) to provide ſic qualifeit Paſtouris as wyll do conforme to thair Vocatioun, and as may be to the Glore of God, Exoneratioun of thair awin Conſciences, and thairis quha providis thaim to have Authoritie in Government of *Chriſtis* Flok. And als I beſeik the levyng God, that thay quha ar all reddy miniſteris in the Kirk of God (ſpecialie quha occupyis the Place of the Apoſtoles be Office and Authoritie) call to remembrance the ſeveir and rigorus Sentence of the Apoſtole, ſaying, *Wa be unto me and I preche not*; and als the Wordis of the Propheit, ſayand, *Wa be unto zow Paſtores of* Iſraell, *quhilkis feidis zour ſelfis, and nocht my Flok.* Quharethrow the Paſtores doyng thair Dett and Devore to the ſimpyll Peple committit to thair Cure, all Hereſeis, Wickytnes and Vice ſulde be ſuppreſſit, the Kirk unſclanderit, and God honourit, to quhame be Glore for evir.

1 Tim. 6.

John 10.

* lament.

1 Cor. 9.

Ezek. 34.

¶ Here follow two very rare and much noted Pieces, done by Mr. *Ninian Winzet*, [now *Wingate*;] the *Firſt* whereof (containing three Tractates) is indeed ſo exceeding rare to be found, that I am told there is not another Copy of *it* now extant beſides that one from which this is taken. It was printed at *Edinburgh* in the *Black* or *Gothick* Letter the 21ſt *May* 1562; and is the Book which the Magiſtrates of that City ſeized in Mr. *Scot*'s Printing-houſe, when the Author narrowly eſcaped. This Piece is certainly one of the moſt valuable Monuments of the Eccleſiaſtical Affairs in *Scotland* in the XVI. Age; ſo far as it contains and diſcovers the Cauſes and Manner of the Everſion of the ancient Form of Religion in this Kingdom, and treats

the Biſhops and Nobles of that Time with a Freedom which their Unconcernedneſs for the Religion they profeſſed, and their vicious manner of living did juſtly deſerve. This Copy belonged formerly to the Reverend Dr. *John Jameſon*, a Prieſt in the Church of *Rome*, born in the City of *Aberdeen*, a Perſon much eſteemed for his Knowledge in the Antiquities of this Kingdom, by all our learned Countrymen. He died at *Edinburgh* in the Year 1700, and bequeathed theſe Tractates, together with ſome other ancient Pieces, to the *Scots* College in *Paris*, where they are now carefully preſerved. There is not the leaſt Variation made here from the Original; and the Pages of it (being in all 38, on a ſmall *Quarto* or large *Octavo*) are carefully marked here on the Margin as they ſtand in the Original.

Page 1. *Certane Tractatis for Reformatioun of Doctryne and Maneris, ſet furth at the Deſyre and in the Name of the afflictit Catholickis of inferiour Ordour of Clergie and Layit-men in* Scotland; *be* Niniane Winzet *ane Catholicke Preiſt, borne in* Renfrew. *Quhilkis be Name this Leif turnit ſall ſchaw.* Murus aheneus ſana conſcientia. Edinburgi 21. Maij 1562.

p. 2. THe *Firſt*, Ane Exhortatioun to the maiſt excellent and gracius Soverane, *Marie* Quene of *Scottis*, &c. To the Biſchopes and utheris Paſtores, and to all thame of the Nobilitie within this hir Graces Realme; for unfenzeit Reformatioun of Doctryne and Maneris, and for obtening of Licence to propone in Wryt to the Precheouris of the Proteſtantis, certane Artyculis tweching Doctryne, Ordour and Maneris approvin be thame.

The *Secund*, Thre Queſtionis tweching the lauchfull Vocatioun of *Johne Knox*, and his Brether Precheouris, to the Proteſtantis in *Scotlande*; quhilkis ar in noumbre the xxxiii. xxxiv. and xxxv. of the fourſcore thre Queſtionis proponit to thame be the ſaidis Catholickis: Togidder with thre Wryttingis deliverit to the ſaid *Johne*, quhairin is replyit aganis his Anſweris maid to ane Part of the ſaid thre Queſtionis.

The *Thrid*, Ane Declamatioun to the honorable Proveſt, Baillies and Counſell of *Edinburgh*, for the Obſervatioun of the glaid Solemnities of the blyſſit Nativitie, Circumciſioun, Epiphanie, Reſſurrectioun and Aſcenſioun of our Salviour, with the Feiſt of *Witſonday*; haiſtelie maid on *Paſche-Tuiſday Anno* 1562, quhen thare apperit ane daingerous Seditioun in *Edinburgh*, throw calking of the Durris on every Syde; as efter ſall follow.

p. 3. *Dominus mihi adjutor, non timebo quid faciat mihi homo.*

The firſt Tractat to the Quenes Majeſtie, Paſtouris, and Nobilitie.

EFter that we thy Graces humill Subditis, MARIE maiſt excellent and gracius Quene, be our ſmall Jugement hes conſiderit the Stait of this thy Realme, at this preſent, tweching Religioun, (quhairupon the Wellfair thairof is onely groundit) can eſteme it to nathing mair lyke, than to ane Schip in ane dedely Storme, enforſed be contrarius Wyndis, betwix maiſt daingerus ſandy Beddis on the rycht Hand, and terrible Rolkis, preſenting Deth alrady, on the left. Quhilk gydit thir mony Yeris be ſleuthfull Marinaris, and ſleipand Steriſmen (we mein of the Paſtores of the Kirk, and in that Part of thair Promoveris (a)) is evyll craſit on the Schaldis: Quhairat ſum effrayit, and almaiſt deſperat of thair awin and utheris Lyves in the ſamyn Schip, hes pullit the Rudder and Government fra the formare Rewlaris, maiſt unworthy thir mony Yeris of that Name; and, be our Jugement, fleing fra the ſandy Bedis, ſpeidis baith with Airis and erect Sailis, to brek in Splenderis the Schip on the feirfull Rokis. For the quhilk Perril we now mair effrayit, than we and thay wes for the uther, may not contene us for na Feir of Man, ſen the Mater ſtandis in dainger of our Bodeis

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(a) *i. e.* thoſe Noblemen, &c. who procured undeſerving Men to be put into Church-Offices. See Mr. *Quintin Kennedy's* preceding Chapter, where the ſame Matter is excellently touch'd.

Bodeis and Saulis; bot exhort the latter Marinaris, albeit impatient owther of Repreif or Advertiſment, to lat down ane grete Dele thair hie Sailis, and hald to Wyndwart, returning thair Courſe fer * by the firſt ſett Compaſſe, and direct it to ſum mair ſure harbery Place than thay firſt intendit to. To that end we have collectit, as we mycht for ſchortnes of Tyme, our apperand Reſſonis *(a)*, that the Paſſage and dew Courſe is partlie tyll us knawin: Exhorting thame to aſſent to our Counſell, or to ſchaw mair plaine Demonſtratioun of ſtrenthiar Reſſonis for thair Interpryſe, or to be jugeit wylfull and led be ſum Phreneſie, and thairfor not to be hard. Zit ſen the godlye Wyſedom of thy Majeſtie hes be ane Edict *(b)* inhibit ony Queſtioun or Controverſie to be movit in this Actioun for a Tyme, to the end that Seditioun be eſchewit; we differ to preſent our ſaid Advertiſment and Reſſoning to the craibit Rewlaris foreſaidis, quhill thy gracius Licence be had thairto: Quhilk we hope to obtene, our reſſonable Deſyris being knawin, alrady preſent in Wryt, as we for ſchortnes mycht collect to that Effect; hoipand that thay ſall anſweir with mair Expeditioun and circumſpect Adviſment to the ſamyn, (quhilk Thing we maiſt erneſtlie deſyre) fra thay perſave our Reſſonis to be knawin to thy Majeſtie. And alſo war not the urgent ſchortnes of Tyme and imminent Dainger of Deth afore our Eis, Thunderis in our Earis to hald and defend us but Delay fra the Rolkis of Errour, Hereſie, and manifeſt Seditioun in this thy Realme, manaſſing alrady Deſtructioun; of zour reuling, miſreulit and miſgydit Goverment, Fatheris, Biſchopis, and utheris Paſtores, we wald lament afore God, and cry for Remeid afore the Warld: Suppoſe utherwayis, for Honour of zour Offices, we dar not contemne zour ſelfis. And albeit the Tyme be ſchort, ſumthing of zour Prais man we ſpeik. Bot quhidder ſall we begin zour Commendatioun and Loving, [*Praiſe*] at zour haly Lyfes, or at zour helthfull Doctryne, we ar doutſum; ſen zour godly Leving garniſit with Chaſtitie, Faſting, Prayer, and Sobrietie; by the worthy Frutis thareof (quhat neds mair) is patent to all Man †. Zour Marchandrice, zour Symonie, zour glorious Eſtait, zour Solicitude be Mariage, efter to have brocht the Baronis to be Impis of zour Poſteritie, and witneſſing in all Aiges to cum of zour Godlines, quhay ſpeikis not of it? Zour Liberalitie to the Pure, zour magnific Collegis of Godly learnit in zour Cumpanie, zour nuriſſing of pure Studentis, of ryche Ingynis able efter to reull the Kirk of God in helthfull Teachement, all Cuntreis and Collegis dois deplore. Zour godly and circumſpect Diſtributioun of Benefices to zour Babeis, Ignorantis, and filthy anis, all *Ethnik*, *Turk* and *Jow* may lauch at it, that being the ſpecial Ground of all Impietie and Diviſion this Day within the, O *Scotland!* Zour wyſe, ſaige and grave familiar Servandis, void of all Vanitie, bodely Luſtis, and Hereſie, ar ſpokin of to zour Prayſe, God wate. Zour dum Doctrine, in exalting Ceremoneis only, without ony Declaration of the ſamin. And fer mair † keiping in Silence the trew Word of God neceſſar to all Manis Salvation, and not reſiſting manifeſt Errours, to the Warld is knawin. Quhat part of the trew Religioun, be zour ſleuthfull Dominion and Princelie Eſtait, is not corruptit or obſcurit? Hes not mony throw Inlake of Techement, in mad Ignorance miſknawin thair Deuty, quhilk we all aucht to our Lord God, and ſua in thair perfitt Belief hes ſairlie ‡ ſtummerit? Wes not the Sacramentis of *Chriſt Jeſus* prophanit be Ignorantis and wikit Perſones, nother able to perſuade to Godlines be Lerning nor be Leving? Of the quhilk Nummer we confeſſe the maiſt part of us of the Eccleſiaſticall Stait to have bene, in our ignorant and inexpert Zouthe, unworthelie be zow admittit to the Miniſtratioun thairof. Give thir Thingis maiſt ſpeciall, throw Ignorance and Avarice, be brocht fra thir Puritie; quhat marvell is it, that Materis of les Pryce, as of Ymages, the Invocationis of Sanctis to praye for ws, the Prayar for the Saulis departit, and mony ſicklyke Thingis in Sobrietie and learnit Simplicitie leſum *, to be at this tyme corruptit and prophanit fra the Mynde of our auncient Elderis, be the ſamyn Vices?

p. 4.

* *far.*

Reſſonis collectit aganis the laſt Rewlaris Intent.

To the Biſchopis and uther Paſtores.

p. 5.

Of thair Commendatioun of thair Lyfes.

† *Theſe things are* ironically *ſaid.*

Of thair Doctrine.

† *far more.*

‡ *greatly. ſadly.*

p. 6.

* *lawful.*

F f f

War

(*a*) In the eighty three Queſtions.

(*b*) Proclamation in *Auguſt* 1561, ſoon after the Queen's Arrival in *Scotland*.

Ezech. 33.
Acts 20.
Prov. 27.
Of the diſponing of thair Rentis.
† *Brats.*
* *chiefly.*
‡ *watch.*
Pſalm. 120.
Hebr. 4.
p. 7.
To the Nobility.
* *without.*
2 *Paral.* 15.
p. 8.

War ze commandit in vaine of God be the Mouthis of his Prophetis and Apoſtoles, to watch attentlie and continualie upon zour Flok, and knaw diligentlie the ſamyn be Face? Or gaif the Princes *(a)* of the Erth zow yeirly Rentis (as the Diſciplis in the beginnyng ſauld thair Landis, and gaif the Pryces thairof to the Apoſtolis) to the end that every ane of zow mot ſpend the ſamyn upon his Dame *Dalila* and Baſtard Browis †? And albeit it chance oſt to the Infirmitie of Man, that he fall on ſleip quhen he ſuld eraſt * walk ‡, and be gevin to paſtyme quhen he ſuld maiſt diligentlie labour: Bot zit, O mercyfull God, quhat deidly Sleip is this that hes oppreſſit zow, that in ſa gret Uproir, Tumult and terrible Clamour, ze walkin nocht furth of zour Dreme? And in ſa grete dainger of Deth, ze haif na Regard of zour awin Lyves nor utheris? Awalke, awalke, we ſay, and put to zour Hande ſtoutlie to ſaif *Peteris* Schip; for he nother ſlepis nor ſlummeris quha behaldis all zour Doingis, and ſeis zour Thochtis; bot ſall require the Blude out of zour Handis, of the ſmalleſt ane that ſall periſe throw zour Negligence. Bot the Tyme not permitting us to ſpeik ferder in this Mater, Occaſion provokis us to ſchaw ſum thing to zour Honouris, O worthy Nobilis of ilke Degre within this Realme; and that in hope of Reformatioun in all the Partis of Godis Kirk. The ſpeciall Rutis of all Miſchief, we ſuſpect nocht zour prudent Nobilitie to mysknaw, to be the twa infernal Monſtris, Pryde and Avarice; of the quhilkis unhappelie hes upſprung the Electioun of unqualefeit Biſchopis, and utheris Paſtores in *Scotland*; and that laitlie, as we can collect, within thir hundreth *(b)* Yeris, in the grete Deſtructioun of the trew Religioun of Chriſtianis, and in Provocation of Godis Wraith contrare us. For afore thay Dayis, na Man gentle, nor uther, for feir of Conſcience, and dout of his Inhabilitie, wald reſave the Office of ane Paſtour, quhill he wes almaiſt compellit thairto. Ane witneſſing of the ſamyn, may be the Ceremonie obſervit be mony now in Hypocriſie, *nolens volo.* And zit we may nocht dout of the lauchfull Ordination and Auctoritie of all, as we may not of our lauchfull Soverane be Name: For in douting thairof, quhat ellis is it, bot to plant but * Rutis of Ordour, in manifeſt Confuſion and utter Exterminion of this Realme; ſetting up ane Peple heidles, left of God, as the Prophetis ſpeikis, *Abſque rege, abſque lege, & abſque ſacerdote*; that is, *without ane King, without ane Law, and without ane Preiſt?* Bot geve ony Spote or Bleke be in the lauchfull Ordination of our Paſtores, we may nawayis of Reaſone bot impute that Cryme to the hie Reproche of zour Nobilitie.

‡ *Leper.*
* *Baton.*
† *cry nor complain.*
‡ *Poor.*
p. 9.

Call heirfor to Remembrance, we beſeik zour Humanitie, that zour ſelfis on Lyve, togidder with zour Eldaris in the lait Aige foreſaid, fra the lawaſte to the hieaſte Degree, to haif bene the Inventaris, Nuriſſaris, and Simoniacall Merchandis of the ſamyn Miſchief, playand to zour Inferiouris the part of Lippir ‡ *Giezi* in this Mater, ſayand, *Quhat wyll ze geve me?* And to the Kingis of this Realme (bot God impute not that to zow and zour Poſteritie) playand the part of *Symon* his Companzone, ſayand, *Schir, quhat ſall we geve thee?* And ſua ze Nobilis ſpecialie, and zouris lait Progenitouris, blyndit be carnall Effectioun of zouris Babeis, Brether or utheris Freindis, or be Avarice, hes deſtroyit the trew Religioun and triumphand Kingdome of *Chriſte*, ſa fer as ze mycht; puttand in the place of godly Miniſteris, and trew Succeſſouris of the Apoſtolis, dumb Doggis; quha for the maiſt part in extreme Dainger of thair Maiſteris Houſſe the Kirk of *Chriſte*, quhair Ennimeis ar without and within, dar not only nocht barke, bot maiſt ſchamefullie payit with Staff and Sting *, dar nother quhryne nore quhynge †: Bot of the Rigour to the Pure ‡ done on zour awin Landis, and of the approprying the Kirk-landis, with utheris Dewiteis thairof to zour awin Ketchingis; of the depaupering the Tennentis be zour Fewis, Augmentationis, and utheris Exactionis; or of the ſchuiting of honeſt Men fra thair native Roumes, be Tytle of zour newe quhertie Fewis, Tyme ſervis not to ſchaw. Heirfor ſen be his Juſtice God puniſſis oſtymes, in the ſamyn thing, quhairin

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(*a*) *Vide bonam Literam Jacobi Regis* I. *ad Religioſos in continuat. Fordun.*
(*b*) *i. e.* from the Reign of King *James* III.

quhairin Man offendis : That ſum of zour Houſſis hes bene laitlie aluterlie deſtroyit,
and put out of Memorie, and the utheris dejectit to Povertie ; Is not
that the Juſtice of God ? And that utheris degenerat fra the auncient Nobilitie
of thair Eldaris, be fallin in extreme Ignorance of God, and in obſtinat Stubbernes
to leir ſincerlie his Law, or walk thairin conforme to thair Knawlege ;
bot havand Regarde to the Wrek of this Warld, or Luſtis of thair Bodyis, levis * without.
as *Epicurianis*, but * Faith or Luſe to God or Man. And utheris contrarie † lifted up.
rejoiſes to be callit *Goſpellaris*, and cunning in Scripture ; quha reſt up † in
hie Curioſitie of Queſtionis, and (as apperis tyll us) in manifeſt Errouris and
Preſumption, makis of the Goſpell ane takin Craft, but [*without*] ferder Practiſe
of Godis Law in Deid ; quha albeit thay cry out faſt upon Ydolatrie, zit thay
ar na les than the utheris degenerat Ignorantis abone ſpecefeit, as wikit Ethnikis
and bund Subditis to the monſtrous Ydolatrie of Avarice, nevir intendand to
clenge thair Handis of the Kirk-rentis, nor of the Blude and Sweit of the pure
anis † ; ſpurrand faſt utheris to Reformatioun, bot indeid nevir reformand thaimſelfis † ones.
fra the Ydolatrie of Avarice ; nevir changeand in this daingerus Battel of
Religioun thair Babis *(a)* with Men, thair Ignorantis with Learnit ; except in
ane clokit Maner to ſuſtene ane Miniſter, quhate three hundreth ryche and pure
hes ſuſtenit befote. O Immortall God ! quhy perſave ze nocht thir three
Plaigis to be the Scurge of the divine Juſtice for zour former Impietie and deviliſche p. 10.
Simonie ? Sen ze and zour laſt Forefatheris in the wyldſum Way of this
daingerous Lyfe, cheſit zour ſelfis ſa blynd Gydis ; quhate marvelle is it that ze
ſa lang indurat but [*without*] Repentance, be fallin in the Pot of Ignorance,
Errour or Vice ? Quhy clenge ze not zour Hart and Handis fra Ydolatrie quha
be Toung condamnis Ydolatrie ſa mekle ? Sen God gevis us Libertie after our
Underſtanding frelie to think, ſall this zour ydolatricall Avarice perſuaid our
Conſcience (albeit we be ruid of Letteris and Jugement) that ze intend only to
trampe down Ydolatrie, and ſet up *Chriſtis* Kingdome ? Or that zour Forbearis,
quha diſtributit thair awin juſte Gudis, Geris and Landis to exerciſe the Loving * * Praiſe.
of God, and to ſuſtene the Pure, to have bene Ignorantis of God and Ydolatouris ;
and zow (ſafing zour dew Honoris we ſpeike) quha rugis ‡, as ze may, ‡ ſnatches.
fra God and all godly Uſe, to zour awin Ketchingis, to be the trew Diſcipulis Luc. 16.
of *Chriſte ?* Na, na, trewlie ; ſen the Veritie pronunces this, *Non poteſtis Deo
ſervire & mammonæ.* And againe, *Niſi quis renunciaverit omnibus quæ poſſidet,* Luc. 14.
non poteſt meus eſſe diſcipulus. Nocthеles we perſave monye amangis zow
(to God be Glore) quha with humil Spirit, wald flee fra all Ydolatrie, Superſtition
and Abuſe ; and ſiclyke fra Errour, Hereſie and curious Preſumptioun,
with vaine babling ; and practiſſis the Law of God, leving ſoberlie, godlie and 1 Cor. 10.
juſtlie : To quhome we committ this Regiment ; *Qui ſe exiſtimat ſtare, videat
ne cadat.* As we do to the warldly Ignorantis abone ſpecifeit, this uther of Pſal. 31.
the Prophet, *Nolite fieri ſicut equus & mulus, in quibus non eſt intellectus.* p. 11.
And as we have ſchawin ſum thing, as we may, for Tyme to our Paſtores, exhorting
thame to Reformatioun ; ſwa we ſuſpect nocht zour gentle Humanitie,
zee noble potent Lordis, Baronis, and utheris quhatſumevir of the Nobilitie of
Scotlande, to be offendit with us zour pure anis, bot our Soverane Ladyis fre
Liegis, to zet in ‡ unfenzetlie the veray ſelfis Affectionis of oure Myndis, as in ‡ pour in.
the Boſumis of thaim monywayis deirbeluſit ; ſen we of the law * ſorte ar togidder * low.
with zour Excellence, in the ſamyn Schipe of the commoun Welth of this
Realme, participant conforme to oure ſmall part of all Proſperitie and Adverſitie
thairof.

And thairfor of Nature and of Conſcience ar movit to wyſch Gude to all in the ſamyn : And zit we attempt this mair bauldlye, that we ar compellit be ane part of zour Nobilitie and zour Prechouris, as we efter ſall ſchaw.

Bot to thy Majeſtie, maiſt excellent Soverane, we returne, beſeikand maiſt humlie thy G. and thy Nobilis foreſaidis, to impute that nocht tyll us as a Falt, that

To the Quenis Majeſtie.

(a) Children in Church Benefices and Paſtoral Charges.

that we ſpeik in the Cauſe of God ſa frely; deſyrande Licence that we may,
Petition of the Writers. but [*without*] juſte Offence of ony Perſoun, propone in Wryt to the Prechouris
of thaim callit the *Congregatioun*, thay Thingis quhairin ſpecialie we ar offendit,
tweching Doctryne, Ordour and Maneris approvin bee thaim; to the Intent
that all Errour and Abuſe being cuttit away, we all on baith Sydis mot knaw the
Veritie, and glaidlye and unfenzetlie embrace the ſamyn, as the deir belovit
Dochter of God.

p. 12. The quhilkis we ſet furth for twa Cauſis: The ane is, That we intending to
Two Cauſes of the Petition. be faithfull Chriſtianis, and reddy to ſuffer thy Graces Lawis for ony Cryme
committit be us, ar compellit owther to affirm in Religioun afore Man contrar
our Conſcience, or to be incarcerat or exilit, and haldin be the Warld as Infidelis,
Heretykis, Apoſtatis, or wikit Perſones, unworthy the Companie of Chriſtianis;
and in the mein tyme at ſic extreme Povertie all we of the Clergye, that we ar
almaiſte loſit without ony Mercy of Man. The uther Cauſe is, That we being
of ſmall Learning, and zit laith to be Hypocritis to our Condemnatioun, hes
lang abydit for Reſſoning of the Biſchopes, Theologis, and utheris weill learnit,
tyll ane godly Reformatioun rycht neceſſare. Quhilk Thing not cumande to
paſſe, bot mair Cair had of the Ketching nor of the Queir, we may nawayis
langer contene us, bot expreſſe on all Sydis as we think; referring our Jugement
to the haly Catholick Kirk, and that without Eloquence or manly Perſuaſion,
of the quhilk we have lytle Regarde, in reſpect of the divine Veritie;
‡ lovely. knawand that lyke as ane beautifull Perſoun is luſtie ‡ aneuch in ane ſobir Rayment,
that ſa is the Veritie in ane ruid Style. Bot ſen this Controverſie and
Tumult, O gracius Soverane, cumis but Dout of the formare Iniquitie, and
Contempt of God in us and our Forbearis; quha of his Gudnes, beſydis his
mony maiſt excellent Giftis gevin to thee amangis all Princes, hes gevin to thy
Hienes ane maiſt excellent of all; in the preſerving to this Day thy bewtifull
p. 13. Body and Saule fra all Spot of notorius Cryme in ony of baith: We may not
bot exhort thee our maiſt excellent Soverane to have the Gudnes of thy God in
Memorie, intendyng be his Grace to perſevere ſa to the Ende, walkande and
* meditating. panceand * in his Lawis Day and Nycht. Quhilk Thing conſiſtis nocht in the
1 Pet. 1. reyding of mony Cheptouris (albeit that be proffetable to ane humill Mynde)
Galat. 5. bot in haly Feir, trew Faith wyrkand be Charitie; quhairon dependis ſure Hope
1 Tim. 4. 1 Cor. 4. of temperall Proſperitie and Blyis eternall: *For the Kingdome of God is nocht
in Worde bot in Worke.* Bot becauſe gret Controverſie is now for the downtramping
Of Ydolatrie. of Ydolatrie: To the outruiting of the quhilk, we beſeik thy Princelie
Majeſtie maiſt effectuſlie, for the Lufe of *Chriſt* (quhome in Word we all profeſſe)
to bent up thy Mynd maiſt erneſtlie, ſen that is the Falt quhairwith the
Majeſtie of God is maiſt grevouſlie offendit. For albeit mony in thir Dayis hes
† bury. laborit to aboliſe and pull the ſamyn mercyleſly up be the Rutis, and erd † the
leiſt Memoriall thairof oute of the Mynd of Man; and in the Name of it in thair
* Anger. Greif *, hes deſtroyit mony Thingis nawayis ydolatricall: Zit thay left to
thy victorious Hand amang utheris mair ſmall, three of the greataſt Ydolis, but
Three Ydolis left untwiched Controverſie, untwechit; verray Ydolis indeid, zea the Rute, Top and Body
of all utheris Ydolis. Of the quhilkis ane we have ſchawin the monſtruus
The Ydoll of Avarice. Ydoll of Avarice, with the quhilk the Princes of the Erd maiſt commonlie
committis Fornicatioun. To the end that thy Majeſtie be nevir thairwith pollutit,
nother in Civill nor Eccleſiaſticall Effaris, every Day we pray war in thy
p. 14. Mynde the Hiſtorie of *Naboth*, of *Ananias* and *Saphira*; praying that wikit
3 Reg. Perſoun quhatſumevir quha wald defyle thy Conſcience and Faime thairwith,
Act. 15. haiſtelie to returne to oppin Repentance, or to have the Reward of wikit *Jeſabell*,
The Ydoll of dum Paſtores. in Exemple and Terrour of utheris. The ſecunde Ydoll is, the wikit
Thre Kyndis of this Ydoll at preſent. dum Paſtour; of the quhilk we mak thre kindis. Sum for ſaying only to our
ruid Reformearis, *My Maiſteris, zour Doctryne pleſis us*; hes Libertie to
bruke the Kirk-rentis, and leve als dum in Godis Cauſe as ony Fiſche in the
Watter, and in mair licentius Lyfe than evir thay did afore. Ane uther Sorte
ſtartis up faithles, every Zeir embrayſſing with grete Brak the Faith of the

ſtarkaſt † Party; and utheris for not ſaying this ane Word, *My Maiſteris we luſe zow and zour Doctryne*, ar depoſit of thair Offices, denudit of thair Rentis; and that apperandlye be the Permiſſioun or erar * Revenge of God, ſen thay being afflictit, hes na Compunctioun nor Dolour of thair former Negligence, nor Intent to Reformatioun, bot only lukis bakwart with the *Iſraelites* to the Potis of Fleſche in *Egypt*; that is, to thair former licentius leving: Quhilk ſort ar les profytabill to Godis Kirk, than wes *Lothis* Wyſe to him, efter that ſcho wes turnit in ane Stane of Salt. The thrid Ydoll, and worſt of all, is the fals Precheour, ſittand in the Temple of God, ſchawand himſelf (as S. *Paule* ſpeikis of his Maiſter the Antichriſt) as he war God; that is, exaltit in the Conſait and Conſcience of Man, and eſtemit to have that Perfectioun that he can nocht nor may nocht lie.

† *ſtrongeſt.*
* *rather.*
The Ydoll of the fals Precheouris.
2 *Theſſ.* 2.

Thir three Ydolis, be the Mycht of thy Majeſtie, and bauld Aſſiſtence of thy Nobilis and trew Paſtores, being with the ſpeciall Grace of God anis in this thy Realme oppreſſit; We dout not bot all Ydolatrie, quhilk is now in Controverſie in Religion be Men of mein Learning, amang all peaceble Men ſalbe pacifiit be ſmall Labours, to ane godly Concorde. We ſpeikand frelie in the Cauſe of our God, to his Glore, and in fervent Zele, efter our ſmall Jugement, to the Weilfair of thy Majeſtie, nixt efter God, to us thy trew Subditis, maiſt deir belovit in Erth, ſuſpectis na godly Perſoun to be offendit with us: For geve we had kepit langer Silence, we fearit baith the Offence of our God, and our Conſcience to be ſmotit ‡ with the Cryme of leſe Majeſtie, for not aſſiſting to the Veritie in this daingerus Tumult. Farder, ſen all Men hes this Word *Reformatioun* in Mouthe, wiſſing to reforme utheris; that all Men have juſte Occaſioun alſo to reforme ane, that is himſelf: We maiſt humelie and erneſtlie beſeikis thy Majeſtie, maiſt gracious Soverane, for the Supporte of utheris, and every ane within this Realme quha unfenzetlie luſis God and ane godly Refortioun, to luke in the Mirrour underwryttin ſet up be the Finger of God, and the Mouth of his haly Prophet *Ezechiel*, quhairin every Stait may ſee his Smot *, and have juſte Occaſioun to reforme hymſelf firſt, and thairefter be mair able to help his Nychtbour or Inferiour. The Spirit of *Jeſus Chriſt* our only Salviour and Mediatour mot convoye the Hert of thy Majeſtie and all Chriſtiane Princes with zour Subditis, in every Degre, to behald attentlie every Day the ſamyn Mirrour, and to purge and weſche all Smotis expreſſit be it. *Amen.*

p. 15.
‡ *ſpotted.*
* *Spot.*

Ane cleir Mirrour for the Reformatioun of all Eſtatis. *Ezech.* 22.

p. 16.

THe Worde of the LORD come unto mee, ſaying, Thow Sone of Man, the Houſe of *Iſraell* is turnit into Droſſe, or Rouſt. All thay that ſuld be Tin, Irne and Leid, ar in the Fyre becum Droſſe, &c. *And a lytle efter*; Thow art ane unclene Land, quhilk is not raynit upon in the Day of the creuell Wraith. The Prophetis that ar in it ar lyke ane Lyone roryng and takand the Pray: Thay have devorit the Saulis, thay have reſavit Ryches and Glore, and multipliit the Wedowis in the Middis of it. The Preiſtis of it hes contemnit my Lawe, hes defylit my Sanctuarie, betwix the haly and the unhaly thay have had na Difference: And fra my Halydayis thay have turnit away thair Ein †: And I wes unhallowit in the Middis of thaim. The Reularis in the Middis of it, ar lyke Woulfis raviſching thair Pray, to ſched Blud, to deſtroy Saulis, and gredelie to ſearce ‡ Lucre. Bot the Prophetis of it ſpargeonit * thaim with untemperit Morter, ſeing Vaniteis, and propheciing Leis unto thaim, ſayand, The LORD hes ſaid this, quhen the LORD hes not ſpokin. The Peple of the Land uſit wikit Extorſioun and Rubberie. Thay vexit the pure and nedy, and oppreſſit the Strainger aganis rycht. I ſocht of thaim an Man that wald mak up the Haige, and ſet hymſelf in the Slope before me in the Landis Behaif, that I ſuld not uterlie deſtroy it; bot I could fynd nane. Thairfore I have pourit out my cruell Diſpleſour upon thaim, in the Fyre of my Wraith haif I conſumit thaim. Thair awin Wayis haif I recompencit upon thair Heidis, ſayis the Lord GOD. *Deliverit to the Quenes Grace the* 15 *of* Fabruar 1561 †.

To all Eſtatis.
Ezech. 22. *v.* 18.
Ibid. v. 24, 25, &c.
The greedy Precheouris.
The wikit Preiſtis.
† *Eyes.*
The Princes.
‡ *ſeek.*
* *plaiſter'd, or did over.*
The fals Precheouris.
The Peple.
The Puniſchment.
† N. S. 1561-2.

p. 17. *The ſecund Tractate. Geve* Johne Knox *be lauchfull Miniſter?* The xxxiii. Queſtioun. [*of the* lxxxiii.]

Rom. 10. Heb. 5. SEn we reid that nane ſuld tak the Honour of Miniſtratioun of Godis Word and Sacramentis on him, except he be lauchfullie callit thairto; owther be God immediatlie, or be Man haifand Power to promot hym to that Office: And ſen we reid nane callit be God onlie, except ſick as ſchew thair Power gevin to thaim be him *(a)* be Power of the Spirit, or in Signis and Wounderis. Heirfor give zow, *Johne Knox*, we ſay, be callit immediatly be God, quhair ar zour Mervellis wroucht be the Haly Spirit? For the Mervellis of woltring * of Realmes to ungodly Seditioun and Diſcorde, we adnumber nocht to be of his Gyftis: Bot give ze be callit be Man, ze moiſt ſchaw thaim to have had lauchfull Power thairto; as the Apoſtolis ordinatit S. *Paule* and *Barnabas*, albeit choſin be God afore; and thay ſiclyke utheris, in the xiv. of the *Actis*: And as S. *Paule* ordinatit *Timothe* and *Tite*, gevand thaim Power and Command to ordour utheris; quherin apperis the lauchfull Ordinatioun of Miniſteris. Zour lauchfull Ordinatioun be ane of thir twa Wayis, we deſyre zow to ſchaw; ſen ze renunce and eſtemis that Ordinatioun null, or erar ‡ wikit, be the quhilk ſumtyme ze war callit *Schir Johne (b)*.

* *overturning.*

Act. 13.

Act. 9. 1 *Tim.* 4. *v.* 14. 2 *Tim.* 1. *v.* 6. *Tit.* 1. *v.* 5. *p.* 18.

‡ *rather.*

Give Johne Knox *be not lauchfull Biſchope, quhow can thay be lauchfull ordinatit be him?* The xxxiv. Queſtioun.

Johne Knoxis Anſweir to this was, I ordinat nane, Superintendantis nor Miniſteris.

GIve he can nocht ſchaw himſelf ane lauchfull ordinatit Biſchope, nocht onlie ane Preiſt or inferiour Miniſter? quhow can ze Superintendantis, or uther inferiour Prechouris ordinatit and electit be him not haifand Power thairto, juge zour ſelfis to be lauchfull Miniſteris in the Kirk of God?

Quhy ar not the Lordis and utheris, lauchfull Miniſteris as Johne Knox *and his Complices?* The xxxv. Queſtioun.

His Anſweir heir was ſa ſchort and obſcure, that we underſtude it nocht.

GIve *Johne Knox* and ze affirmis zour ſelfis lauchfull, be reſſoun of zour Science; and that ze ar permittit alwayis, give ze be not admittit, be thay Kirkis quhome ze ſerve: Quhy have ze techit manifeſtlie ane grete Errour and Schiſme in zour Congregatioun, contending with Tuith and Naill (as is the Proverb) ſum Lordis and Gentilmen to have gretumlie failzeit, miniſtrand zour Communioun in tymes bypaſte, to thair awin Houſhald, Servandis and Tenentis; ſen the ſaidis Lordis and Gentilmen being Men of Science, be thair awin Jugement, in that Caſe wes permittit be thair ſaidis Servandis to that Office, quha affirmis thameſelfis to be ane Kirk of God?

p. 19. *The Copie of ane Wrytting delyverit to* Johne Knox, *on* Tuiſday *the thrid of* Marche 1561. [1561-2.]

SChir, it mote pleis zow, Forſamekle as we delyverit certane Articulis to zow, tweching zour Doctryne, Ordour, *&c.* quhairin ſpeciallie we war offendit; and that privatlie be ane honorabyll Perſoun of zour awin Religioun, quha of his Cheritie (as he thocht) had oft exhortit ſum of us tyll ane Union with zow. And albeit we only deſyrit ane Anſweir thairoff in Wryt privatlye, without Contentioun, as we proponit to zow; nochtheles ze have oppinit the ſamyn in the Pulpet, and reherſit ſum Thingis thairof in oure Name, nocht ſa ſinceirly, as we proponit thaim, nor zit in that Mynd. Heirfor we exhorte zow zit, as afore, that we maye have zour Anſweir in Wryt; and give it ſall pleis zow alſo to anſweir to thaim in the Pulpet, we wald that firſt ze red our Wryttingis fullelie and ſinceirlie, and thairefter anſweir thairto, *ſicut ex Deo, coram Deo,*

(*a*) What is meant by theſe Words is declared after, *p.* 23.

(*b*) Here is a plain and certain Inſtruction that *John Knox* had formerly received the Ordination of a *Prieſt*.

Deo, & in Chriſto. Whare ze ſperit *, quhat we menit to be ſend of God immediatlie, be Power of the Spirit, or, *&c.?* This is our trew Mening and Mynd, That Almychtie God teſtifiis thair Power gevin to ſick be his Worde and expreſſe Scripture, pronuncit be Inſpiratioun of the Haly Spirit, that he ſent thaim as his trew Miniſteris of his Worde and Sacramentis; as he teſtifiit of S. *Johne Baptiſt*, be the Prophetis *Malachias*, *Eſaias*, and *Zacharie* his Father, be the Angell, and the Mouthe alſo of our Salviour ſelf; or as he teſtifiit that he ſent his Apoſtolis and ſevinty twa Diſcipulis be the ſamin his Worde, gevand thaim alſo Power to wyrk Wounderis, *Joh.* 20. *Luc.* 9. And ſa ze ſall fynd nane in the Lawe of Grace ſend immediatlie of God, bot be ane of thir twa Wayis; of the quhilkis nane (as we underſtande zit) convenis to zow. And as tweching S. *Johne Baptiſt*, we think his lauchfull Vocatioun ſufficientlye ſchawin to the People be God, in Signis and Wounderis wrocht afore his Conceptioun, and efter his Nativitie, in *Zacharie* his Father, and be *Elizabeth* and himſelf in hir Wamb, that thair nedit na ma Signis of his lauchfull Office; ſen thay Wounderis wes knawin and keipit in Memorie, as it is wryttin *Luc.* 1. *In tota montana Judææ divulgabantur omnia verba hæc. Et poſuerunt omnes qui audierant in corde ſuo, dicentes: Quis putas puer iſte erit? Etenim manus domini erat cum eo.* Bot ſen ze haif harpit ſa lang on that ane String, tweching zour lauchfull Vocatioun, we exhorte zow to ſchaw it juſtlie toneit †, or * ze leif it. Quhilk geve ze may do, and aſſuir the Peple and us heirof, it is the readieſt waye to perſuade all zour Adverſaris to delyte in the reſt of zour Melodie. *In Chriſto vale, & operam da, ut veritas & non homo vincat.* 3. *Mart.* Be zouris in all Godlines.

* *asked.*

p. 20.

† *tuned.*
* *before.*

Niniane Winzet *at the Deſyre of his afflictit Brether.*

☞ Geve ony Wryttingis be put furthe ony wayis contrare zow or zouris without Subſcriptioun, impute nocht that to me; for I teſtifie to zow, that I wes nevir participant of ſic Wryttingis to this Hour.

Idem Ninianus.

Swa it is wryttin on the Bak as on the utheris,
Raræ eruditionis facundiæque viro Joanni Knox.

The Copie of the Wrytting delyverit to Johne Knox, *the tent Day of* Marche 1561.

p. 21.

SChir, it mot pleis zow be rememberit, That we declarit zow in our laſt Wryting, at zour Deſyre, quhat we meanit *to be immediatlye callit of God*, to be ane lauchfull Paſtour: Quhilk is, ony Man to have the ſpeciall Command of Godis Worde at the leſt, chargeand him to that Vocatioun; or ellis to have the ſamyn Command with Power to wyrk Signis and Wounderis: And we ſchew that S. *Johne Baptiſt* (be quhois Exemple ze apperit to intend to preve zour lauchfull Vocatioun) had the Auctoritie of Godis Worde; and that Signis alſo war ſchawin be God, that he wes ſend be him. Bot quhair ze denyit that S. *Johne* wrocht ony Signe; ze affirm That with the *Jowis*, quhilk albeit be trew of the exteriour Signe requirit be Infidelis, zit in the ſamyn place ze may collect, that he wrocht that Signe ſufficient to ane faithfull; quhilk wes, that all Thingis quhilk he ſpak, in the Spirit of Prophecie of *Chriſt*, wes trew. Quhair ze intendit to preve zour lauchfull Vocatioun be Exemple of the Prophet *Amos*, that profetis zow na thing: For quhat Chriſtiane Man may dout but ‡ Infidelitie (as all Men may dout of zour Doctryne but all Perrell) bot the Prophecie of *Amos* is the Worde of God? For the Scripture teſtifiis that *Amos* wes ſend be God, and that viſible Signis wes ſchawin to him be God. And ane ſufficient Signe to the Peple wes, that all Thingis quhilk he foreſpak, come to pas. And ſuppoſe *Amos*, as the reſt of the Prophetis, war ſend, namelie to ſchaw ſum ſpeciall Thing of Godis Wyll conforme to the Tyme; zit he uſurpit not the Auctoritie of the hie Biſchope in *Hieruſalem*, as ze do at this preſent of the Primat of *Scolande* in *Edinburgh*: Quharefor the Chearitie moveis us to advertis

Joan. 10.

‡ *without.*
Amos 7. 8.

p. 22.

advertis zow of three Thingis: The *Firſt* is, of the terrible Puniſement of
Numb. 16. *Core*, *Dathan* and *Abiron*, being of that Tribe appoyntit onely of God to be
Exod. 19. Preiſtis, and allegeand the Scriptur alſo for thaim, ſayand, *Sufficiat vobis quòd*
omnis multitudo ſancta eſt, & in ipſis eſt Dominus; as ze do this Place of the
Apoc. 1. Scripture for zow, *Fecit nos (Chriſtus) reges & ſacerdotes Deo & Patri*,
with ſicklyke. Be the quhilk Autoritie, give ze be ane lauchfull Preiſt or Biſchope
in *Edinburgh*, ze ar be the ſamyn Auctoritie alſo lauchfull King of
Jac. 1. *Scottis*. The *Secund* is to remember zow, *Quod ſapientia quæ eſt deſurſum*,
à patre luminum, pudica eſt, pacifica, modeſta, tractabilis, &c. & nihil ſimulans.
2 Tim. 2. *Et quod Domini ſervum non oportet litigare*; *ſed placidum eſſe ad*
omnes, propenſum ad docendum, patientem, cum modeſtia corripientem eos,
qui reſiſtunt veritati: And ſen we allegeit na thing in our laſt Bill, bot ſincerelie
the expres Worde of God, but wryſting, wrying, gloiſſing, or cloking,
as ze culd not preve the contrare; thair ar ſindry offendit with zour terrible
Exclamatioun towart us, quhilk wes, *Progenies viperarum, &c.* The *Thrid*
is, that we exhorte zow, and adjuris zow alſo, in the Name of our *Lord Jeſus*,
give ze have na mair Teſtimonie for zour lauchfull Vocatioun immediat than ze
have ſchawin, to deſcend from the hie Skyis but ferder contentious Cavillatioun
p. 23. amang Men, and ſchaw zour Power gevin zow of thaim; for utherways we
freindlie adverteis zow, that zour awin Scoleris thinkis that ane miſtoneit
String confoundis all zour Harmonie. The Lord of Peace mot geve zow His
Peace and Cheritie with us, and mynd to wyll that Veritie win the Victorie.
10. *Marc.* 1561. Be zouris in all Godlines.

Niniane Winzet *at the Deſyre of his Brether.*

Ane uther delyverit the xii *of* Marche, *&c.*

SChir, it mot pleis zour Prudence to have in mynd that we ſend zow ane
Wrytting this laſt *Twiſday*, exhortyng zow to teſtifie tyll us mair planelie
zour Ordinatioun to be lauchfull; of the quhilk ze ſpak na thing in zour nixt
* contrary to our. Sermon. Heirfor ſen ze, by our * firſt Deſyre and Counſell, hes ſpokin ſa braid
thairof in the Pulpet, and as zit not aſſurit nocht only not us, bot nocht zour
awin beſt learnit Scoleris of the ſamyn; We pray zow and exhortis zow, and
als be all Power gevin to mony of us be the Auctoritie of Preiſthed, commandis
1 Tim. 4. and chargeis zow in the Name of our *Lord Jeſus*, and in the Power of His
maiſt mychtie Spirit, that ze owther mak Demonſtratioun to the Peple and us
Joan. 20. of zour lauchfull Miniſterie gevin be God immediatlie, as had the Apoſtolis; or
1 Tim. 4. 2 Tim. be Man in the Cauſe haifand the Power of God, as S. *Paule* ordinatit *Timothe*
Act. 9 & 13. and *Tite:* Or be baith, as the ſaid S. *Paule* wes firſt callit be God, and ſyne
ordinatit be Men. Or utherwayis, that ze aluterlie deſiſt fra the uſurpyng of
p. 24. ane uther Mannis Office, quhill ze be lauchfullie callit thairto; and heir zit the
Heb. 5. Apoſtill ſayand, *Nec quiſquam uſurpat ſibi honorem, niſi qui vocatur à Deo.*
Num. 16. The ſeveir Puniſement of *Core*, *Dathan* and *Abiron*, and the feirfull Plaige
that come on thay People quha fuleſchelie aſſentit to thair prydefull Arrogance
(as we ſumpart ſchew in our laſte Wrytting) thunderis ſwa throw all our Senſis,
and peirſis with Feir our Heartis, that we dar nocht bot in Compatience brotherlie
adverteis zow and zour Scoleris to be (as we think) in the Perrell of the ſamyn
2 Paralip. 26. Puniſchement. We beſeik zow alſo to remember of the Plaige of the King
Ozias, quha in his Preſumptioun ingerit himſelf to offer the brynt Sacrifice at
the Alter of God, to quhilk Office he wes not callit: And zit his Falt wes a
ſmall thing in reſpect of zouris, give ze want Godis Auctoritie as he did; ſen
he intendit to offer the Signe onelie, and ze to treit the Veritie ſelf of the Sacrifice
of the Kirk at zour Communioun conforme to our Salviouris Inſtitutioun,
togidder with all the utheris Sacramentis and Myſteriis. For we can perſave be
zour awin Allegiance na Power that evir ze had, except it quhilk wes gevin to
zow in the Sacrament of Ordinatioun be Auctoritie of Preiſthed: Quhilk Auctoritie
give ze eſteme as nochtis, be reaſoun it wes gevin to zow (as ze ſpeik)

be ane Papiſte Biſchope, and thairfor renuncis it, and ſeikis ane uther Ordinatioun of Secularis; it followis conſequentlie that ze (quhilk God forbid) ſulde renunce zour Baptiſm alſo, gevin to zow be ane Papiſte Preiſt, as ze allege on lyke maner. For as S. *Auguſtine* maiſt cuninglie and godlie wryttis, *As ane Man throw Schiſme and Hereſie amittis nocht the Sacrament of Baptiſm*; *ſiclyke*, ſayis he, *for the ſamyn Faltis, he amittis nocht the Sacrament to geve Baptiſm, quhilk is the Sacrament of Ordinatioun; conferring the Perpetuitie of the ane Sacrament anis reſſavit with the uther.* Mairover, that zee may be perſuadit that we ſpeik unfenzeitlie and ſincerlie of Conſcience, we pray the Omnipotent to be mercyfull tyll us all, and to dit and cloſe the Mouthis of zow or us quha ſpeakis Iniquitie in double Mynd. *Vale & in Dei ſapientia vince, aut reſipiſce.* 12. *Mart.* 1561. Be zouris in all Godlines.

Niniane Winzet *at the Deſyre of his Brether.*

p. 25.

Auguſtin. lib. 1. *cap.* 1. *de baptiſmo, contra Donat. lib.* 2. *cap.* 13. *contra Epiſt. Parmen.*

The thrid Tractat. Niniane Winzet *to the Reidar wyſſis Grace and Peace.*

QUhen it come to my Earis, gentill Reidar, of the ſeditious calking of the Buith-durris of certane Catholikis in *Edinburgh*, at the Command of the Reularis thairof, on *Paſche-Monunday* laſt paſſit; and quhow at that Nycht at Evin the Durris of certane *Calvinianis* wes calkit alſo, with ſum Notes of Diſhonour: I wes panceand * quhow happy ane thing it war, geve every Man mycht leve according to his Vocatioun at ane Tranquilitie in Godlines. And throw that, revolveand in mynd that maiſt fluriſſand part of my Aige ſpent in the teching of the Grammar Scule of *Linlychtquow* about the Space of ten Zeris, I jugeit the teching of the Zouthhed in Vertew and Science nixt efter the Auctoritie with the Miniſteris of Juſtice under it, and efter the angelicall Office of godlie Paſtouris, to obtene the thrid principall Place maiſt commodious and neceſſare to the Kirk of God. Zea ſa neceſſare thocht I it, that the dew Charge and Office of the Prince and Prelate without it, is to thaim, efter my Jugement, wounderous pynefull and almaiſt importable; and zit lytle commodius to the commoun Welth, till unfenzeit Obedience and trew Godlines, quhen the Peple is ruid and ignorant; and contrarie be the Help of it to the Zouthhed, the Office of all Poteſtatis is lycht to thaim, and pleſand to the Subjectis: *For the Mynd of Man of ane gude Inclinatioun* (as ane auncient Wryttar rycht warily notis) *obeyis not, nor ſubmittis not the ſelf willinglie to ony Commandar or Techar, bot to ſick quhome it is perſuadit, to command juſtlie for Utiliteis Cauſe: Quhilk Perſuaſioun throw Ignorance it may not weill have without the Lycht of Underſtanding.* Bot as Underſtanding with Science is maiſt ſpecialye and happelye conqueſt in Zouthe, ſua nane doutis it at that Tyme obtenit, maiſt firmlie to be reſervit in Memorie, and maiſt Fruit to cum thairof. The ſingular Utilitie thairof to the commun Welth cauſit me to marvell gretumlie; quhow in Tymes paſſit amang ſa gret Liberalitie and ryche Dotationis maid in *Scotland* of ſindry Fundationis to Religioun and Science, that ſa litle Reſpect hes evir bene had to the Grammar Sculis (quhairin commonlie the maiſt happy and firſt Sedis of the ſaid common Welth ar ſawin) that in mony Townis thair is not ſa mekle previdit thairto as a common Houſe; and in nane almaiſt of all ane ſufficient Life to ane Techar, albeit ma * be requirit to undertak that Cuir ‡ deulie, as becumis of ony a Scuill. And agane quhow it mycht be, that at this Tyme quhen Men preſis to reforme all Cauſe of Ignorance and Abuſe, that ſa few Childer war haldin at the Studie of ony Science, and ſpecialie of Grammar. The Contempt heirfor of this ſmall Enteres to Science, without the quhilk na ferder Progres may be had thairto, I conjecturit to be ane gret Portent and foretaiking of Ignorance and ma confuſit Errouris (quhild God avert) ſchortlie to cum; namelie, ſen now all Men will be Theologis and curius Seircearis of the hie Myſteriis of God. In remembring thir Thingis, I callit than to Memorie, quhow be the mercyfull Providence of the Almychtie (quha be in all and for evir praiſit) thair wes ſumtyme ſubmittit to my Techement (albeit my Eru-

* *thinking.*

p. 26.

Cicero lib. 1. *Offic.*

p. 27.

* *more.*

‡ *Charge.*

ditioun wes ſmall) humane Childer of happy Ingynis, mair able to leir than I
wes to teche; to quhom I uſit to propone almaiſt dalie ſum Theme, Argument
or Sentence, of the quhilk I wald have thaim intending to mak Oriſone or Epiſtil
in *Latin* Toung; and thocht that this Mater of Seditioun aforenamit had
‡ *ſad.* bene ane verray convenient Theme to the Purpoſe. Heirfor I being drery ‡ and
dolorus for the Schiſme and Diviſioun preſentlie in Godis Kirk, and apperand
temporall Calamiteis to upryſe thairthrow; and als haifand Affectioun to my
kynd Diſcipulis, and my glaid and godlye Exerciſe ſumtyme with thaim, began
I almaiſt for Paſtyme and ſum Mitigatioun of my Diſpleſur, to wryt this Declamatioun
following; that is, ane Forme of Ditement maid for Caus of Exerciſe
and privat Studie, as uſis to be in Sculis. Notheles quhen ane of our Breder
chanceit to reid it, he divulgat it in the Countre in my Name, bot ſubſcrivit as
efter followis, and gaif Copiis thairof as it had bene ane erniſt Mater. Bot quhen
I onderſtude that ſum wes offendit thairwith, and with me alſo for it, I ſeik the
p. 28. Coppie thairof, and conſideris it; and as I perſave Rethorick thairof verray
ſmall, ſua I can eſpy na thing thairin abhorring fra the Treuth. Of the quhilk
I (geving the Honour of Learning to utheris) intending to be ane faithfull Chriſtiane
and Sone of the haly Kirk univerſale, hes onlie Regaird. Heirfor ſen I
nevir ſett furth ony Wrytting contrare the Proteſtantis ſuppreſſing my Name,
that I maye ſave me zit in the Innocence, void of all Detractioun, I confeſſe me
to have wrytting the ſamyn Tractate, and nathing penitent thairof as zit, except
that I ſtrenthit not my Purpoſe with ma ſufficient Reſſonis and Auctoriteis.
Quhilkis I differ, quhill oure Adverſaris mak Anſweir heirto: Praying God
maiſt gracius to move thame with the Spirit of Humilitie, that thay be not eſchamit
to recant thair Errour in this Mater, and all utheris; bot thay be aluterlie
confoundit to maling in ane Jote aganis the knawin Veritie. I nameit
the twa Perſonis following by utheris, becauſe the ane is knawin to be the principall
Deformare of his allegeit Reformatioun; and to certifie the uther, that
erar I condemnit of Idolatrie, *Hierome* and *Auguſtine* as leand Wytneſſes,
* *rather.* and the haill Kirk of God, in this a Poynct without Cauſe, that I had levir *
be baniſſit furthe of *Europe*, as be his Aſſiſtence I wes baniſſit fra *Linlychtquow*,
for not aſſenting to his Factioun generalie in all Poynctis. This far, gentyll
Redar, have I ſchawin, that I may be clein fra all ſmot of Blame in the putting
furth of privat Wryttingis without Subſcriptioun; praying thee to fairweil in the
Lord. Of *Edinburgh* the 24 of *May* 1562.

p. 29.

To the honorabyll Proveſt, Baillies and Connſall of Edinburgh.

QUhen I remember, honorabyll Schiris, that *Solon*, Law-maker of *Athenis*,
amangis the reſt commandit this in ſpeciall, That gif ony in the Towne
in ane publict Seditioun or Tumult, quhen on baith Sydis thai ran to Armour,
hid himſelf as ane Cowart at hame, not takand part with the ane Syde, he ſuld
be denudit of his Gudis, and baniſſit the Citie: It ſtrykis me not with lytle
Feir, that I ſiclyke in this Controverſie of Religioun, as ane Soldiour of the
Apoc. 3. Kirk of *Laodicea*, that is, nother haet not cauld, be expellit (quhilk God forbid)
out of my Citie of hevinlie *Hieruſalem*, for not aſſiſting to the aſſurit Veritie,
in gainſaying Leis, the Father thairof the Devyll, and all his Memberis.
Quhairfor quhen I ſe the Seditioun amangis zow and zoure Citizanis, for the
Celebratioun of the Solemnitie of *Paſche*, and quhow ze command to calk the
cloſit Buith-durris, at this Tyme, of certane nocht disjonit fra the haly Kirk
univerſale with zow, and haldis the ſamyn Men Ydolaturis and worthy of Puniſement,
it apperis to my waik Jugement, that to attempt ſic proude Miſordour,
ſall not only big up ane Wall betwix us and zow in Religioun, bot alſo ſall engener
(quhilk the Mercy of God ſtay) mair temporall Seditioun, Cummeris and
Debait; I thocht that I ane privat Man could do na better at that Tyme, bot
pray for Peace amangis all profeſſing our *Lord Jeſus*. Quhilk quhen I did,
p. 30. and thairefter caſtand up the Bukis of ſum auncient Fatheris to ſeik the Mynd
of Godis Kirk in this Mater; I fynd maiſt cleir witneſſing of famous Fatheris,
and

and ſpecialie of S. *Hierome* and *Auguſtine*, That the haill Kirk of God with ane Conſent hes zeirlie celebratit the Solennitie of *Zule* and *Paſche*, with utheris Feiſtis of our Salviour; and ſiclyke kept the zeirlie Abſtinence of fourty Dayis afore *Paſche*, callit *Lentren*, in all Countreis in the Warld profeſſing *Chriſt* afore thir Dayis: And affirmis, that thir and ſiclyke Thingis univerſallie obſervit, and zit not expreſſelie contenit in Scripture, ar Traditionis of the Apoſtolis, or Decreis of Generall Counſelis, and thairfor nawayis be ony particulare Countre to be changeit. Ane notable Cauſe of thir ſolennit Dayis gevis the ſaid renownit Father *Auguſtine*, and worthy to be lokit in the Memorie of thaim quha knowis thaimſelfis to be Men in this Fleſche, and waik and frail as zit in this Warld; *Ne curriculo temporum* (ſayis he) *ingrata ſubrepat oblivio*, that be the Proces of Tyme unthankful Forzetfulnes ſteil not upon us. Quhen I reid this maiſt cleir Teſtimonie of ſa renownit Fatheris, of the univerſale Conſent of Godis Kirk in this Mater ſen our Salviouris Dayis, I begin to marvell at the arrogant Temeritie of zour haly Prophete *Johne Knox*, quha commandis to aboliſe thir Solenniteis as Papiſtrie; be the quhilk Name he underſtandis, as I can collect, Ydolatrie, Superſtitioun, or Doctryne contrar the Scripture: And gif he underſtandis thay Vices be this Name, I think that thare is na trew Chriſtiane bot he dar affirm baldlie in the Face of all the Warld, that in this Mater (quhair he callis the ſaidis Solenniteis ydolatrical, ſuperſtitius, or contrarius to Godis Law) he ſpeikis Blaſphemie aganis the Halie Gaiſt, and aganis the eſſential Veritie of our Lord and King *Chriſt Jeſus*, quha promittit his ſaid Spirit of Treuth to teche his Kirk, and be with it to the Warldis End. For *Johne Knox* and his Scoleris ſchrynkis not to rail and lie, that it hes bene evir in Ydolatrie in this Caſe of thir Feſtual Dayis amangis utheris ma. Bot I miſknaw not ſum of zow to object the Command, chargeand *ſex Dayis to labour, and the ſevint Day to ſanctifie to the Lord*; thairfor I deſyre the doutſum Man to cauſe his Doctour and Prophete foreſaid, with all the Aſſiſtence of his beſt learnit Scoleris, to anſweir in Writ, quhat Scripture hes he, or uther Authoritie, by * the Conſent of the haly Kirk univerſale, to ſanctifie the *Sonday* to be the ſevint Day? And gif he aboliſſis with us the *Saterday*, as ceremoniall and not requiſit in the Law of the Evangell, quhat hes he by the Conſent of Godis Kirk to ſanctifie ony Day of the ſevin, and not to labour all the ſevin Dayis; the ſext Day, becauſe it is ſua commandit, and the *Sabbaoth*, becauſe it is aboliſſit be the Evangell? And gif he can ſchaw na expres Scriptur tharfor, quhy aboliſſis he not the *Sonday*, as he dois *Zule*, *Paſche*, and the reſt univerſalie obſervit be all Chriſtianis as the *Sonday*? Bot note, honorabyll Schiris (that the Veritie be not loſit be Altercatioun) the Hiſtorie of *Judith*, quhow the *Jowis* by the Solenniteis of thai Dayis geſin thaim afor in the Scriptur, inſtitute ane zeirly Solennitie to glorifie God for the delivering *Bethulia* and thaim fra the Crudelitie of *Holofernes*. Reid alſo that *Mardocheus*, *Heſter*, and the reſt of the *Jowis* Captives under the King *Aſſuerus*, inſtitutit ſic zeirly Solennitie of Blythnes, in remembrance that be the mychtie Hand of God thay war delyverit fra the Tyrannie of wikit *Ammon*. Gif ſic zeirly Memorial in Blythnes and Thankiſgeiſing wes haldin for the Delyverance of thair Bodeis, had not the Apoſtolis and the hail Kirk of God, gydit undoutitlie be the Haly Gaiſt, ſiclyke Authoritie to inſtitut ſic Feſtual Dayis, for the delyvering of thair Bodeis and Saulis, not fra twa eirdlie Tyrannis, *Holofernes* and *Ammon*, bot from the Devyll, Hell and Syn; not be twa Wemen, *Judith* and *Heſter*, bot be the pretious Blude of the immaculat Lamb the Sone of God? Ze reid ſiclyke the Feſt of the Dedicatioun callit *Encenia*, inſtitute be the *Hebrewis* without ony Command contenit in ony canonicall Scripture; quhilk Solennitie wes approvin and decorit be our Salviouris awin Preſence: Sall the haill Peple of God heirfor of all Aiges, in the Libertie of the Evangell, haif les Libertie in the lyke Materis, than had the *Jowis* under the Zok of the *Moſaical* Law? Ze may reid alſo, that *Salamon* at the Dedicatioun of the Tempyll, celebratit in gret Solennitie ſevin Feſtuall Dayis together; and trow ze that he brak the Command thair-

Hieronymus Epiſt. 80.

Part. 1. *Epiſt. ad Marcellam. Auguſt. Epiſt. ad Januar.*

Reid thair Workis, and be not deceivit.

Auguſt. de civitate Dei, lib. 10. *c.* 4.

Johne Knox in his Buke of Diſcipline.

p. 31.
Matth. ult.
Joan. 14.

* *beſide.*

Judith ult.

Heſter 9.

p. 32.

Joan. 10.

2 *Paralip.* 7.

throw, *Sex Dayis ſall thou labour?* Quhen we heir zour Prophete caſt in dout, ſayand, Quha wat quhat Day *Chriſt* wes borne on? Can ze think him
‡ *Humor.* in ony uther Gre ‡, bot nixt efter to ſpeir, Gif *Chriſt* be borne? O mad Man and maiſt fuliſche, wald he perſuade ane faithfull Chriſtiane, that the hail univerſall Kirk is mair unthankfull, and les myndfull of the Birth of hir Spouſe and King the Sonne of God, than ony Realme is of thair temporal King, quhais Day of Nativitie na Countre forzettis induring his Lyfetyme? Bot our King and maiſte ſweit Spouſe levis for ever. Quhairfore ever ſall the Day of his bliſſit
p. 33. Nativitie, Circumſitioun, Paſſioun, Reſurrectioun, Aſcenſioun, and his Manifeſtatioun to the Warld callit Epiphanie, in the diſpyte of the Devyll and all his furius Memberis (quha ever hes laborit to aboliſche his Name oute of this Warld) be in freſche Memorie of his deir belovit Spouſe his haly Kirk univerſall. Bot allace! quhow mony in thir Dayis repetis this haly Kirk univerſall as ane neceſſare Articule of thair Beleif (as it is but dout) and zit owther throw Ignorance deſſavit, or throw Malice blyndit, impungis the trew Underſtanding thairof? Amangis mony Materis rycht wechty, lat this ſamyn groſſe Exemple of the Abolitioun of thir ſolennit Dayis, as ydolatricall, be ane, contrare the uniforme Conſent in all Tyme and Place of the ſamyn Kirk. Bot allace! for
* *Pity.* Pietie *, honorabyll Schiris, quhy remember we not, that for the abuſing of thir Dayis, amangis utheris Faultis, God is at Wrayith with us, and not for the Inſtitutioun and godlye Obſervance of the ſamyn: Bot becauſe we have miſpent thaim fra the Service of our God to the Service of our Belliis, and of thay Memberis under the Bellie; fra the Honour of our Lord *Chriſt* to the vaineglorious Pompe of our awin Bodeis; frome Cheritie to Carnalitie, beſtowand that pertenit to the pure nedy Memberis of *Chriſtis* Bodye on our ſinfull Fleſche with the ryche Glotton: And ſa fra Humilitie, to Pryde; fra Sobrietie, to Drunkines; fra Peace and Lufe, to Contentioun and Debait; fra loving of God, to manſwering of his Name; fra godlye Talk of Peace, Amitie and Frendſchip,
p. 34. to Scurrilitie, Stryfe and Detractioun? Finallie, fra all the Service of God requirit on the haly Daye, to the Service of *Sathan* or of the Warld. And laſt of all, quhen we ſould lament for our Impietie, and returne to God and the rycht Uſe of thir Solenniteis, ze eik this Miſcheif to all zour former Wikitnes, quhen ze pronunce this Blaſphemie to the Spirit of God, affirming that his haly Kirk univerſall hes bene ever pollutit with Ydolatrie in the obſerving of thir Dayis! O mercyfull GOD, wyll ze not remember quha ſpekis ſa mekle of the Scripture, that God for the Wikitnes of the Peple wes not appleſit with thay Feſtivall Dayis, quhilkis he in the Scripture afore had commandit be the *Jowis* to be obſervit quhill the cumming of *Chriſt*, and that for thair abuſing of the
† *End.* ſamyn to ane uther Fine † than he inſtitute thaim. On this maner he complenis
Amos 5 *&* 8. be his Prophete, *I have haitit* (ſayis the LORD) *zour feſtuall Dayis; I wyll not have zour brunt Sacrificeis.* And in ane uther Place, *I ſall turne zour ſolennit Dayis in murnyng, and zour Canticulis in ſobing.* The Pro-
Lament. 2. phete *Hieremie* lamentis, that God for the Impietie and Sinnis had cauſit the feſtuall and ſolennit Dayis in *Hieruſalem* to be forzet, and in the Wrath and Indignatioun of his Fury (be quhilk we underſtand his Juſtice aganis the Wikitnes of Man) had gevin the King and the Preiſte to be deſpyſit, his Temple, Sanctuarie and Altare to be deſtroyit. Be the quhilk Place alane it is evident, that as the King and all lauchfull ſuperiour Poweris, the Preiſte, Biſchope, and all Authoritie of the Kirk, wes contemnit for ane tyme, according to the Juſtice of God, bot zit be the wikit and reprobat onlie; that on lyke maner the Ordinance
p. 35. of God tweching the ſaidis Dayis in that tyme, quhill *Chriſtis* Paſſioun amang the Peple of God wes to be obſervit according to the Law gevin thaim: Zit for the abuſing of the ſamyn, the Lord be the Mouth of his Prophete repellit thair
Eſay 1. Solenniteis and Sacrificeis. The Cauſe thairof is declarit, becauſe their Congregatioun wes injuſte and wikit, and thair Handis full of Blude. And zit as he wald at that tyme nane of his belufit Peple to be diſobedient, and nott reverence King and Preiſte, not only the gude, bot alſo the evyll, nor zit his peculiar

liar Peple, to diſpyſe his Sanctuarie, Temple, Altare, nor his haly Dayis; ſwa he wyll but * Dout his belovit to obſerve the Ordonance of his haly Kirk univerſall, tweching thir ſamyn Solenniteis quhilkis ar now in Controverſie, albeit thay be deſpyſit be the wikit. Give dew Obedience and Reverence be had to Kingis, Quenis, Princes, and Prelatis at this tyme; lat uther Men juge. For a Thing ſpecialy exhort I zour Prudence at this preſent to conſider, honorabyll Schiris, that ze be not of the Noumber of that wikit Generatioun quhom the Prophete rebukis on this maner, *All thair Generatioun ſaid this in thair Hart, Lat us mak all the feſtuall Dayis of the LORD to ceis out of the Eird.* For except ze be wyllinglye blind, ze may perſave thir Dayis quhairof we ſpeik to be the feſtuall Dayis of the Lord: For as zour Prophetis be Auctoritie of the Kirk, without expreſſe Scripture thairfor, apprevis with us the *Sondaye* to be the *Sabaoth-daye* to all Chriſtianis; ſwa be Auctoritie of the ſamyn Kirk in all Countreis and Aiges, and be the Exemplis alſo of the Scripturis above wryttin, appreve and affirme we baith the ane and the uther. And that ze may be mair aſſurit in Conſcience, that thair is na Errour committit be the Kirk in this Mater, bot zour Prophetis to have fallin arrogantlie in ane blynd, arrogant and wylfull Errour, quhen they dar oppone thaim ſa proudlie, or erar impudentlie, to the haill Kirk of God. Reid in the cxvii. *Pſalme*, quhare the Spirit of God commandis the Kirk in Blythnes and Thankiſgeving for hir Redemptioun bee *Chriſt* (quhare he exponis himſelf to be the corner or band Stane quhilk the Bigaris refuſit) to rejoſe and inſtitute Solennity of Tyme thairfor, in thir Wordis; *Hæc eſt dies quam fecit dominus, exultemus & lætemur in ea:* And againe, *Conſtituite diem ſolennem in condenſis uſque ad cornu altaris.* Twa Thingis remanis, quhilk I of my ſmall Learning, bot of ardent Luſe, beſeikis zow Schiris to conſider: *Firſt*, That ze be not the Scurge of God (as wes the wikit in the Dayis of *Hieremie*) to diſpyſe King, Quene, Biſchope, and all lauchfull Auctoritie, togidder with thir ſolennit feſtuall Dayis evir obſervit in Godis haly Kirk univerſall; and leir to prefer the ſamyn Kirk to the Jugement of ony ane Man, Citie, Province, Realme, or ony ane Aige of Men of ane uther Spirit, zea albeit it wer ane Angell frome Hevin, and knaw zour Fragilitie and Fall, and returne hame agane to zour awin Moder Godis Kirk. *Secundly*, Give the Ruidnes of my Dytement haiſtely wryttin in fervour of Spirit but Eloquence, may not diſſuade zow fra the obſtinatt Perverſitie of zour Erroure; I exhorte ze cauſe zour Prophete *Johne Knox*, and zour Superintendant *Johne Spotiſwod*, to impreve ‡ Sanctis *Hierome* and *Auguſtine* as leand Witneſſis in the Premiſſis; and cauſe thaim delyver thair Anſweir in Wryt, for thir haly Fatheris Bukis ar patent tyll us and thaim: And ſum of our faithfull Brether hes wryttin ſindry tymes to thaim baith, and gettis na Anſweir in Wryt, bot waiſt Wynd agane. Bot peradventure albeit thir twa zour *Kempis* dar not for Schame anſweir in this Mater, ze wyll appeill to the reſt of zour lernit Theologis of a gret Number in *Scotland* and *Geneva*: Bot to thaim we oppone all the Chriſtiane Catholikis in *Aphrik*, *Aſia* and *Europa*. Bot zit perchance ze wyll allege zour private Miſordour to have Auctoritie, as eſtabliſſit be ane lang Space now, almaiſt thre Zeris in *Scotland*: Heirfore to that we oppone the univerſale Ordour throw all the Warld belevand in *Chriſt* thir 1527 Zeris, as the ſaidis SS. *Hierome* and *Auguſtine* witneſſes afore thair Tyme, and all Hiſtoriis ſen ſyne. Deſiſte heirfore, Schiris, maiſt deir belufit; deſiſte, I pray zow in the Sycht of God fra zour furius Rage and wylfull Blyndnes. Think quhat it is to maling contrare *Chriſt*, his haly Kirk univerſall, our Soverane Lady, and zour lauchfull Paſtouris. Be war to move Diſtructioun to zour ſelfis, and Seditioun in this nobyll Town be zour calking and keling, and perverſt Mynd to puneis the Innocent contrare all Lawis of God and Man. The potent Spirit of God mot humyll zour Hartis, and give zow Grace that this Tumult tak Reſt without extreme Damnage. At *Edinburgh* the laſt of *Marche*. Be zouris, *N.*

* *without.*

Pſalm. 73.

Reid this 73 Pſalme for this Mater, and utheris at thy Tyme; quhilk in the *Engliſh* Bible is the 74.

p. 36.

Mart. 12.

Thren. 2. i. e. *Lamentat.* 2.

p. 37.

‡ *diſprove.*

☞ Quhais Name ze ſall knaw quhen ze ſall knaw zour Errour, or quhen *Johne Knox* or his Brether anſweris heirto in Wryt.

p. 38.

¶ The *Second* Treatiſe of Mr. *Niniane Winzet*; concerning which the Reader will find ſufficient Advertiſement by the Author in his Preface to the Book, as follows.

The Buke of fourſcoir thre Queſtionis, tucching Doctrine, Ordour and Maneris, proponit to the Precheouris of the Proteſtantis in Scotland, *be the Catholikis of the inferiour Ordour of Clergie and Laytmen thair, cruelie afflictit and diſperſit, be Perſuaſioun of the ſaid intruſit Precheouris. Set furth be* Niniane Winzet *a Catholik Preiſt, at the Deſyre of his faythfull afflictit Brethir, and deliverit to* Johne Knox *the* xx *of* Februar *or thairby, in the Zere of the bliſſit Birth of our Salviour* 1561. Ne ſis ſapiens apud temetipſum, *Proverb.* 3. Sed interroga patres tuos, & annunciabunt tibi: Majores tuos, & dicent tibi, *Deut.* 32. Antverpiæ, *Ex officina Ægidii Dieſt,* M. D. LXIII. xiii. *Octob. Cum gratia & privilegio.*

Niniane Winzet, *a Catholik Preiſt, to the Chriſtiane Reidar wiſſhis Grace and Peace.*

AT the Command of Dene *Patrik Kinloquhy* Precheour in *Linlythqow* and of his Superintendent, gentil Reidar, quhen I, for denying only to ſubſcrive thair Phantaſie and Factioun of Faith, wes expellit and ſchott out of that my kyndly Town, and fra my tender Freindis thair, quhais perpetuall Kyndnes I hoipit that I had conqueſt, be the ſpending about ten Zeris of my maiſt fluriſſing Aige, nocht without manifeſt Utilitie of thair commoun Welth, and be all apperance had obtenit ſik Favour of thame, as ony ſik Man micht haif of ony Communitie: I thocht I had na Cauſe to be eſchameit, bot to rejoſe and glorifie my God (according to S. *Petiris* Reull) for that I ſufferit nocht as a wickit Perſoun, or an evill Doar, bot as an unfenzeit and faithfull Chriſtiane; for the Tyme is now (as the ſamin Apoſtill writtis) that the terribill Jugement tocum, in a manere in this Lyfe beginnis at the Houſs of God; that is, at the faithfull Catholikis, that firſt for thair awin Sinnis, and ſyne for the Trewthis ſaik thai ſuffer in this Lyfe with *Chriſte* thair Heid, that be divers Tribulis thai mot enter with him in the Lyfe eternall. Nochttheles I began nocht littill to mervel at ſa haiſty and ſa ſubdane a Wolter of this Warlde, in ſa mony grete Materis, and ſpecialie of the ſubdane Change of ſum cunning Clerkis, of the Silence and Fleitnes of utheris, and of the maiſt arrogant Preſumptioun approvin ſpecialie in the ignorant: And amangis utheris ſtrange Mutationis, quhow micht it be, that ane *Kinloquhy* culd be King in *Linlytqow*; and ſpecialie ſik a King, as appropriat to himſelf mair large Empyre and Power in this Caice, than evir did faithfull King or Emprior in Chriſtianitie. For of thame all, certane is it that nevir wes ane quha attemptit to charge thair Subjectis with the Burding of an uther Religioun nor Faith, than the univerſall Kirk of God had evir afore profeſſit; quhilk in his Preſence (albeit I wes to him na ſubject) for the Gloir of *Chriſtis* Name (quha in all mot evir be praiſit) before honorable Perſones, maiſt planelie confeſſit I. And ſua fra I perſavit this new proud Prince, and his *Calviniane* Brether on lyke manere in utheris Partis, to hef ſubdewit ſa to thame, under ſik Thirldum thair miſerable Scoleris, nocht only that thai micht leid thame concerning thair Bodyis, as thai war Slaves, Preſoneris, and Captives in a Raip; that is, to cauſe thame to wair and haſert thair Geris and Bodyis for thair Pleſuir, bot to hef blindit alſo thair Jugement and naturall Reſſoun, that thai regaird na Lawis divine nor humane, bot haldis it only Law quhatevir thai raill, rattill or trattill, be it nevir ſa evident aganis Godis expres Word, his manifeſt Ordinance, his haly Kirk, his Princeis and his Prelatis; and amangis the reſt to hef uſurpit to thame in maiſt preſumptuous Bauldnes, that plane Tyrannie, for ſatiſfying of thair Raige, to compell thair Scoleris to banies catholik and innocent Men, ze thair awin tendir Freindis and Kinſmen, in contempt of oure Soverane

1 *Pet.* 4.

Act. 14.

A mervolus haiſty Change to be amangis Chriſtianis.

Of new Kingis.

A miſerable Subjectioun.

Tyrannie.

rane Lady and hir Hienes Lawis, fra thair juſt Poſſeſſionis, native Rowmes and Cieteis: I wes almaiſt aſtoniſt at thair proud Preſumptioun in ſa hiech an Interpriſe, and in ſa prydeful and arrogant Procedingis, that ſa obſcuir Men durſt preſume to medle thame aganis all Auctoritie, bayth with the Auctoritie of the ſpiritual and temporal Sworde. Bot fra I mair deiply conſyderit and weyit the hiech Arrogance of Men of ſa law Degre, and aluterlie void of all lauchful Power, be ony Titill thai allege thairfor, to be aganis all lauchful Power placeit be God, a manifeſt Scurge of his Wraith, for the Inundatioun of our Synnis, lang raigeing in every Eſtate; I ceiſſit ferther to mervell. For that few Catholik Kingis or Quenes, Princeis, or Prelatis almaiſt throw Chriſtindome, hes this Day voluntare and dew Obedience, according to the expres Word of God, of thair Subjectis, it is ouer patent, allace for Pietie; inſamekle that quhilk the Prophete ſpak afore of *Jeruſalem* (quhilk wes a Figure of the Kirk in this tyme of Grace) apperis in thir our tribulus Dayis almaiſt fullelie complete. *Oblivioni,* ſays he, *tradidit Dominus in Sion feſtivitatem & ſabbathum: & in opprobrium & in indignationem furoris ſui Regem & Sacerdotem. Repulit Dominus altare ſuum, deſtruxit ſanctuarium ſuum.* That is, *The LORD hes forzet in* Sion (that is, in his haly Kirk) *the ſolennit* * *Tyme and the Sabbothday: And in Indignatioun of his Wraith, hes forzett the King and the Preiſt. He hes ſchott away his Altar, and hes deſtroyit his Sanctuarie.* Thairfor fra I wes perſuadit, that it wes the Almychty doutleſlie, quha throw his Juſtice aganis Sin, ſufferis the Prince and the Preiſt (quhome to in Erd be the expres Word of God, we aucht maiſt honour) ſumtyme to be diſhonorit, albeit be the wickit only, according to it that is writtin, *Baltheum Regum diſſolvit, & præcingit fune renes eorum: ducit Sacerdotes inglorios, & optimates ſupplantat.* And in an uther Place ſpeikand of the hie Preiſt, *Qui honorificaverit me,* ſays the Almychty, *glorificabo eum: qui verò me contemnunt, erunt ignobiles.* I ſeirceit out the Titill that our new *Calviniane* Kingis and Princelie Preiſtis culd haif for thair Auctoritie; quhiddir this thair Dominioun abone us wes provideit to thame as to a weilbeluſit Peple of God, as wes the Land of *Chanaan* to the *Iſraelites*; or permittit as to an ungodly and wickit Peple, ſterit up to be Godis Scurge for a Tyme above his welbeluſit Peple, in his Diſcipline and fatherlie Correctioun for thair Treſpaſſis, as wes the ungodly and confuſit *Babilonianis* aganis the haly Citie of *Jeruſalem.* And brevelie conſidering the firſt part of thair Titill to this thair ſupreme Auctoritie, I fand it nocht only ſclinder and licht, bot planelie inglorius, and a thing to deprive thame of all Auctoritie without Delay, gif thai had hald ony afore. This firſt and ſpeciall part, and almaiſt the hail wair is, that thai confeſſit thameſelfis to hef bene afore, in the preching of the hevinlie and eternal Word of Almychty God, contrare baith thair Conſcience and Science, ſchameles learis, and be fals Doctrine wilfull Diſſavearis and Poyſonnaris of the Peple of God; forgeing thair Sermonis for the Pleſuir of every Auditour, efter the Faſſoun of Schipmenis Breiks, mete for every Leg: Ane Thing to hef underſtandit and roundit privatlie in the Mirk, and ane uther Thing to hef precheit oppinlie in the Pulpet: Ane Thing to hef had cloiſit in thair Breiſtis, and ane uther reddy, as thai thocht tyme, in thair Mouthe. Be the quhilk ſchameles Teſtimonie of thair awin Toungis, of na Reſſoun culd I be induceit efter to credit and reverence thame mair thairfor, as mony than (bot fy on the clekane Wittit in the Cauſe of God) of a marvelus Facilitie did, bot to eſteme thame rather at that preſent to be the ſamin ſelf Men, quhome thai without all Schame, or appering Repentance of ſa horrible a Cryme (gif thai had recantit thair Leis unfenzetlie, fra the Botum of thair Hert, as thai uſe to ſpeik) confeſſit thame to hef bene afore. For no Man is of ony Jugement quha markis nocht thair ſchaimles Confuſioun, quhen thai wald thraw the Exempill of the Converſioun of S. *Paull* to be a trim Cloke and Excuis of thair Everſioun: For S. *Paull* at that tyme wes ignorant of *Chriſte,* of his Word and Sacramentis, and blindit be fervent Zele towart the *Moſaical* Law, perſeuit the Membris of *Chriſte* in mirk Igno-

That the wickit hes the uvir Hand, it is the Scurge of God.

Note.

* *Thren.* 2.

* *Zuil, Paſche, Witſund.* &c.

O *Mahometical* Impietie of the wickit Deformearis! O Preparairis of the Way to the *Antichriſte!*

Rom. 12.
1 *Pet.* 2.
Heb. 13.
Job. 12.
ab impiis procedit impietas.
1 *Reg.* 24.
1 *Reg.* 2.

Note, of Superioritie.

Gen. 12. 13. 15. & *Joſ. paſſim.*
Heb 12.
Prov. 3.
4 *Reg.* 24. 25.

The Titill of the new *Calviniane* Kingis.

Thair Recantatioun.

The botum of thair Hert is declarit to be a botumles Conſcience.

Of thair Excuis.

Act. 9. 22.

1 *Tim.* 1.

Sen infameit Perſones may nocht be Witneſſis in Manis Cauſe, quhow ſall thai be Jugeis in the Cauſe of God?

A ſubdane Change to be in the Faythfull.

Ann. 1559.

A grete Occaſioun quhareby the Auctour wes firſt moveit to wryte.

1 *Jo.* 4.

1 *Pet.* 1.

Apoc. 3.

Eccl. 1.
Ro. 14.
Eccl. 5.

The ſecund Occaſioun to wryte mair largelie to *Johne Knox.*

Ignorance firmlie, albeit maiſt wranguſlie perſuadit, that all that he did wes a Thing maiſt pleſand to God; and thairfor, ſayis he, *Miſericordiam conſecutus ſum, quia ignorans feci in incredulitate.* Bot thai contrarie confeſſit thameſelfis to hef techeit and wrocht contrare thair Knawlege and Conſcience, and willinglie and wittinglie to hef borne fals Witnes, nocht contrar Man nor manly Biſſines, bot contrar God and his eternal Veritie. And zit becauſe ſum of thame wes eſchamit to teſtifie ſa planelie thair gret Ungodlines, bot allegeit that thai had obtenit mair Illuminatioun of the Haly Gaiſt, and gretear Knawlege of the Veritie; I conferrit with meſelf quhow that micht be, that Chriſtiane Men profeſſing, techeing and preching *Chriſte* and his Word ſa mony Zeris, in ane Monethis ſpace or thairby ſuld be changeit ſa proudly in ſa mony hiech Materis in the Plat contrar Men. At *Paſche* and certane *Soundays* efter, thai techeit with grete appering Zele, and miniſtrate the Sacramentis till us on the Catholik Manere; and be *Witſonday* thai change thair Standart in our plane contrare. And ſa jugeit I, that it neceſſarlie behuifit thame, othir to hef bene afore verray ſinzeit Hypocritis and Temperizaris with the Tyme contrare thair Conſcience, or to hef bene reviſſit be ſum mychty Spirit; and thairfor thocht I it a Thing nocht only profitable at that tyme, bot verray neceſſar, to obey the Counſell of the Apoſtil; that is, to try and examin the Spiritis, gif thai war of God. Heirfor ſen all Man ſuld be reddy to geve compt of that Faith and Hoip in him, that I, being a Preiſt, ſuld nocht hef bene jugeit be the waik, to thair Sclander (to quhome my Converſatioun afore wes knawin) faithles and feble, nother hait nor cauld; I intendit, be Godis Grace, to declare me planelie in this dangerus Seditioun an unfeinzeit Chriſtiane, that is, ſtoutlie to gainſtand all Abuſe, Negligence, licentius Leving, and *Phariſaicall* Hypocriſie to me knawin, other of the former Aige, or of it now preſent; and ſiclyke to ſchaw me a maniſeſt Adverſar, efter my ſmall Leirning and Knawlege, to all Schiſme, Seditioun, Errour and Hereſie. And albeit I wes nocht ſa weill exerceit in the Scripturis, as become me of my Aige and Vocatioun, nor zit guidlie micht ſua be, ſen I had ſpent my maiſt fluriſſing Zowtheid apt to that Studie, in techeing of Cheldring; zit I rememberit that I ſuld nocht be an Hypocrite, nor applaud to the Warld contrar my Conſcience, to beleve ane Thing in the Law of God, and ſay the contrar; nor zit for the Feir or Favour of Man, fulechelie to appreve or condemne in Godis Cauſe ony Thing to me unknawin. And thairfor that the waik ſuld nocht hef bene offendit be my Silence, and that I micht hef knawin my Adverſaris Strenthe, gif ony had bene for thair Novationis, collectit I than in Synceritie of Conſcience ſum of thai Heidis, quhilkis I jugeit the foirſaidis Perſones to hef techeit erroneouſlie, and wrait to thame familiarlie in a pleſand manere, forzetand all former Injuris done to me, or to utheris my faithfull Brethir. To the quhilkis Heidis my new King *Kinloquhy*, in ſindry Writtingis, void of all Humanitie and Compatience, and taiſtand nocht only of Contentioun, bot of Contempt, maid ſindry Promiſſis of an Anſſuer, with grete boiſting of the Victorie to him, and Triumphe alrady in hand; bot as zit, that we mot knaw his inwart Religioun, be his Fidelitie (I will nocht ſay be his Leis) in externe Materis, we heir nathing of his Promis fulfillit. That Delay ſuythlie of his Anſſuer, fra that I efter ſa mony Obliſingis had awytit ſevin or aucht Monethis thairupon, moveit me efter that I had conferrit with ſum weill lernit Catholikis, and with ſum ſtrang *Calvinianis* alſo, and had red ſum Controverſeis and Reſſoning thairupon on baith Sydis, to collect almaiſt the haill Summe of thai Thingis quharein I wes offendit, in the Doctrine, Ordour and Maneris now auctorizit, contrar all Auctoritie. Quhilkis ſa collectit, I preſentit to my Catholik afflictit Brethir, Laytmen and utheris, in quhome apperit to me the Spirit of Knawlege and godly Feir: Quha anſſuerit in ane Mynd thame all, ſpecialie to be moveit be the ſamin Reſſonis and Auctoriteis, nocht to aſſiſt to the new Inpietie, callit be ſum the Reformatioun of the Proteſtantis. Bot zit thai deſyrit thir Queſtionis mair trimlie and ſtrenthelie to be ſet furth, with ma large Auctoriteis, and to be writtin agane; and thairefter to be delive-

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rit to the principall Precheouris of the new Factioun: For I had collectit thame ſchortlie wanting Buiks, quhen I wes in travell, as thai come in my Memorie of former reiding, and of conferring with utheris at that tyme be the way, as ſum honorable Perſonis knawis. This I eik, baith for the Trewth, that gif ony thing negligentlie, and nocht ſufficientlie ſtrenthit be ſet furth in this Werk, it ſuld be impute to my Haiſt and Fervour, and to nane utheris injuſtlie; and to ſignifie allo, that gif the lauchfull Paſtouris, and utheris bettir leirnit of the Catholik Syde, did thair Diligence in thir Materis. and ſpak frelie without Feir, that ſik proud fulege Phantaſeis, pyntit Leis, brutall Irreligioſitie, and damnable Errouris, as now regnis, in the place of ſyncere Veritie and trew catholik Religioun, defenceit only be finzeit Eloquence, Jeſting and Mockrie, wald nocht haif ſa lang Reinzeis, nor the Exiſtimatioun amangis the Peple, as thai haif preſentlie, allace. Bot to the purpoſe; I nocht than haiſing Opportunitie, and verray deſyrus to hef utterit my Religioun, to avoid all occaſioun of Sclander till utheris, and to hef reduceit, ſa fer as lay in me, the wilſum wandering unto the richt way agane; or to hef bene aſſuirit be the Licht of Godis Word (quhilk our Adverſaris boiſtit thame to hef hald) that we had bene furth of that way in ony Poynt, incontinent deliverit thame, writtin on this ruid Manere following to *Johne Knox*, as to him quha wes haldin in tha Partis principall Patriark of the *Calviniane* Court: And that be reſſoun, that the ane of my former Competitouris keipit na Promis, and the uther maid na Anſſuer; hoipand mair Fidelitie in this renounit Man, gif it had pleiſit him to promitt Anſſuer thairto in ſpeciall, as he afore did generalie ſindry tymes in the Pulpet, obliſing himſelf to ſik Reſſoning in Word or Writt; oftymes objecting to the Catholikis (quhome he callis Papiſtis) that nane of thame durſt impugne ane Propoſitioun of his Doctrine, albeit the contrar wes knawin to be trew. For quhais Anſſuere thairefter oftymes publiclie and privatlie promiſſit be him, we hef awaytit almaiſt keiping Silence ſen the xx. of *Februar*, or thairby; quhill now laitlie within thir few Dayis is cum to my Hand a Reſſoning anentis the maiſt bliſſit, feirfull and haly Sacrifice of the Mes, haldin about a Zere bypaſt betwix my Lord of *Croceraguel* and *Johne Knox*: A Werk in Beginning decorit with a Pece of an Epiſtil, als hali as is the Auctour thairof, and I warrane zow cunninglie gloiſſit be ſum weill leirnit and diſcrete Man, God wate, in the Mergin; quharein *Johne Knox* of his pregnant Ingyne and accuſtomit Craft of rayling and bairding, attributis to me a new Style, calling me *Procutour for the Papiſtis*, and thair obliſis him of new to geve Anſſuer to our Queſtioun tueching his lauchful Vocatioun; and as we can collect thairof, and of his former Promis, he intendis to anſſuer lykewayis to the reſt following in this Buke. Of the quhilk twa Poyntis I wes ſingularie rejoſeit; firſt, that God maid me worthy to be mockit for my ſmall Labouris in Defence of His Catholik Kirk, fra the fals Accuſatioun of hir Adverſaris, and to be reknit be thame in tyme of Perſecutioun in Nummir of the Faythfull, quhome thai in thair jeſting callis *Papiſtis*. For in Defence of that Thing only procuir I, quhilk the honorable and haly Papiſtis, the haly Biſchope and Martyr of *Chriſte S. Cypriane*, with the utheris renounit Martyris in the primitive Kirk, and quhilk the renounit Papiſtis and excellent Doctouris S. *Auguſtine*, *Hierome* and *Ambroſe*, zea brevelie the haill Kirk of God ſen the Apoſtolis Dayis, in an Uniformitie of Doctrine maiſt clerlie apprevis; and na thing diſaggreing thairfra procuir I: Nocht adhering to the private Jugement or obſcuir Sayngis of ony ane Man, (as is the commoun Practik of our Adverſaris, to mak of obſcuir Mirknes a Commentare to the cleir Licht) bot to the plane and uniforme Confeſſioun of all, or at the leiſt, to the aggreable Conſent of the maiſt part of the beſt lernit, evir be the Kirk of God auctorizit. And ſua, godly Reidar, quhattin a Papiſt I am in this ſamin ruid Buik of Queſtionis (be the infallible and inconfutable Treuth of the quhilk my Adverſar is offendit) I tak on hand to preve, on perrell of my Lyfe, the maiſt haly Martyris, the beſt leirnit Confeſſouris afore reherſeit, and utheris mony ma bayth of the *Greik* and of the *Latin* Kirk, to-

Quharein the Wrytear is to be reprevit.

Quhy wes this Buik deliverit to *Johne Knox*.

Ann. 1561.

Of the Tractate ſet furth anentis the Reſſoning betwix my Lord of *Croceraguel* and *Johne Knox*.

Of twa Poyntis thairin concerning this Mater.

For quhat Mater procuiris the Wrytear.

Note the trew Catholik Doctrine.

For of the Trewth of the Scriptuir we contend nocht bot of the trew Senſe thairof, approvin be Godis haly Kirk univerſal.

Rejoſing in God.

giddir with Generall Counſellis, to hef bene the ſamin Papiſtis. O happy heirfor, and happy agane think I this Day to me, quhen the grete Guidnes of God, of his mere Mercy, hes preſervit me in this maiſt ſtormy Tyme fra the Rolkis of Schiſme, Errour and Hereſie; zea, fra manifeſt Rebellioun raigeing at this preſent aganis Godis plane Word, his Kirk univerſal, his Ordinance, his Princis and his Prelatis: And beſydis that alſo, hes lent me of his Spirit, to confes my Faith to his Gloir, quhill the Erroneous aſſault me be Tanting and Mockrie, quhen thai may naways be Veritie.

Of *Johne Knox* Defence of his Vocatioun in the Pulpet.

Note a Promis of a Catholik.

The *Calviniane* Miniſteris can nother ſchaw thair Power proceding frome God nor Man.

For quhat Veritie culd *Johne Knox* ſchaw for his lauchfull Vocatioun (quhilk ane Article ſpecialie he cheſeit out of ſa mony, to confute and confund in the Pulpet, to augment his Gloir) I think it is nocht unknawin to *Scotland*; and is nocht in my Defalt, bot in Defalt of my ſmall Freind Dame *Cunzey*, bot it ſuld hef bene layng or now, as it ſalbe, God willing, ſchortlie, to the mein leirnit alwayis (for the godly cunning neidis nane of our Labouris thairto) mair notifiit in *Scotland*, and in uther Chriſtiane Cuntreis, in quhat wickit Apoſtaſie he and all utheris Preiſtis, Munkis and Freris of his Sect ar fallin in, in that thai renunce as Rennigatis thair Preiſtheid gevin thame be the Sacrament of Ordour, and quhow thai ſtill remane Preiſtis be the ſamin Sacrament (lat thame renunce it as thai pleis) ay quhill thai de; albeit to thair mair ſeveir Puniſment eternalie, except thai (quhilk the Guidnes of God mot grant thame) in tyme repent thair Fall: And ſiklike in quhat proud Arrogance and damnabil Sacrilege is he ſpecialie, and the utheris his Fallowis in thair Degre, ſliddin; uſurping the Auctoritie of godly Biſchopes and utheris Paſtouris and Preiſtis in the Kirk, aluterlie aganis all lauchfull Power onyway gevin be Man to ony Miniſterie, that thai uſe in the Kirk, except only be that Titill, quhilk thai eſteme nochtis; that is, inſafer as thai ar Preiſtis, and that thai ar nocht ſend as trew Prophetis be God, it ſalbe, God willing, mair cleir than the Day-licht, be mony evident Demonſtrationis at lenthe. Bot now quhen all his blunt Boultis and pithles Artelzerie ar ſchot, to infirm and adnull his awin Cauſe rather than to ſtrenthe the ſamin, that be his lang Silence, efter ſa mony Promiſſis, he ſchawis himſelf convict in Conſcience, haifand na appering Reſſoun for the Defence of his Vocatioun, except we admitt him to be a new S. *Johne* the *Baptiſt*, or a new Prophet *Amos*; Hes he nocht win the Hoiſs worthelie, in forgeing a Mok to me mony Mylis fra him, calling me *Procutar for the Papiſtis?*

Note.

Gif ony Man, gentil Reidar, ſall think this my Procuratioun in thir Articulis to be ungodly, lat him remember quhat he menis be that Article in his Creid, *The haly Kirk univerſal:* For only quhat this Kirk (quhilk my Adverſar inſinuatis to be it, quhilk he callis papiſtical) hes evir defendit, and now defendis, intend I, be Godis Grace, efter all my ſmall Power and Spirit, evir to defend, and na thing diſaggreing thairfra.

Of the Terme *Papiſt.*

Bot as to the Terme *Papiſt*, albeit faithfull Chriſtianis, of guid Reſſoun rejoſeis in na new Stylis concerning Religioun; zit that thai ſuld be gretumlie offendit be the Terme *Papiſt* objectit to thame be thair Adverſaris, I can nawayis underſtand; ſen by it ſpecialie may be bot underſtandit, a Man that dois knaw the lauchfull Auctoritie of his Biſchopes, quhome Almychty God hes commandit be his expres Word to favour, luve, and humelie obey, and ſpecialie to the Succeſſour of *Petir* now commonly callit *Papa*; albeit *Papa* be a Terme efter the Myndis of the aunciant Fatheris, commoun to ony Biſchope, as efter in this Buik is ſchawin.

Deut. 17.
Heb. 13.
Matth. 10.
Luc. 10.
Jo. 13. 21.

Note.

Quha ſeis nocht this Day, that gif Kingis and Quenis buir nocht a Sword, quhilk our Adverſaris ferit mair than the ſpirituall Sword of the Pape and utheris Biſchopes, bot thai wald mok us on lyke manere, and call us Kingiſtis and Queneiſtis, or ſiklyke Name of thair commoun Craft of Mockrie, for our humil and dew Obedience unto our lauchfull Soverane? And this mekle concerning the Procutar for the Papiſtis.

The ſecund Poynt.

As to the ſecund Poynt, that he promiſſis in his Buke to mak Anſluere, as be Word he did afore oftymes oppinlie, I am rejoſeit that he intendit than to keip his firſt Promis; albeit as zit in dede efter ane haill Zeris Adviſement, we heir nocht thairof. Nochttheles that he is ſa layng making Anſſuer, I hoip only guid thairthrow, that efter ſa lang Conſultatioun he ſall, be

Godis Grace, prefer the knawin Veritie and his Salvatioun to all vane Gloir or Pleſuir of Man: Bot failzeing thairof (quhilk God forbid) and gif alſo perchance he keip na Promis heirin, he dois bot than, as becumis his new Profeſſioun, and according to the commoun Trade of that Part of the Realme be him and his preſentlie corruptit; quha declaris expreſlie quhatkin a Faith thai haif in God, be the Faith and Promis thai uſe now commonlie to keip to Man. Bot always becauſe in the mein tyme we ar offendit be his layngſum Delay, and ar ſtoppit be the Tyrannie of ſum to put furth our Mynd in Prent at hame; and underſtandis the Copiis of our Queſtionis and utheris Tractatis corruptit be unleirnit Writtaris, to the Sclander of the Trewth, and to our Schame, we ſett furth this juſt Copie, without altering or eiking ony thing, ſafer as we can remember, except onlie that in place of this Epiſtill wes ſum *Latin* to the cunning Reidar, exhorting him nocht to haif Reſpect to our ruid Style, bot to the trew catholik Sentence: Sen we controvertit nocht with our Adverſaris for trim Talk, bot for the trying of the Trewth; nocht for deckit Vanitie, bot for the eternall Veritie. Quhilk Thing we requeiſt the, gentill Reidar, zit anis agane, and to purge the Copie according to this preſent; willing the to be perſuadit, that gif it pleiſit us at this Tyme and Place to alter or eik this Tractate, that with litill Labouris it micht be maid tueching the Style mair pleſing and perſuading, and in Sentence fer mair ſtrenthy and difficill to our Adverſaris to mak Anſſuer thairto. Zit nochttheles becauſe *Johne Knox* apperis to ſchaw that with his Fallowis he labouris to fulfill his Obliſing, we will eik nor alter na thing heirin, except ſum Illuſtratioun in the Mergin, that the Reidar, gif ony Anſſuer beis maid, may ſyncerlie confer the ane with the uthir, and in the mein tyme that the ſempill Belevear may haif ſufficient Licht to eſchew the diſſaitful Snairis of the Erroneous. As to the Phraſe and Dictioun heirof, guid it war to remember that the plane and ſempill Trewth of all Thingis requiris only amangis the lautefull and faithfull Peple, plane, familiar, and na curius nor affectat Speche; as the Defence of Fraud and Falſet neceſſarlie requeris a Cloke of finzeit Eloquence, be the quhilk the incircumſpect and licht of Jugement oftymes ar diſſavit. And as tueching the Mater, as we ar informeit, that *Johne Knox* efter Adviſement wes eſchameit to ſet furth an Anſſuer, quhilk wes be certane of his grete Scoleris about a Zere and thre Monethis paſſit deviſeit heirto; ſua we ar aſſuirit, that na leirnit of thame without Prik of Conſcience (ſa grete is the Guidnes of God to knok at the Breiſt of Man) without the Studie, I ſay, of Schiſme and Diviſioun, and without Rebellioun and wilfull malingning aganis the knawin Veritie, ſall tak Pen in hand in our contrare, zea contrare the waik Membris of *Chriſte*, an hundreth ways invadit maiſt feircelie to leve that haly Religioun quhilk thai maiſt godly profeſſit at thair Baptim; for quhais Defence ſpecialie thir Queſtiounis ar ſet furth, that the unleirnit mot haif ſum Defence aganis the erroneous and contentious Pleidaris, quha with thair continuall Altercatioun, blaſphemeis, and mockrie of all Godlines, ithanlie labouris to ſubvert the ſillie ſempill anis. Thir Thingis I ſpek in na fulege Confidence of my Eruditioun, bot in Synceritie of Conſcience and godlie Fortitude in the Defence of the undoutit Veritie techeit be the haly Kirk univerſal, quhome only efter my Knawlege and Conſcience, I follow as the Pillar and Stabiliſment of Veritie, as the Spous of *Chriſte* our Lord, be the Illuminatioun of his Spirit induceit according to his Promis in all Richteuſnes, haifand the ſamin haly Spirit at all tymes hir Doctour, Gyde, Confortar, and Advocate to hir promiſt, gevin, and to the Warldis End with hir remaning. Bot gif ony ſalbe ſa feble in Faith, and negligent of his Salvatioun, to maling contrar his Conſcience and Inſtinct of the haly Spirit, for Pleſuir of his forlorne Brethir, and for a Schaddow of Gloir to himſelf; lat him be perſuadit that the Almichty God, quha is the Defence and ſuir Protectioun of all thame quha walkis in Simplicitie, ſall ſteir up in his contrare ſtrangar Kempis and perfytear Procutaris than I am, to oppin out and mak manifeſt the Hypocriſie of the Fule, and of all his Mainteimaris: According to it that is writtin of the leing Maiſteris, quha in the latter Dayis be

The Cauſe of the prenting of thir Queſtionis.

Quhy at thir Queſtiounis now nocht maid mair ſtrenthy.

Of the Speche of Veritie, and of Diſſait.

Apocal. 3.

1 *Tim.* 3.

Cant. 6.

Jo. 14. 16.

Act. 1.

Matth. ult.

Prov. 2.

Rom. 16.

1 Tim. 4. thair ſuete ſlattering Eloquence ar to ſeduce the Hertis of the Innocent, and be Exod. 7. ſiklyke Jouglarie ar to ganeſtand the manifeſt Veritie; as *Jannes* and *Mambres* be thair leing Devilrie and Incantatiounis gainſtuid *Moyſes* in the Preſence of 1 Tim. 4. *Pharao. Inſipientia eorum,* ſayis the Apoſtill, *manifeſta erit omnibus, ſicut & illorum fuit*; that is, the Fulegenes of thame ſalbe maid manifeſt to all Men, as wes the Fulegenes of *Jannes* and *Mambres*. This mekle, Chriſtiane Reidar, thocht I expedient to be notifiit; quhareby my firſt Motioun to thir Materis, and Cauſe of ferther proceeding, with my Hoip of the End heirof, mot be knawin. For as a Theologe I profes me to be nane, nor zit of the Nummir of the hie leirnit; ſua nocht to confes me a faithfull Chriſtiane, ſpecialie quhen be baneiſſing fra my tender Freindis I am almaiſt compellit thairto, I am effrayt in the Preſence of God, and eſchameit afore Angell and Man. And as it is knawin nocht to be the Kirk-rentis, nor roytous Lyfe thairby, that moveis me to profes my Name in this Debait and Tentatioun, ſen of the Kirk-rentis I had nevir my Leving, quhilk now I micht haif abundantlie, gif I preferrit my Belly to guid Conſcience; ſua I wald it war to nane unknawin, me evir to be an humil Sone of the haly Kirk univerſal. For as fra vitious leving, Abuſe, Superſtitioun and Idolatrie, I (to God be Gloir) aluterlie dois abhorre; ſua nevir fra my Barneaige intendit I to ſik proud Arrogance as to be a Schiſmatik, nor zit to ſik obſtinat Wilfulnes as to be an Heretik. And ſa I hoip that the grete Guidnes of that LORD maiſt bliſſit, quha of His mere Mercy gave me the former Mynd, ſall corroborat and ſtrenthe alſo my preſent Intentioun; quhilk is, nocht to be ſa feble and fleit, for na trible of Tyme, nor Tyrannie of Man, that I be a Temperizar in Godis Cauſe contrar my Conſcience, and fer les heirfor a plane Rebell thairto. The ſamin Gift wiſhe I to the benevolent Reidar, that of Cheritie, and for thy awin Salvatioun, thow wald aſſiſt till us, as a faithfull and conſtant Chriſtiane, in the manifeſt Veritie; and that without reſpect of Perrel, in Feir of that Lord quha only knawis and ſall juge, zea the Secretis of the Conſcience of Man: Quha mot mak the with us and all profeſſing the Name of his only Sone our Lord *Jeſus*, of ane Mynd, and of ane Spirit, humill and obedient Sones to all Treuth and Auctoritie, in His haly Catholik Kirk. *Amen.* Of *Lovane* the vii. Day of *October*, M. D. LXIII.

The faythfull Sones of the haly Catholik Kirk in Scotland, *of the inferiour Ordour of Clergy and Laytmen, humill Subditis to thair Soverane Lady* MARIE, *and obedient to thair lauchfull Biſchopes and Paſtouris, depoſit of thair Offices, incarcerat, exilit, or violentlie ejectit fra thair juſt Poſſeſſionis and native Citeis, for nocht aſſenting to the pretendit Reformatioun at this preſent in Religioun, to* Johne Knox *and his Complices, pretending and allegeing thame to haif the lauchfull Auctoritie and Ordinatioun of trew Biſchopes, and utheris Paſtouris of the Kirk within the ſaid Realme; wiſſhis Helth and Illuminatioun of the Haly Gaiſt.*

WE perſaveand zour fervent Diligence to alluir all Men to the embraiſſing of zour pretendit Religioun, and zour ſeveir Puniſment alſo, and rigorus Indignatioun aganis thame quha reſſaves nocht the ſamin; and conſydering ſiklyke, and alſo firmlie beleving that thair is bot ane Fayth of Epheſ. 4. *Chriſtis* deirbelovit Spous his haly Kirk, out of the quhilk thair is na Salvatioun Luc. 22. nor Remiſſioun of Sinnis; the quhilk ſuppoſe be tribulit, ſall nocht decay aluter- Matt. 28. lie, conforme to our Salviouris Promitt, all the Dayis of this Warlde: Hes had Conſideratioun partlie of zour Prechingis, and partlie of the Jugement of the aunciant Doctouris and Martyris of the primitive Kirk, declarand ſumtymes incidentlie the Scripturis and Ordour in the Materis of Controverſie now being in Religioun, to the Intent we mot be inſtructit in the Trewth thairof, and to abhorre and fle, be Godis Grace, fra all kynd of Idolatrie, Superſtitioun, Schiſme and Hereſie, and to be at ane alſo in ane godlie Unitie with all thais quha profeſſis ſyncerlie the trew Doctrine of *Chriſte Jeſus*. Expending the Mater ſua, and

Epheſ. 4.

and conſidering ſiklyke quhat Perrell it is to be cariit about with every Wind of Doctrine; we ar be the Grace of God (to quhome be all Gloir) perſuadit to that Conſtancie, that for na Feir of Trible, with Help of the Hieaſt, we will affirm in Diſſimulatioun, that Thing to be trew in Religioun afoir Man, quhilk the Haly Gaiſt hes nocht perſuadit us to be trew afoir God: And that ſpecialie, becaus we haif in remembrance that all thing quhilk is nocht of Fayth, is Sin; and that quha thinkis Schame of the Veritie (quhilk is *Chriſte*) afoir Man, the Sone of God ſalbe eſchamit of him afoir the Angelis of his Fader in Hevin.

Rom. 14.
Matt. 10.
Luc. 12.

Seing alſo that the Biſchoipis and utheris Paſtouris of this Realme, for the maiſt part, hes nocht as zit that Spirit of Fortitude to confes and affirm bauldelie on athir Syde without Feir, that Thing quhilk thair Conſcience and Fayth inwartlie dytis thame to be trew; we can nocht contrare the Word of God detrect thame, nor railze diſpitfullie contrare thame, bot committis the Amendiment thairof to the Mercy of the Hieaſt:

Exod. 22.
Act. 23.
Jud. 1.

For we ar certifiit be haly Scripturis, that Hypocritis and wikit Perſones (bot of Vices we accuis nane at this preſent) als weill of the Eccleſiaſticall State as of the Civill Magiſtratis (to quhome nochttheles we aucht dew Obedience with Reverence in all Thingis nocht repugnand to the Will of God) hes ſumtymes Reull abone the Peple for thair Iniquitie; of the quhilk we knaw our ſelfis nocht giltles nor innocent. Zit ſen every Man ſall beir his awin Burding at the leiſt, and ſall geve Compt of his awin Doingis, and that without Fayth it is impoſſible to pleis God; neid is till us to labour for the Saifgarde of the trew Fayth for our awin part.

Job. 34.
3 *Reg.* 22.
Oſe 9.
Rom. 14.
1 *Pet.* 2.
Galat. 6.
2 *Cor.* 5.
Heb. 11.

Heirfor we deſyre zow of zour Humanitie, gif ze wald that we war junit in Religioun with zow, to anſwer till us in Writt zour Opinioun and Auctoritie thairfor, concerning the Articlis ſubſequent, in the quhilkis maiſt cheiflie ze appere to hef ſegregat zour ſelfis fra us, inſafer as we zit underſtand of zour Doctrine in thame:

Jud. 1.

For in Word, or Preching only, we can nocht ſa firmlie juge thairin, tweching zour ſaid Doctrine, that we dar bauldlie, without Prik of Conſcience, embraſe the ſamin as the indoutit Veritie. And zit deſyris maiſt ferventlie, as we hef ſchawin afoir, and as God knawis, all Contentioun and Diſcord being trampit down, all Errour and Abuſe being cuttit away, to leve at Quietnes, ſa fer as is in us, in all godlie Unitie with all thais quha unfenzetlie luvis *Chriſte Jeſus*, his eternall Word, haly Law and immutable Will, and covatis to dwell in his grete Houſs, quhilk is his haly Kirk, in ane godly Band of Luve, without Stryfe and Contentioun.

The ſpeciall Caus of the moving of thir Queſtionis.

Thir Thingis following we demand zow, as God knawis, of na Malice, Contentioun, or Oſtentatioun of ony Science that is in us, quhilk we misknaw nocht to be verray ſmall, in reſpect of mony utheris; bot ſpecialie for Depreſſioun of Errour, Illuſtratioun and magnifiing of the Veritie, Libertie of our Conſcience according to Godis Will; and that the waik and infirm be nocht ſclanderit be our ungodly Silence in tyme of Perſequutioun.

Utheris twa Cauſſis.

1.

And ſecundlie for twa Cauſſis, of the quhilkis ane is, Forſamekle as we ar ſa tribulit be zow, and (as we underſtand) injuſtlie perſuitit with ſa grete Rigour, as we war Heretikis or Apoſtatis, unworthy the Cumpanie of trew Chriſtianis, and that only for nocht aſſenting generalie to zour pretendit Reformatioun, quhilk contrare our Conſcience, led (as we ar perſuadit) be na wilfull Ignorance, bot be the trew underſtanding of Godis Word, we dar nawayis attempt; feiring, gif we ſua do, the Offence of the Lord our God, and thairthrow our juſt Damnatioun.

2.

The uther is, That ze ſa bauldlie exhortis all Men to impugne zour Doctrine planelie, gif thai may juſtlie; or uthirwayis in ſa fer as thai ar doutſum, to deſyre Reſſoning with zow, in Word or Writt, in ony Controverſie affirmit be zow quharewith thai be offendit; promitting zow to undertak thai Panis glaidly, and pleſandly to ſatiſfie thame, according to zour Doctrine, of the expres Word of God, gif thai be deſyrus of the Trewth thairof; of the quhilk we confes us maiſt deſyrus. Of this ſamin Promis cheiflie we ingere us bauldlie, nocht ſuſpectand zour Offence thairby, to propone thir Queſtionis following; teſtifiing to zow afoir God, that we aluterlie of Conſcience abhorris fra the underſtanding thairof, according to zour Doctrine, in ſa fer as we zit underſtand it: Deſyring heirfor effectuuſlie, and re-

Hebr. 4.

quiring zour Anſſuer thairof in Writt, conforme to zour ſaid Promis; and that ſynceirlie, without ſophiſtical Contentioun of Wordis, as ze will geif Compt to Him quha misknawis nane of all our Thochtis: Deſyring ſiklyke, and alſo maiſt hertlie and humbly praying the Nobilis, and utheris of zour Congregatioun, to conſider attentlie, and trewlie juge, our former Cauſſis to proceid of na Hatrent, nor Intent to move diabolical Seditioun (quhilk we ſpeik unfenzetlie in Godis Preſence) bot only of the trew Fontane of ſyncere Luve, that God and his eternal Veritie mot be trewlie acknawlegeit; and we, and all profeſſing the Name of our Salviour *Chriſte*, bot ſpecialie our Nobilis and utheris our Countreymen (to quhome, beſydis the Profeſſioun of *Chriſte*, we ar in mony Greis of Luve naturalie conjunit) mot be in uniforme Ordour of Religioun, of ane Spirit, of ane Mynd, and ane in all Godlines in the ſamin *Chriſte Jeſus* our only Salviour and Mediatour. To the end heirfor that we may ſa be, we exhort zour Modeſtie, gif ony thing in this Tractate be objectit to zow, of the quhilk ze ſall peradventure pleis to ſchaw zour ſelfis innocent, that ze purge zow thairof, without Cavillatioun in ane Word, and impute that to the Imbecillitie of our Jugement, nocht throuchlie underſtanding zour Doctrine; or (gif ze pleis) to our Ignorance. For we had levir be callit be zow our Countreymen Ignorantis, nor wit zou to be eſtemit be all faythful Nationes, in grete Schame of our Natioun, wilfull and erroneous; certefeing zow of our Conſcience, and alſo geving be thir Preſentis to zow our *juramentum* (as thai call it) *calumniæ*, that we oppone nathing to zow heir, except only that apperis till us manifeſt Errour, or ellis curious, new, indiſtinct and confuſit Doctrine, of the quhilk manifeſt Errour and Preſumptioun upryſſis; or quhare Miſordour and Maneris ar ungodlie be zow approvin, eftir our Jugement. Or that quhilk ze calumniuſlie (as we think) in Diſſimulatioun aſcrivis to the Name of *Papiſtrie*, nochtwithſtanding the ſamin be in deid (as we dout nocht zour ſelfis the ſamin thing nocht to misknaw) othir the evident Conſent in Doctrine of the primitive Kirk, expreſſit till us be the Writtingis of the Doctouris within four hundreth Zeris till *Chriſte*, or Determinationis eſtabliſſit be General Counſelis according to the haly Scriptuiris. We ſuſpect nathing of zour Prudence, to putt in dout quhat part of every Queſtioun is objectit to zow as erroneous, and quhat part ſiklyke thairof is belevit and apprevit be us as the Trewth. Forſamekle as it may chanſe that ſum of our Queſtionis may appere to zour Jugement mair prolixt than becumis, eftir the common Conſuetude, to ſik Materis: Beleve heirfor us to hef tane willinglie the mair Labouris on us at this preſent, corroboring our Jugement with ſufficient Defenſis, and ſumtyme anſſuering to zour maiſt ſtrang Objectionis, to the Intent that eftir this mair eſalie without Stryſe, we mot togidder embraſe the knawin Veritie. Ferther, the Spirit of *Chriſte* promittit and gevin to the Apoſtolis to teche and perſuade thame all Veritie, mot convoy and confirm zow and us in the perfyte Beleve and ſyncere Knawlege of Godis Will, and continual Obedience to the ſamin. *Amen.*

Quhat Materis ar proponit in this Tractate.

¶ The firſt Queſtioun or Article.

1. *Of the trew underſtanding of the Kirk, and be quhome ſpecialie expreſſit.*

1 *Tim.* 3.
Jo. 16.

SEn the haly Catholik Kirk is without Controverſie, to all profeſſing the Scripturis of God, the Pillar and Firmament (or eſtabiliſing) of Veritie, indoutitlie haifand the trew underſtanding of the ſyncere Word of God, be the Inſpiratioun of the Haly Gaiſt, conforme to our Salviouris Promitt: Quhidder beleve ze the Jugement of this ſaid haly Kirk, mair trewlie ſet furth and expreſſit till us, tueching the trew underſtanding forſaid, and ſpecialie in Materis of Controverſie being at this preſent, be the Martyris and utheris aunciant Doctouris of the primitive Kirk; as, *Dionyſius*, *Clement*, *Martialis*, *Ignatius*, *Juſtinus*, *Tertulliane*, *Cypriane*, *Irenæus* and *Origene*; and efter be *Hierome*, his Maiſter *Nazianze*, *Ambroſe*, *Auguſtine*, *Athanaſius*, *Baſill*,

Hilarius,

Becauſe nane Sectare can anſſuer heir without manifeſt Confuſioun of his Errour; thou Chriſtiane reid *Vincentius Li-*

Hilarius, *Chryſoſtome* and *Cyrillus*, with mony utheris in thair Dayis about elevin hundreth Zeris paſſit at the leiſt; togiddir with General Counſelis writand in ane Conſent and Unitie of Doctrine, ſpecialie quhare thai tueche incidentlie ony Mater of Religioun now controvertit: Or be *Johne Calvin* and his Complices in thir our Dayis? And to quhilk of thair Conſentis and Jugementis dar ze maiſt bauldlie aſſiſt in zour Conſcience afoir God?

rinen, newlie putt in *Scottis*, quha godly & cunninglie diſcuſſis this Queſtioun about xj hundreth Zeris paſſit.

2. *Of the calumnious allegeing of Papiſtrie.*

Gif ze prefer in zour Conſcience afoir God the Jugementis of the ſaidis aunciant Fatheris and Counſelis, to *Calvin* and his forenemmit (quhilk we beleve ze dar nocht planelie deny afoir Man, except ze wald be jugeit ſchameles) quhy depres ze in Diſſimulance, and obſcuiris in zour Doctrine, be the Name of *Papiſtrie*, as be ane Terme to mony maiſt odious, the ſaidis Fatheris and Counſelis uniforme Conſent in ſindry Controverſiis being at this Tyme; and followis in zour Techement the privat Opinioun of *Calvin* and his Complices rather than thame?

Note thair Simulatioun and Diſſimulatioũ; and that in all the Materis heir following. Reid for this Queſtioun the ſext Buik of *Optatus* pit in *Scottis*, with utheris Tractatis for this Porpoſe.

3. *That the Catholikis defendis na new Doctrine.*

Sen all Hereſie that evir hes bene in the Kirk (except ſum in few Countreis knawin) had ſum cheif Archiheretik Inventour thairof, of quhome that Hereſie and the Defendaris of the ſamin maiſt ſpecialie had the Name, as of *Marcion*, *Arrius*, *Manes* and *Pelagius*: Gif ze heirfor haldis us Catholikis to be Heretikis, quhy ſchaw ze nocht quhois Hereſie we follow? For we (to the Intent we may haif godly Unitie) makis our Purgatioun to zow, and alſo obliſſing that we ſall nocht adhere to ane Jot in Religioun, except we ſchaw the ſamin expreſſit in Scriptuir, apprevit be General Counſelis, or be the beſt leirnit Fatheris *Greik* and *Latin*, writtand in ane Conſent abone ane thouſand Zeris paſſit. Heirfor gif we ſua do (as we do in deid) quhy condemne ze nocht thai Scriptuiris, aunciant Doctouris and Counſelis, quhois Jugement in ane Conſent as deducit, or aggreing with the Scriptuir of God, we follow, and nocht us, efter the Religioun eſtabliſſit ſa mony Zeris?

Quha pleiſs to reid *Tertulliane de præſcript. adverſ. hæreſ.* newlie putt in *Scottis*, quha wrait about xiv hundreth Zeris paſſit, ſall knaw quha is now a Catholik, and quha is ane Heretik.

4. *Of certane Articlis of our Belief, and firſt of that,* He deſcendit to the Hellis.

Quhy diminiſs ze, or takis away at the leiſt, the trew and propir Sentence fra us of this part of our Catholik Beleif; to wit, That *Chriſte* deſcendit * to the Hellis, and makis in that part ane Idoll of *Calvin*, adherand to his privat Opinioun, but ony apperand Scriptuiris or Conſent of the Kirk afoir zow, bot platt contrare bayth, quhen ze affirme be thai Wordis to be ſignifiit the Dolour and Anguis quhilk *Chriſte* ſufferit! Will ze that our Salviour ſufferit Panis efter that He wes deid and buriit?

* *Pſal.* 15. *Act.* 2. *Pſal.* 48. *Aug. Epiſt.* 57. *Ambr. de ſid. lib.* 3. *Irenæus contra hæreſ. lib.* 5. *Cypr. in ſimb.* *Baſil. in Pſ.* 48.

5. *Of the haly Catholik Kirk.*

Quhy ſpulze and denude ze us of this part of our Catholik Beleif, to wit, *The haly Catholik Kirk, the Communioun of Sanctis?* Quhilk ze do, quhen ze abſtract us fra the uniforme Conſent of all Kirkis, in all Cuntreis and Aiges, ſen the Dayis of the Apoſtolis, and bindis and aſtrictis us only to the Doctrine and Ordour laitlie ſet furth at *Geneva*; and litil eſtemis, or erar deſpiſeis the Communioun of Doctrine and Ordour in Religioun, of all the Sanctis of God, ſen *Chriſtis* Aſcenſioun.

Pſal. 2. Quhen thai cleik fra us twa Coũpounis of our Crede, Tyme is to ſpeik.

6. *Gif our new Precheouris and thair Scoleris be the Catholik Kirk.*

Quhiddir affirme ze zour ſelfis only, with zour Scoleris, to be the ſaid haly Catholik Kirk, and zour Determinationis in Controverſiis nevir afoir this determinat according to zour Doctrine (bot erar be the beſt leirnit declarit in zour contrare) to haif the Strenthe of the Decreis of a General Counſell, or nocht? Gif ze ſua do (as ze appere till us) ze ſchaw zour Arrogance only but mair Confutatioun, to be lachin and geſtit at. Gif ze do nocht, quhy determinat ze ſa proudly in hiech Materis weill obſcuir in Scriptuir; as the glorius Virgine the Mothir to hef bene pollutit, nocht only with original, bot als actual Sin? Sen the ſamin Virgine wes preſervit (as we may godly but Arrogance ſua underſtand) be the merciful Providence of God, as apperis till us be the Scripturis, *Geneſ.* 3. afoir *Eva* for hir Sin wes be God accurſit; and be this alſo *Pſal.* 45. writtin, that the Lord hes ſanctifiit his Tabernacle, and that in hir Lyfe ſcho *Luc.* 1. wes pronunceit be the Angel to hef bene full of Grace, ſua that na place culd be *Auguſt. de nat. & grat. c.* 36. left to ſin; ſen S. *Auguſtine* alſo ſpeikand of Sinnaris, dar nocht move queſtioun thairin of the ſaid bliſſit Virgine, for the Honour of *Jeſus* our Lord hir Sone? We ſpeik this mair largelie, becaus we heir ſum of zour Scoleris affirme, that *Auguſt. de peccat. merit. & remiſ. multis in locis.* eftir hir bliſſit Birthe ſcho turnit to the commoun Effairis of Mariage; *& alia magis abſurda, quæ clariùs promere nobis religio eſt.* And ſiklyke, quhare ze newlie concluid in zour Doctrine of Baptim, the Infantis to be ſaifit but the ſamin; the ſaid S. *Auguſtine* inhibitis to promit Salvatioun in that Caſe to thame, the quhilk the Scriptuir of God (ſayis he) to all manly Inginis to be preferrit, promittis nocht. We mein ſiklyke, that ze affirme the Saulis of the faythfull to hef paſſit to hevinlie Gloir afoir *Chriſtis* Aſcenſioun: That the Perſones ſeparat for Fornicatioun may mary agane with utheris Perſones, athir of the *By* in *Scottis* and in *Inglis* Toung is nocht ane. Partiis being on Lyfe, by the Practiſe nocht only of the Catholikis, bot alſo of *Ingland*, *Denmark*, *Saxone*, and mony utheris Cuntreis (as we ar informit) pretending Reformatioun: That ſum Men and Women profeſſing Monaſtik Lyfe, and vowing Virginitie, may efter mary but Brik of Conſcience; with mony utheris Thingis, as eftir ſall follow. To the quhilkis zour Determinationis ze wald aſtrict our Conſcience, as to the expres Word of God, and trew underſtanding thairof, pronunceit till us be a General Counſell; ſen we man *Tit.* 1. othir embraiſs zour Doctrine, or be baniſſit. Gif we beleif ſuirlie the Articulis of our commoun Fayth, togiddir with the Scriptuiris of God, to be trew; May we nocht in ſobir Simplicitie miſknaw mony Thingis of obſcuir and dirk Places in Scriptuir, albeit trewlie declarit be particular Men, but Perrell of our Salvatioun; committand the Jugement thairof to the haly Catholik Kirk? And contrarie, may we fuleſchelie embrais and profes ony new Interpretatioun in the Scriptuiris, albeit nocht erroneous, bot to us alwayis doutſum, pronunceit be zow (zea ſuppoſe ze war lauchtul Miniſteris, of the quhilk we ar nocht zit aſſuirit) except we incurre the ſamin Perrell?

7. *Gif Fayth may be in a Man but Cheritie, and of the Perrell of that general Doctrine.*

Eftir ſa lang Diſputatioun of Fayth, quhy concluid ze that Fayth can nawayis be in a Man but Cheritie? Sen S. *Paull* planelie diſtinctis the Office and Preſence alſo of the ane fra the uthir to be poſſible (we mein nocht that Cheri- 1 *Cor.* 13. tie may be ſeparatit fra Fayth) ſayand, *Gif I hald all Fayth and nocht Cheritie, I am maid lyke ſoundand Metell, or ane tincland Cimball?* And in ane 1 *Cor.* 9. uthir Place ſchawis himſelf, albeit prechand to utheris (quhilk he culd nocht do but Fayth) to feir and be ſoliſt, that be the Inlake of Cheritie throw Diſobe- *Matth.* 7. dience, he ſuld be maid reprobat. Mairover oure Salviour ſchawis, that he ſall miſknaw and repell fra him at the latter Day all Wirkaris of Iniquitie, evin thame quha had propheciit, wrocht Wounderis, and caſſin out Devilis in his *Jac.* 2. Name; quhilkis Thingis thai culd nocht do without Fayth. S. *James* corro- 1 *Pet.* 4. boratis the ſamin Sentence; and S. *Petir* affirmis that the *Jugement ſall begin at the Hous of God*, quhilk is the Faythful. Albeit we miſknaw nocht, that the perfyte quik Fayth, be the quhilk we apprehend the Grace of God, conqueſt till us be *Jeſus Chriſte*, throw Exerciſe of his Sacramentis and utheris his Ordinance,

Ordinance, be the quhilk we ar juſtifiit, can nawayis be ſeparat fra Cheritie; for quha ar moveit be *Chriſtis* Spirit, ar the Sones of God; and quhare is Cheritie, thair is God: Zit be quhat Reſſoun can ze affirme generalie, Fayth nawayis to be in ony but Cheritie. Perſuade ze nocht be this zour new Determinatioun, manifeſt Preſumptioun, and ungodlie Securitie of Conſcience to the wickit, to think it ſufficient to bable thair Beleif, and to haif na Regaird quhow thai leve? Or will ze that quhow oft a Man ſinnis, ſa oft he be denudit and ſpulzeit of all Fayth; ſen quha evir offendis God and his Nichtbour injuſtlie, throw Sin, wantis Cheritie?

Galat. 5.
Rom. 8.
Heir neidis na Anſuer, mair than the commoun Practik of Leis and Diſlait, *&c.* this Day in *Scotland.*
Eſay 59.
Sap. 1.

8. *Of the Diſtinctioun of actual Sin.*

QUhy mak ze na Diſtinctioun nor Difference of actual Sinnis? Sen S. *James* diſtinctis the ſamin, ſayand, *Concupiſcence quhen it conſavis, generis Sin; and Sin quhen it is conſummat, perfytit or endit, generis Deid:* Diſtinctand the Sin, quhilk ſtandis with Grace, callit be Theologis *veniall*; and the uthir, quhilk ſeparatis us fra God, callit *mortall:* Sen *the juſt Man ſinnis ſevin tymes on the Day, and ryſſis agane*; and as S. *Johne* writtis, *nane of us ar but Sin?* Will ze haif us be this kynd of Sin evir in the State of Damnatioun? and na difference of the lycht Imperfectioun callit *Sin*, zea in the regenerat be Godis Spirit, and the Sin of the wickit? Sen the former kynd of Sinnaris ar manifeſtlie callit *juſt*, as wes *Job*, *Zacharias* and *Elizabeth*; and maiſt trew it is, that *na Damnatioun is to thame quha ar in Chriſte Jeſu, and walkis nocht eftir the Fleſche:* Ar we nocht commandit nocht to be deſavit, bot beleve that the rychteous Man is rychteous, as *Chriſte* his Heid is rychteous? Bot of the uthir kynd it is writtin, *Quha ar nocht juſt, ar nocht of God.* Quha ar nocht moveit of *Chriſtis* Spirit, ar nocht his. *Departe from me* (ſall *Chriſte* ſay to the vane Bragaris of Fayth) *all ze Wirkaris of Iniquitie.* Perſuade ze nocht, for nocht diſtincting this Generalitie of Sin (as we ſaid afoir of Fayth) the wickit to Preſumptioun?

Ja. 1.
1 *Jo.* 5.
Prov. 24.
1 *Jo.* 1.
Prov. 20.
3 *Reg.* 8.
Job 1.
Luc. 1.
Rom. 8.
1 *Jo.* 3.
Rom. 8.
Matt. 7.
Werk beiris Witnes.

9. *Of calumnious allegeing of Papiſtrie, and leſum Simplicitie.*

QUhy ſaw ze ſa planelie manifeſt Seditioun in Godis Kirk, evir clockand zour apperand Malice and Perverſitie be the Name of *Papiſtrie*, nocht only aſcriving in mony Controverſiis the uniforme Doctrine of the Martyris and utheris Fatheris, aggreing with Godis Word, to the ſaid Papiſtrie; bot alſo allegeing impudentlie and calumniuſlie that Thing to thame, quhome ze call Papiſtis, quhilk nevir ane of thame (ſa fer as we can collect) thocht anis in mynd? as, That our Salviour deſcendit to the Hellis in his Body: That Men ar ſaifit be thair Workis, and nocht be Fayth in *Chriſte*; and utheris ſiklyke. And alſo imputing to the univerſal Conſent of Godis Kirk callit be zow Papiſtis, that Thing quhilk every Man in his privat Opinioun hes writtin within thir few Zeris; ſen we addict our ſelfis to the Doctrine of na Man, of quhatevir Leirning and Auctorite he be, except in ſa fer as it manifeſtlie aggreis with the Catholik Doctrine, planelie declarit till us be the maiſt aunciant Writtaris abone ane thouſand Zeris paſſit, to hef bene belevit and obſervit afore thame, fra the Apoſtolis Dayis, and keipit in dayly Practyſe to this preſent in Godis Kirk. Mairover as we knaw that our Salviour and his Apoſtolis did and ſpak mony Thingis quhilkis ar nocht expreſlie writtin, and thairfor of na Neceſſitie injunit us to beleve, except thai be of the Traditionis univerſalie belevit and obſervit: Zit ſen mony Thingis ar writtin in Hiſtoriis, and keipit fra tyme to tyme in the Memorie of Man, aggreing with the Scriptuiris, and apperand to be trew; as that Knycht quha peirſit our Lordis Syde with the Speir, to hef bene callit *Longinus*, and to hef obtenit at that Tyme nocht only the cleir Sycht of his corporal, bot alſo of his inwart Eis, and to hef bene ſaifit throw the Plentueſnes of Mercy with the Theif that hang on the rycht Hand. This groſſis Exemple we propone apperand trew, and to the Gloir of *Chriſtis* grete Mercy

Dene *Patrik Kinloquhy* allegeit baith thir Exemplis in *Linlythqow.* As ſindry of the lait Sculmen.
Jo. 20 *&* 21.
Traditionis univerſal.
2 *Theſ.* 2.
Quhow of Thingis without all Controverſie leſum, the ſeditious Perſonis ſawis Schiſme and Diviſioun.

A ſair Battel aganis *Longinus* ſtruk *Johne Knox*, in his preching of S. *Johnes* Evangel, and aganis thir Exemplis, and ſiklyke.

ſchawin to his Inimeis, bot amangis us of na Exiſtimatioun, in the Rebuk of cheif Arrogantis, intending be this and utheris ſiklyke to ſaw and nureis Diſcord amang the Membris of *Chriſte Jeſu*, be the Name of *Papiſtrie*. Siklyke, That the Croce and Pillar quhareat oure Salviour ſufferit, wyth his Cote, and ſiklyke to be keipit zit amangis Chriſtianis: That the Apoſtolis and Martyris Bodyis be zit lyand in ſik Places as ſum Men affirmis thame to be. Quhat Perell or Errour is it to beleve in ſimplicitie of Mynd thir Thingis, and ſiklyke, ſua thai be nocht abuſit in Idolatrie nor Superſtitioun, bot in ane moderat Reverence, nor zit injunit to ony Man to beleve the ſamin as neceſſar to his Salvatioun? Gif ze think na Perell thairin, quhilk ze behuis to do on the maner forſaid, except ze be maiſt mad and unkynd to *Chriſte*; quhy attempt ze ſik Diviſioun thairthrow, cryand, *Papiſtis! Papiſtis!* makand the ſemple and humill Membris of *Chriſtis* Body as ane Geſtingſtok, ane Fable or Bable to lach at, and that be the Name of *Papiſtis?* Gif ze for our Simplicitie in Godlines, humill Jugement and Submiſſioun of our ſelfis to the Jugement of the haly Catholik Kirk in all Controverſiis, keipand ſuirlie the Articulis of our Beleif, and leveand as we may be Godis Grace (quhilk we intend) in the Feir and Luve of our God and Nychtbour, quhilk Thing is the End of all the Law; haif we na mair juſt Caus to rejoſe to be callit *Papiſtis* (be the quhilk Name we underſtand *Catholikis*, Sones of the haly Catholik Kirk) than ze haif in the Name of *Proteſtantis* or *Calvinianis?* For ſiklyke with us rejoſit the haly Prophet *David*, to be callit the Son of Godis Damicell, quhilk is the haly Kirk, ſayand, *I Lord, I thi Servand and the Sone of thi Damicell*; and in an uthir place, *Lord ſaif thi Servand, and the Sone of thi Damicell.*

1 Tim. 1.
Pſal. 115.
Pſal. 85.
Sap. 9.

10. *Of the firſt four General Counſelis eſtir the Apoſtolis.*

And zit to thir thre principal Counſelis, quhilkis thai in thair Buikis appreve, in thair Doctrine thai ar contrarius; tweching the Oblatioun in the Mes, the real Preſence of *Chriſtis* Body thair; in the Mariage of thair Munkis and Nunnis; and in thair uſurpit Auctoritie.

SEn na Heretik that evir wes in thir our lattir Dayis, or afoir, denyit the firſt four General Counſelis eſtir the Apoſtolis (we mein of *Nicænum, Epheſinum, Conſtantinopolitanum & Chalchedonenſe*) except thai Heretikis or thair Scoleris, contrare the quhilkis tha Counſelis wes haldin, tweching the cheif Articulis of our Beleif, to wit, the haly Tinitie and Incarnatioun of our Salviour; quhy hef ze left out in zour Confeſſioun, laitlie ſet furth at *Geneva* in *Inglis*, the Counſel of *Conſtantinople*, confeſſing zow to condemne all Hereſiis condemnit in the uthir thre, makand na Mentioun of it? Will ze nocht grant with the ſaid Counſel, contrare the Heretik *Macedonius* condemnit thair, that the Haly Gaiſt is verray God? And gif ze confes the ſamin, as we dout nocht bot ze will do; quhy geif ze juſt Occaſioun to the infirme to be in that part ſclanderit be zow? Or quhat uthir Thing apprevis that Counſel that ze dar impreve.

11. *Of the Terme* Sacrament, *and Numbre thairof.*

Epheſ. 5.
Jo 3.
1 *Cor.* 11.
Act. 8. 19.
Act. 13.
1 *Tim.* 4.
Matth. 16.
Jo. 20.
Epheſ. 5.
Jac. 5.
Marc. 6.
Luc. 8.
Matth. 13.

SEn ze admitt na thing in Religioun, except thai Thingis quhilkis ar expreſſie contenit in Scriptuir; quhy mak ze ſik Brag, Tumult and Diviſioun for the Terme *Sacrament*, cryand ſa oft to be twa Sacramentis in *Chriſtis* Kirk, and na ma? Quhilk Terme is nocht peculiarlie appropriat in Scriptuir to ony of thai ſevin callit be the Kirk *Sacramentis*, except to Matrimonie allane, quhilk ze, contrare the Scriptuir, denyis to be a Sacrament? Quhy uſe ze nocht the ſamin ſevin be ſik Names as thai ar expreſſit in Scriptuir but ferthair Contentioun, as Baptim, the Lordis Supper, the Impoſitioun of Handis, in Confirmatioun and Ordinatioun of Miniſteris, the Keis for Abſolutioun to the penitent, Matrimonie, the Prayer on the ſeik with uncting of Oill? Or quhy call ze nocht the ſamin *Myſteriis*, conforme to the Evangell, but mair brag? And ſuppoſe ze contemne the Terme *Sacrament* to all the ſevin ſua haldin, quhy contemne ze the Uſe and Exerciſe in zour Congregatioun of ane grete part of the ſaidis ſevin, contrare the expres Scriptuir? Quhy uſe ze this Terme *Communioun* for the Lordis Supper, nocht contenit in Scriptuir in that Significatioun, and ſamekle abhorris

abhorris fra the Terme *Miſſa*, expreſſie contenit in the original *Hebrew* Text for ane *Oblatioun*; ſen na Chriſtiane of the former Aige, and few of the Proteſtantis at this preſent in *Alemannie* and utheris Cuntreis, denyis the rycht Uſe and Practiſe of the Lordis Supper to be callit ane *Sacrifice* or *Oblatioun*?

Deut. 16.

12. *Of the twa Sacramentis, and na ma.*

QUhat haif ze for zou, that in *Chriſtis* Kirk thai ar bot twa Sacramentis, and na ma; ſpecialie ſen zour grete Maiſter *Calvine* denyis nocht to be thre, *Melanchton* and utheris four, utheris five, and ſum ſex? For Scriptuir haif ze nane, nor zit, as we ar informit, aunciant Fatheris, nor General Counſelis, nor zit (that ſuld move zou mair) uniforme Conſent of zour awin Writtaris.

Calvin. in inſtitut. de ſacram. in genere,& de ordine Eccleſiaſt.

Melanchton. in loc. com.

13. *Gif the Sacramentis be Signis only of Salvatioun.*

QUhy mak thir twa Sacramentis Signis only of Salvatioun, quharby we ſuld be aſſuirit (as ze teche) of Godis Grace? and nocht erar Meanis of Efficacitie, quharby God workis his Grace in us? Sen it is writtin, that God makis us ſaif be the Lawar of Regeneratioun. And S. *Petir* hes thir Wordis, that Baptim on lyke maner makis us ſaif. And S. *James* hes, that the Prayar of Fayth ſall ſaif the patient. S. *Paull* writtis, that *Timothe* had Grace be Impoſitioun of his Handis.

Tit. 3.

1 *Pet.* 3.

Jac. 5.

14. *Gif the Infantis be ſaiſit but Baptim.*

QUhat haif ze for zou, that the Infantis of the Faythful ar ſaiſit alrady but Baptim? Sen the Scriptuir techis, that *we ar borne the Sones of Wrayth*; and, *Except we be borne agane of the Watter and the Spirit, we ſall nocht entir in the Kingdome of Hevin.* And S. *Auguſtine* affirmis this his Sayngis in mony utheris Places, *Trow nocht, ſay nocht, nor teche nocht* (ſayis he) *gif thow wale be a Catholik, that the Infantis or thai be baptizit cumis to Remiſſioun of Sinnis, gif thai be preventit be Deth but Baptim.* But quhow can the Promis maid to *Abraham* and his Seid preve zour Intent in this Mater? Sen efter the Promis maid to *Abraham* in that ſamin Place, it followis that the Maill Barne nocht circumcidit the auchtin Day, ſuld peris fra his Peple. Bot ze affirme *Circumciſioun* and *Baptim* to be of ane Strenth and Efficacitie. * Or zit quhow may that Place of S. *Paull* allegeit be zow confirme zour Sentence, *Uthirwayis zour Sones war unclene, bot now thai ar haly?* except that ze wald an indurat *Jow* and an unfaythful *Ethnik*, be the Fayth of an uthir, to be ſaiſit.

Epheſ. 2.

Jo. 3.

Auguſt. ad Vincent. de fid. lib. 3. *cap.* 9.

Gen. 17.

1 *Cor.* 7.

* For thair it is writtin, *the unfaythful Man to be ſanctifiitt be the faythful Woman*, &c.

Of Sanctificatioun tharefor thai ar divers Maneris.

15. *Of the Contempt of Baptim to the Miniſteris Perrell.*

GIf ze affirme with *Calvin*, Baptim to be ſa neceſſar, that it ſald nocht be contemnit, gif Occaſioun and Tyme ſerve thairto (as we grant alſo that the Guidnes of God aſtrictis nocht utherwayis in the Perſones of adult Aige his Grace to the Sacramentis) quhy refuſe ze to baptize the Barnis quhen thai ar brocht to zou, except it be zour appoinctit Day thairto? And quhy allege ze it to be na Perrell to zour ſelfis alwayis, contrare zour Doctrine (to wit, that the Sacramentis ſuld nocht be contemnit) gif the Barnis deceis but Baptim throw zour Necligence, or erar Contempt and lichtliing of Godis Ordinance? Or quhy refuſe ze to baptize the Barne preſentit to zou be faythful Men, for the Iniquitie of the Father, ſen it is writtin that *the Sone ſall nocht beir the Fatheris Iniquitie*; and ſen a Chriſtiane is nocht faythles, albeit he be fallin utherwayis in Sin? In ſa fer as ze wald punis Sin, we diſſent nocht fra zow; bot gif ze lat the Barne peris, quhow ſall we nocht diſſent fra zow? Or quhow can ze excuis zour Crueltie thairin?

Note.

Ezech. 18.

16. *Of the Ceremoneis at Baptim.*

Juſt. in quaſt. Baſil. de Spiritu ſanct. Tert. de cor. mili. Orig. in num. Aug. de Eccleſ. dog And in mony Places ma. Quhen thai cry out *Papiſtis* on us, thai think mair evil on the hail Martyris of *Chriſte*, the Doctouris, &c. quhome in ane Conſent we follow heir.

SEn the maiſt aunciant Martyris and Doctouris of the primitive Kirk, as *Juſtinus*, *Cypriane*, *Tertulliane*, *Origene*, *Baſil*, *Auguſtine*, and utheris, witneſſis mekle Ordour to be obſervit at Baptim, nocht expreſſie writtin in Scriptuiris; and allo mony of thai Ceremoneis uſeit be the Kirk of God in thir our Dayis at Baptim, to hef bene Traditionis univerſalie obſervit, and throw that Caus nocht to be neclectit nor contemnit; quhilkis ar ſpecialie, Exorcizatioun, the Signe of the Croce, with the rycht Hand on the Forret, to be maid, to renunce the Devil and all his Werkis, the uncting with Oyll and Chriſme; the baptizit to be coverit with a quhyte Clayth callit the *Cuid*, to be thryis dippit in the Wattir: Quhy accuis ze us of Idolatrie, Superſtitioun, or *Papiſtrie*, as ze call it, for the uſcing thairof? and will nocht condemne planelie, as ze think (quhilk Thocht eſalie may be conſiderit) the ſaidis Martyris, Doctouris, and all Kirkis of *Chriſte* afore thir our Dayis, as an idolatricall and ſuperſtitius Kirk, pollutit with the ſaidis filthy Vices?

17. *Of Godis Kirk.*

Note heir thai ar compellit to blaſpheme the Sanctis of God, and imagine a Kirk inviſibil. *Luc.* 22. *Matth.* 28.

GIf ze condemne the ſaid Kirk of the Martyris (quhome the reſt hes evir followit to our Dayis in that part) of Superſtitioun and Idolatrie; quhare ſall ze find this Kirk of God promittit in the Evangel, quhois Fayth ſuld nocht failze?

18. *Of the Ceremoneis amang the new Reformaris.*

Heir be thair awin Doingis the Ground of thair Doctrine fallis in the Myre. *Matth.* 3. *Jo.* 3. *Act.* 8. *Matth.* 26. Note. 1 *Cor.* 10.

GIf ze will admitt in zour Kirk na Ceremonie, except expreſſie commandit in Scriptuir; quhy will ze nocht baptize the Barne, except the Father thairof hald it in his Armis afoir zour Pulpet: And nocht content with utheris Gentlemen, except thai bring thair Bairnis throw the Stretis in thair awin Airmis? And quhy baptize ze in the Kirk, and in ony prophane Baſin, and nocht in the plane Feildis, and in the Reyar or Fluid, as did S. *Johne* the *Baptiſt*, *Philip* and the reſt of the Apoſtolis? Quhy haif ze God-fatheris and God-motheris, ſen the haill Congregatioun thair preſent may be Witnes? Quhy hald ze God-motheris in the Beginning, and now repellis the ſamin? Quhy baptize ze nocht, except ze geif every Barne ane Name at that Tyme? Of the quhilk albeit ze haif Exemple of S. *Johne* the *Baptiſt* at his Circumciſioun, and of our Salviour, zit quhat expres Command haif ze thairto? Quhy cover ze zour Table with a quhyte Clayth at zour Communioun? Quhy caus ze utheris than the Miniſter partlie to diſtribut zour Breid and Wyne at zour Communioun, ſen our Salviour (quhois Place the lauchful Miniſter occupiis) gaif his Sacrament himſelf to his Diſciplis, commanding thame as his lauchful Miniſteris to do the ſamin? Quhy mak ze zour Communioun afoir Dennar, ſen our Salviour inſtitutit his haly Sacrament efter Suppare? Quhy uſe ze at zour Communioun now four, now thre Coupis, and mony Breidis; nothir keipand the Ceremonie expreſſit in the Evangel, nor confeſſing the Trewth of the Myſterie with us, ſen our Salviour uſeit ane Breid and ane Coup? Gif ze nothir affirme *Chriſte* realie thair preſent, (quhilk ane individit the trew hevinly Breid till us promittit, eviry Chriſtiane of us at our haly Communioun moſt aſſuritlie throw *Chriſtis* omnipotent Word reſſavis) nor zit keipis the Ceremonie in the uſeing of ane Breid and ane Coup; quhow undirſtand ze that is writtin be S. *Paull*, *We ar mony ane Breid and ane Body, all that ar Parctakaris of ane Breid and ane Coup?* And quhy will ze nocht ſolemnize zour Band of Matrimonie, except thai be proclamit thre Bannis afoir? Quhy caus ze at Mariage the Perſones than mariit to tak utheris be the Hand, and in ſum Places a Ring to be gevin? Thir Thingis we ſpeir nocht that we repreve thame all, bot to knaw quhow ze eſtabilis zour Doctrine, to the quhilk ze will that we aſtrict our ſelfis; ſen ze teche na thing to be uſeit at the Sacramentis, or in Religioun, except thai be expreſſie commandit in Scriptuiris, albeit ze uſe the contrare zour ſelfis.

19. *Gif*

19. *Gif all the Sacramentis of auld and new Teſtamentis ar of alyke Strenthe and Efficacitie.*

SEn the Sacramentis of the Evangell exhibitis in Deid and Veritie thai Graces figurat only and hoipit for in the auld Teſtament, as largelie exponis the Doctouris; as *Ambroſe* writtand on the 73 *Pſalm*, *The Sacramentis* (ſays he) *of the auld and new Teſtament ar nocht alyke; for the ane promittis the Salviour, and the utheris wirkis Salvatioun.* Quhy teche ze, that thai ar all indifferentlie of ane Efficacitie and actual Strenthe? Say ze that *Manna* in the Deſert wes the ſamin thing in effect that the Sacrament of *Chriſtis* Body, ſen the ane wes the Figure, and the uthir the Veritie? Or hald ze *Manna* of greitar Excellencie than the uthir? quhilk ze do, gif ze confes Breid and Wyne allanerlie thair preſent; ſen *Manna* deſcendit frome the Hevin be Miracle, and Breid and Wyne aſcendis frome the Erd be Natuir. Quhiddir affirm ze heirfor the Figure and the Veritie to be ane Thing, or nocht? Or the Figure and the Schaddow of mair Excellencie than the uthir, or nocht?

Note.

20. *Of the real Preſence of* Chriſtis *Body in the Sacrament, be Power of the Wordis of* Chriſte *omnipotent.*

QUhat haif ze for zour Defence to affirm in the Sacrament of our Lordis Body to remane Breid and Wyne with (I wate nocht quhat) ſum ſpiritual Imaginatioun? And mair erroneouſlie alſo contrare the *Lutheranis*, and all Kirkis afoir zow, that thair is nocht thair bot Breid and Wyne only? ſen the Wordis of our Salviour (quha is verray God, omnipotent in Power) ar ſa expreſlie ſpokin, *This is my Body: This is my Bluid.* And S. *Paull* exponing the ſamin, writtis, that the Man *quha eitis thairof unworthelie, eitis his Damnatioun, nocht decerning* (ſays he) *the Lordis Body.* And ſiklyke all the aunciant Fatheris and Counſellis, nocht allanerlie that hes bein laitlie, bot quha hes writtin fra the Beginning, quhare thai tweche that Mater, writtis contrare zour Doctrine; as ane ſufficient Teſtimonie thairof may be the firſt Counſel haldin at *Epheſus*, to the quhilk ze aſtrict zow in zour Beleif ſet out in zour Confeſſioun at *Geneva*. Bot gif ze allege that ſum of thame callis that Sacrament a *Figure*, we ar certifiet be evident Demonſtrationis of thair Writtingis, that quhare thai call it anis a Figure, thai call it an hundreth tymes *Chriſtis* verray Body and Bluid. Quhareby thai ſchaw thameſelfis planelie, that thai call the ſenſible Signis of that Sacrament a Figure or Signe of the Thingis preſent inviſibilie, and nocht abſent, that nane ſuld haif that carnal and groſs Jugement of the *Capernaitis*.

Luc. 22.
1 *Cor.* 11.
Note.

21. *Of certane Argumentis tweching the Premiſſis.*

ZE takand zour Argument contrare the real Preſence of *Chriſtis* Body in the Sacrament, uſeis to reſſoun of the natural Propirteis of a Manis verray Body, to the qhilk the Body of our Salviour wes alyke (bot zit nocht equall) in all Thingis tweching an verray Man, except Sin and Ignorance, as ze godly in that Caſe conſentis with us. Bot we demand, gif our Salviour in this Lyfe enduit nocht his mortall and paſſible Body with the Propirteis and Giftis of an immortall and impaſſible Body? Gif ze ſay na, ze deny the Scriptuiris; as quhen he paſſit upon the See, quhen he transfigurat his Body afoir his Paſſioun, quhen he paſſit throw the Middis of the thik Peple to evade thair Furie; and ſiklyke eftir his Reſurrectioun, by the Propirteis of a Body glorifiit, and than immortall, eit with his Diſcipulis the Fuid of Mortalitie; and als by the Propirteis of a verray Body, enterit in, the Duiris being cloſit, zea, as Godis Kirk declaris till us, throw the cloſit Duiris. We demand zow heirfor, gif ze beleve that our Salviour did thir Thingis veralie and in deid, or be ane certane jouglarie Craft? Gif ze grant with us (as we hoip ze ſall) that he did thir Thingis trewlie and in deid, becaus it is ſa writtin, albeit agains all naturall Jugement, and by the Propirteis of a verray Body; quhy beleve ze nocht the uthir alſua? Sen zour grete

Jo. 6.
Matt. 14.
Ibid. 17.
Luc. 24.
Jo. 8. 10.
Luc. ult.
Act. 1.
Act. 20.
Jo. 20.

Calvin. in inſtitut. de cœna Domini.

Homil. 83. *in Matth.*

* We ar nocht aſſuirit gif this wes in *Johne Knoxis* Copie, bot zit thair is na Diverſitie heirin fra the reſt.

Act. 9.

1 *Cor.* 15.

Maiſter *Calvin* confeſſis this Sacrament to be a Myſterie mair hie than he can ſchaw be Toung, think in Mynd, or onyways can deſcend in his Hert, and an uthir Mater than to trow only: And ſen *Chryſoſtome* maiſt erneſtlie forbidis to attend to our natural Senſis and manlie Reſſoun in that Mater, bot to geve Credit to the expres Word of God, albeit it appere contrare our Wittis and Senſis; bot ſen *Chriſte* hes ſpokin (ſays he) *This is my Body*, lat us geif Credit, and repugne nocht to God? Ze miſknaw nocht ſindry of zour maiſt leirnit Precheouris within thir twa Zeris and ane half, to hef affirmit with us planelie, and zit hes ſchawin na expres Scriptuir in the contrare: Quhy wald ze heirfor thral us, as ze war the Catholik Kirk, the Pillar of Veritie, that can nocht erre? * Quhare ze allege that *Chriſte* aſcendit to the Hevin, and ſittis at the rycht Hand of the Father, ze will nocht haif him ſa bund in Hevin that he may naways be in Erd: For eſtir his Aſcenſioun he apperit to S. *Paull* in the Way; be the quhilk S. *Paull* provis his verray Reſurrectioun, 1 *Cor.* 15. And to ſit at the rycht Hand of the Father, confirmis mair our Purpoſe, ſen be that is ſignifiit his omnipotent Power.

22. *Gif the dew Celebratioun of the ſaid Sacrament be a Sacrifice.*

Cypr. Epiſt. 3. *lib.* 2. *Matth.* 28. *Mal.* 1. *Pſal.* 49. *Martial. ad Burdeg. cap.* 3. *Juſtin. in dialogo cum Judæo. Iren. lib.* 4. *cap.* 32. *Aug. de trinit. lib.* 3. *cap.* 4. *Euſeb. demonſt. evang. cap. ult.*

QUhy abhorre ze to affirm and call the rycht Uſe always of the Celebratioun and ſanctifiing of the ſaid Sacrament of our Lordis Body, ane *Sacrifice* or *Oblatioun*, ſen our Salviour maid Sacrifice at his laſt Supper, eſtir the Ordour of *Melchiſedech*, quhilk ſamin ſelf Thing he commandit to be done in Remembrance of him; and ſen the laſt of the twelf Prophetis *Malachias*, to quhome aggreis *David*, foreſpak expreſſie of the Abolitioun of the auld Sacrifices and Oblationis, and upſetting of ane clene new Oblatioun, to be offerit in the new Law to the Name of GOD in all Places, mening of the unbluidy Sacrifice of the Kirk in the Body and Bluid of *Chriſte*, as witneſſis haly *Martialis* S. *Petiris* Diſciple, *Juſtinus*, *Irenæus*, with *Auguſtine*, *Euſebius*, and utheris Doctouris? Bot ſen ze eſteme *Auguſtine* gretumlie (and nocht without Cauſe amangis the reſte of the Doctouris) intend nocht in this Cauſe to thraw him (as ſum of zour new Writtaris dois) to mein in this Mater of ane uthir Sacrifice of loving allanerly. For we advertis zow as tender Freindis, that ze wilbe eſchamit thairin, he is ſa plane in ſa mony Places in zour contrare.

23. *Of the Numbre of the Communicantis, and utheris Ceremoneis.*

Aug. ſerm. de ſanct. 19.

Of Place, Tyme, nor Numbre of the Communicantis, is na expres Command in Scriptuir.

AS we grant it lauchful and godly, that mony wald cum daylie to the Meſs, and reſave the haly Sacrament of the Altar (we ſpeik on this maneir with *Auguſtine*) togidder with the Preiſt; ſua can we nocht underſtand zour Scrupuloſitie and vane Ceremonie, quhilk is, that ane faythful Man haveand na uthir Impediment, bot wantand Cumpanie to communicat with him ſacramentalie, may nocht reſave that Sacrament him allane, without Errour or Idolatrie. Quhow can he be him alane, ſa lang as he is a Membre of *Chriſtis* Kirk? Heirfor we demand zow, gif our Salviour at the Inſtitutioun of this Sacrament preſcrivit ane Law till us of all the Ceremoneis uſeit at that Tyme; as of the Place, quhilk wes ane Hall; of the Tyme, quhilk wes eſtir Suppare; of the Numbre of the Communicantis, of the quhilkis we reid only twelf? Gif ze affirm that he did ſua, ze failze zour ſelfis, quhilkis keipis nocht ane Jot of all thre. And quhy wald ze heirfor thral us to ane Ceremonie nocht expreſlie commandit, contrare zour awin Doctrine in utheris Places?

24. *Quhy this Sacrament is nocht uſeit to be miniſtrat to the Seik.*

QUhy neclect ze to miniſtrat this haly Sacrament to the Seik afoir thair departing out of this Lyfe, by the laudable Uſe and Canounis of the primitive Kirk in tyme of the glorious Martyris? Gif ze ſay, that ze may nocht delivir it to ane allane; quhy nocht now als weil as the tyme of the Martyris,

be

be the Exemple of the haly penitent Man *Serapion*, quha in the tyme of the reſaving thairof wes illuminat be the Spirit of Prophetie? Gif ze excuis zow be thir Wordis of our Salviour, ſayand, *Drink ze all of this*, and thairthrow ane Man can nocht reſave it him allane, gif the Miniſter or utheris be nocht rady to communicat; quhow can that preve zour Intent, ſen all Chriſtanis at ane Tyme and ane Place can nocht keip that Commande, and ze interpret it ſua?

Euſeb. Eccl. hiſt. lib. 6. cap. 34.

A grete Abſurditie following thair Doctrine heir.

25. *Of the Wordis of Sanctificatioun.*

ZE confeſſing oftymes trewlie with us, eſtir the Techement of S. *Auguſtine*, that a Sacrament in *Chriſtis* Kirk conſiſtis nocht only of a Signe, bot of the Word of God junit thairto at his Command; quhy teche ze and ſettis furth in zour Catechis, that the Wordis of Sanctificatioun of the Sacrament of our Lordis Body and Bluid ar nocht to be pronunceit to the end that thair ſuld be ony Tranſubſtantiatioun thairby, or be the Intent of the Sacrificear, bot to advertis the Peple communicant quhow thai ſuld behaif thame in the mein tyme? Quhow can ze appropriat thir Wordis, *This is my Body: This is my Bluid*; to teche the Peple quhow thai ſuld behaif thame, except only to the Intent that thai ſuld beleve the ſamin to be trew that is ſpokin be God, and commandit to be ſpokin be the Miniſter in His Name, quho may nocht lie? Or be quhat Temeritie and Fuilhardines dar ze miniſtrat a Sacrament, nocht pronunceand the Wordis of *Chriſte*, to the Intent that it ſuld be a Sacrament; ſen ze teche in utheris Places rycht trewlie, that without the Wordis of God commandand and promittand Grace thairto, na Sacrament can be maid? Or quhow ſuld the Miniſter nocht haif Intent to performe and perfyte that Thing that he wirkis in the Name and at the Command of God?

Note thair wriſting and wrying of the expres Word of God.

And nocht to teche the Peple Geſtuiris, quhow thai ſuld behaif thame.

26. *Of the Names,* Sacrifice, Preiſt *and* Altar.

ALbeit to us Chriſtianis be properlie ane God allane, ane King and ane Lord, quha only be Nature and eſſential Subſtance is guid, ryhteous, trew and merciful; zit the inexplicable Benignitie of the ſamin our God diſtributis and appropriatis in his Scriptuir the ſamin Names to his Rewlaris, and utheris Membris of *Chriſtis* myſtical Body in Erd, calling thame Godis, Kingis, Lordis, juſt, guid, &c. And ſiklyke our Salviour *Chriſte Jeſus* being only our hie Preiſt, and only that Sacrifice quhilk fra the Fall of *Adam* to the Day of Jugement takis away the Sinnis of the Warld; and only ſiklyke that Altar upon the quhilk the Prayaris of all acceptit and hard be our hevinly Father ar offerit: Zit ze misknaw nocht that the ſamin Names war appropriat to the Preiſtis, Sacrifice and Altar, in the Law of *Moyſes*, prefiguring only *Chriſte Jeſus* than tocum. The quhilk Names, *Preiſt*, *Sacrifice* and *Altar*, the Kirk of God hes uſeit ſen the Apoſtolis Days; for the Miniſter offering, at *Chriſtis* Command, the unbluidy Sacrifice of the Body and Bluid of *Chriſte*, upon the Table of the Lord, quhilk Thing ze misknaw nocht, albeit ze wink at the ſamin, applauding to the Tyme. Albeit we may bring intellable Teſtimoneis thairof, zit for ſchortnes we will adduce bot a certane to zour Memorie.

Matth. 19. *Luc.* 18. *Marc.* 10. *Rom.* 3. *Exod.* 7. 1 *Cor.* 8. *Jo.* 10. *Pſal.* 81. *Jo.* 1. *Apoc.* 8. *Paſſim in Ex. & Levit.*

Dum altaria dæmonum in pulverem redigerentur, aram ignoti Dei ad conſecrationem reſervari juſſimus, &c. Sacrificium Deo creatori in ara offertur, non homini, nec Angelo.

Martialis D. Petri diſcipulus ad Burdegalen. cap. 3.

Ego omni die ſacrifico, non thuris fumum, &c. ſed immaculatum agnum quotidie, in altare crucis ſacrifico.

Philal. de B. And. in ejus vita.

Eccleſiæ oblatio, quam docuit Dominus offerri in univerſo mundo, purum ſacrificium reputatum eſt illi.

Irenæus lib. 4. cap. 34.

Novi teſtamenti novam docuit oblationem, quam Eccleſia ab Apoſtolis accipiens, in univerſo mundo jam offert Deo.

Ibid. cap. 32.

Nam ſi Ieſus Chriſtus Dominus & Deus noſter, ipſe eſt ſummus Sacerdos Dei Patris, & ſacrificium Deo Patri ipſe primus obtulit, & hoc fieri in ſui commemorationem præcepit. Utique ſacerdos ille vice Chriſti verè fungitur,

Cyprianus lib. 2. Epiſt. 3.

Mr. George Hay, *ſy haiſt zow to recant.*
Loquitur de calice vino & aqua miſcendo.

ſi id quod Chriſtus fecit imitatur. Et ſacrificium verum & plenum tunc offert (ſacerdos) in Eccleſia Deo Patri, ſi ſic incipiat offerre, ſecundum quod ipſum Chriſtum videat obtuliſſe.

Aug. in Pſal. 33.

Chriſtus de corpore & ſanguine ſuo inſtituit ſacrificium ſecundum ordinem Melchiſedech.

Id. Epiſt. 59.

Voventur omnia quæ offeruntur Deo, maximè ſancta altaris oblatio.

Id. de civ. Dei lib. 16. c. 22.

Cùm Melchiſedech Abrahæ benediceret, ibi primùm apparuit ſacrificium: quod nunc à Chriſtianis offertur Deo, toto terrarum orbe.

Id. Epiſt. 107.

Sacerdos ad altare Dei ſtans, exhortatur populum orare pro incredulis.

Ambroſ. lib. 5. c. 1. de ſacr.

In altari conſtituitur panis & calix.

Chryſoſt. in Mat. hom. 26.

Sacerdos altari aſſiſtens pro univerſo orbe terrarum, pro abſentibus, &c. ſacrificio illo propoſito, gratias Deo jubet offerre.

Note.

Siklyke we dout nocht that ze misknaw the ſamin Fatheris, and all the reſt maiſt aunciant, commonlie to hef uſeit the ſamin Termes in all Aiges, as the Kirk dois at this preſent; and the Apoſtolis ſiklyke to hef abſtenit commonlie in thair Writtingis fra thir Termes in this Significatioun, for the Abolitioun of the Preiſtheid, Sacrifice and Altar, in the auld Law, and diſtincting the ſamin in the Law of Grace fra the uthir.

As the uſeing of the ſamin Names in all Aiges ſen thair Days, in uniforme Conſent, manifeſtlie to us perſuadis; quhy call ze us heirfor, for the uſeing of the ſamin, *Papiſtis*, and ſparis in that part the haill Kirk afoir us?

27. *Of the Ornamentis of the Altaris, and the Preiſtis.*

1 Cor. 14.
Prov. 1. & 6.

GIf the Law of Natuir ingraftit in our Hertis rejoſs in all cumlie and decent Ordour, and the ſamin nocht being aboliſſit, bot confirmit be the Evangel, and ſen S. *Paull* alſo commandis all Thingis to be done honeſtlie and eftir Ordour in the Kirk of God; quhat haif ze for zow to affirm all the Veſtimentis and Ornamentis in the Hous of God, ſpecialie on the Altaris and Miniſteris in tyme of the divine Offices, to be ſuperſtitious and idolatrical, ſpecialie ſen we may preve in the primitive Kirk ſiklyke Ornamentis to hef bene uſeit nocht commandit in the new Teſtament? *Salomon* alſo commanding us naways to dimit the Law of our Mother, quhilk is the Kirk (ſen be it na thing is promulgat bot aggreing with Godis Word, and proffetable to the outſetting of the ſamin) na mair than we ſuld nocht heir the Preceptis of our Fathir, quhilk is God.

28. *Gif it be leſum to uſe ony prophane Coupis at this Sacrament.*

Dan. 5.
A Sacrilege.
A prophane Impietie.

SEn the Veſchelis and Ornamentis appropriat to the Service of God ſuld nocht be prophanit in uthir commoun Uſeis, as the feirfull Exemple of *Balthazar* previs maiſt planelie; quhy hef ze wappit down all the affixit Tabellis of the Lord, be all aunciant Fatheris afoir our Days callit *Altaris*, togiddir with the Font of Baptim, and uſeis zour Tabellis, Baiſſinis and Coupis furth of ony prophane Taveroun? Will ze haif the Sacramentis of Grace in the new Law of les Dignitie and Honour than thais war in the auld, for the abuſing of the Veſchelis of the quhilkis the grete King *Balthazar* wes ſa ſeveirlie puniſſit?

29. *Eviry guid Chriſtiane Man is a King and a Preiſt, and quhat is meanit thairby.*

Apoc. 1.
1 *Pet.* 2.
Quhow thai provoke thair Scoleris to uſurpe Auctoritie.

ALbeit we acknawlege be the Scriptuir of God, that a juſt Man in the Kirk of God, quha ſubdewis his Concupiſcence and Luſtis to the divine Law, is a victorius King and Preiſt alſo ſpiritualie: Nochtheles we demand zow, gif be that Titill eviry Man (albeit he haif Wit and Piſſance thairto) may juſtlie be a King to miniſtrat Juſtice? Gif ze ſay, Na; quhy allow ze, and provokis alſo, the Proveſtis and Ballies of eviry Burgh (quhome we can nocht call Magiſtratis propirlie as ze do, ſen thai ar nocht Principalis in a fre Citie, as wes *Rome*, to mak Lawis, bot ſuld be Subditis to our Soverane Lady) to baneis Chriſtianis and trew

trew *Scottiſmen* fra thair Rowmes and Poſſeſſiones, confisk thair Guidis, put thame to the Horne, and condemne thame to the Dethe, ſor breking only of thair Actis and Decreis, unknawin to our Soverane Lady, or hir Majeſties Predeceſſouris! ſen thai haif only Power to punis thair awin Comburgeſſis in ane viij. Schilling unlaw, or ſiklyke.

30. *Gif the Subditis may violentlie compel thair Princes to Religioun.*

GIf the Peple of *Iſrael* under the Idolatrical Kingis in *Babylone*, wes nocht commandit be God to reſiſt the ſaidis Idolatouris, or be ony Violence to remuif thame fra thair Errour, bot to obey thame, ſuffer thame, pray for thame, and ſerve God in thair awin Religioun; and *David* being unctit King of *Iſrael*, wald do na Violence to King *Saull* than being repellit and reprobat of God, and perſuitand the ſaid *David* injuſtlie to the Deth, bot ſufferit him to rage in his Furie, fleing onlie fra his Violence for the Honour that he wes a King; alſo we reid nocht that the Apoſtolis, or ony of the Catholik Religioun, evir puniſſit in Body or Geris the Infidelis quha had nocht reſſavit the Religioun of *Chriſte*, albeit thai chaſtiſit the Apoſtatis relapſit fra the trew Fayth anis reſſavit; bot quhow the trew Chriſtianis wes ſcharpelie perſuitit and injuſtlie puniſſit and oppreſſit be the *Arrianis* and utheris Heretikis and Apoſtatis, the Exemplis ar over patent: Quhat Auctoritie heirfor haif ze for zow to comptrol our Soverane Lady, and compel hir Majeſtie to reſſave zour privat Opinioun of Materis in Religioun unknawin to the haill Chriſtiane Kirk afoir thir Days, and as zit nocht reſſavit be ony Chriſtiane King at this preſent? For zour ſelfis knawis *Ingland*, *Denmark* and *Alemannie*, except ſum *Calviniſtis* and utheris ſtrange Sectis pretending Reformatioun alſua by the *Romane* Kirk, to diſſent in mony Heidis fra zour Doctrine.

Hier. 27.

Baruch 1.

1 *Reg.* at lenth.

1 *Tim.* 1.

Reid *Athanaſ.* and *Nicephor.*

31. *Of Obedience to our native Soverane* Marie.

THink ze nocht our maiſt noble, humane and gentil Soverane hes ſchawin hirſelf mair than King *Davidis* trew Dochtir, quha in that Caſe diſſenting fra the Counſel of maiſt Chriſtiane Princis, wald fle all occaſioun of Trible to be done be Violence of Men of Weir and Strangeris; nocht to a King, quha ſumtymes wes hir Maiſter, as wes *Saull* to *David*, bot to hir awin Subjectis, uſurping (as Chriſtiane Princis hir Gracis nerreſt Freindis thocht) hir Hienes Auctorite, in pretending ſa to reforme Religioun in hir Abſence, wald adventure hir Hienes awin Perſoun, by Counſel and Exhortatioun of maiſt noble Princis hir Gracis neir Couſingis and undoutit Freindis, in the ſtormie Seis, throw evident Perellis of Unfreindis, and preſent hirſelf to this Realme maiſt humblie, nocht as a Soverane, bot as a Subject, or erar hartlie Mother haifand Compaſſioun of hir tribulit Sones; objecting hir Majeſtie to maiſt extreme Perellis, to the Intent that hir Sones maiſt deirbelovit ſuld hef bene deliverit frome all Perel, albeit thai had maiſt fuleſchelie in ane furius Rage, objectit thame to the ſamin; and in the mein tyme nocht intendand to the Puniſment of ony Cryme with Rigour committit be zouris in hir Hienes Abſence, bot labouris maiſt diligentlie for godlie Concord in the Realme and dew Obedience to the Auctorite, but the quhilk the uthir may nocht ſtand; committand alſo Libertie of Conſcience to zouris in Religioun (quhilk only in the beginning of the Tumult thai deſyrit) and that by the Conſuetude of all Chriſtiane Princis uſeit to thair Subditis, quhill Ordour be tane thairin be the thre Eſtatis of the Realme: Think ze nocht that this grete Humilitie, Gentrice and ſingular Humanitie, junit with Wiſdume of ſik excellent zour native Soverane, ſuld mollifie to humill Obedience the Hert of ane trew *Scot*, albeit it war forgeit of Irne or Steill? Gif ze think ſua with us (as is zour Dewtie but dout to do) quhy exhort ze the Subjectis ſa ferventlie to Rebellioun agains hir Grace, except ſche leve the Ordour and Catholik Opinioun in the Sacramentis of *Chriſte Jeſus* univerſalie reſſavit, and mak a monſtruous Idoll of zour Maiſter *Calvin*, adheirand only to his privat Opinioun,

O humane, herdly, gentle and wyſe Soverane.

The commoū Proverb is ouer trew; *Lat the Sow put in ane Fute*, &c. Thairfor faythful Man reſiſt the auld Serpent, Note, Reidar.

unknawin to the Warld afoir this preſent? Gif ze can nocht preve zour Doctrine in the Controverſiis now preſent amangis us to be univerſalie reſſavit, quhow can ze but Schame bable in zour Beleif, *The haly Kirk univerſal?* Or quhat profettis zow that part of zour Beleif, ſen ze ar as bund Slavis addictit to zour awin privat Opinionis Jugement, contrare the Mynd and Auctorite of the ſamin Kirk?

32. *Gif in the Meſs be ony Idolatrie.*

Thair is na dout bot a trew Chriſtiane will do all that may ſtand with Godis Pleſuir, for an Unitie in the Kirk.

Euſeb. Eccl. hiſt. lib. 6. *cap.* 34.

Luc. 2. *Mar.* 15. *Joan.* 9.

* *In Pſ.* 98.

† 1 *Cor.* 10. *Ambroſ. de Spirit. ſanct. lib.* 3. *cap.* 12.

AND gif it ſall ples our maiſt excellent Soverane, to the Intent to ſaif zouris fra uter Ruine (as thair is na dout of hir Gracis guid Mynd thairto) to permit zow ſafer as Godis eternall Word ſufferis in the Meſs, aganis the quhilk ze ſchaw zour ſelfis ſa conjurit Inimeis; as for Exemple, that thai be na Preiſt nor Miniſter admittit thairto, bot ſik that may inſtruct the Peple be hale and ſyncer Doctrine, and guid Exemple of haly Lyfe, and that thai be daylie mony to communicat with the Preiſt ſacramentalie, gif thai may be had, and that undir bayth the kyndes, gif it ſall pleis the univerſall Kirk to keip that Uniformitie; ſua ze condemne nocht of Superſtitioun or Idolatrie, a Chriſtiane Man, Miniſter or uthir, quhen he may haif na Communicantis with him to reſſave the ſamin Sacrament him allane, be Exemple of *Serapion* in the tyme of the Martyris, and the haill Kirk in our Days. Quhat haif ze for zow to hald the Meſs Idolatrie, or thairin ony Superſtitioun? Gif ze deny *Chriſtis* Humanitie, be reſſoun of the inſeparable Conjunctioun thairof with his Divinitie, to be adurnit; ze ar alrady confundit be the Exemple of the thre Kingis quha adurnit him in the Crib, and be Exemple of utheris alſo in the Evangel. Gif ze deny the real Preſence of *Chriſtis* Body maiſt bliſſit in the Sacrament, ze diſſent fra the Scriptuiris and haly Kirk univerſall, and als fra the Segregatioun of all Heretikis afoir zow and zour Maiſteris, to wit, *Oecolampadius*, *Zuinglius* and *Calvin*, except *Berangarius* and his, as ze knaw preſentlie the *Lutheranis* in that part to be zour manifeſt Adverſaris. Gif ze deny *Chriſte* to be adurnit in the Sacrament, (ſen we adurne na viſible nor ſenſible Signe thairof) quhy condemne ze nocht * S. *Auguſtine* for an Heretik, and † *Chryſoſtome* ſiklyke, with utheris of thair Aige, quha erneſtlie accuiſſis us of Sin, gif we adurn nocht *Chriſtis* maiſt haly Body in the Sacrament?

33. *Gif* Johne Knox *be lauchful Miniſter.*

Rom. 10. *Heb.* 5. As *Moyſes* and the Apoſtolis. *Luc.* 1. *Joan.* 1. *Eſa.* 40.

‡ At this Place weil obſcuir (as God bade) *Johne Knox* maid a fel Farde, to his Gloir ze wate.

Act. 13.

1 *Tim.* 4. 2 *Tim.* 1.

* And that to zour grete Schame, Brother.

SEn we reid that nane ſuld tak the Honour of Miniſtratioun of Godis Word and Sacramentis on him, except he be lauchfullie callit thairto; othir be God immediatlie, or be Man haifand Power to promot him thairto: And ſen we reid nane callit be God onlie, except ſik as ſchew thair Power gevin thame be him be Power ‡ of the Spirit, or in Signis and Wounderis. Heirfor give zow, *Johne Knox*, we ſay, be callit immediatlie be God, quhair ar zour Mervellis wrocht be the Haly Spirit? For the Mervellis of woltring of Realmes to ungodlie Seditioun and Diſcord, we adnumbre nocht to be of his Giftis: Bot gif ze be callit be Man, ze moſt ſchaw thame to haif lauchful Power thairto; as the Apoſtolis ordinat S. *Paull* and *Barnabas*, albeit choſin be God afore; and tha ſiklyke utheris, in the xiv. of the *Actis*: And as S. *Paull* ordinatit *Timothe* and *Tite*, gevand thame Power and Command to ordour utheris; quharein apperis the lauchful Ordinatioun of Miniſteris. Zour lauchful Ordinatioun be ane of thir twa Wayis, we deſyre zow to ſchaw; ſen ze renunce * and eſtemis that Ordinatioun null, or erar wikit, be the quhilk ſumtyme ze war callit *Schir Johne*.

34. *Gif* Johne Knox *be not lauchful Biſchope, quhow can thai be lauchful ordinatit be him.*

Tit. 1.

GIf he can nocht ſchaw himſelf a lauchful ordinat Biſchope, (nocht onlie a Preiſt or inferiour Miniſter) quhow can ze Superintendentis, or uthir inferiour Prechouris electit and ordinat be him, nocht haifand Power thairto, juge zour ſelfis to be lauchful Miniſteris in the Kirk of God?

35. *Quhy*

35. *Quhy ar not the Lordis and utheris, lauchful Miniſteris as* Johne Knox *and his Complices.*

GIf *Johne Knox* and ze affirmis zour ſelfis lauchful, be reſſoun of zour Science; and that ze ar permittit always, gif ze be not admittit be thais Kirkis quhome ze ſerve: Quhy haif ze prechit manifeſtlie a grete Errour and Schiſme in zour Congregatioun, contending with Tuith and Naill (as is the Proverb) ſum Lordis and Gentilmen to hef gretumlie failzeit, miniſtrand zour Communioun in tymes bypaſt to thair awin Houſhald Servandis and Tenentis; ſen the Lordis and Gentilmen being Men of Science, be thair awin Jugement, in that Caſe wes permittit be thair ſaidis Servandis to that Office, quha affirmis thameſelfis to be a Kirk of God?

Heir *Johne Knox*, be his awin Sentence aganis utheris, is faſt tedderit in the Girn.

36. *Gif the Ordinatioun of Miniſteris be a Sacrament.*

QUhy deny ze the Ordinatioun of Miniſteris to be a Sacrament in *Chriſtis* Kirk, ſen zour grete Maiſter *Calvin* grantis in zour contrare, with mony utheris new Writtaris in *Alemannie?* Quhidder hes it the viſible Signe, *viz.* the Impoſitioun of Handes, the Promiſſis of God, with the Command (quhilkis thre only ze think neceſſare to a Sacrament) expreſſit in Scriptuir or nocht?

Calvin. in inſt. de ſacrament. Ibidem de ordine Eccleſiaſt. Thair is na thing mair plane.

37. *Of unqualifeit Miniſteris.*

ZE allegeand zour ſelfis to reduce the Ordour in Religioun according to the Puritie of the writtin Word, and nocht miſknawing alſo that the grete Decay of the ſyncere Religioun is, the Electioun and Admiſſioun of the unqualifeit and unable Miniſteris, as we confes with zow, that this lang tyme the maiſt part to hef bene admittit mair throw Avarice, Ambitioun, or uthir carnal Affectioun (and that in Puniſment of the Peple that God ſa ſufferit) nor for godly Leirning, or utheris guid Propirteis requirit in a Miniſter; and thairthrow ſpecialie all Miſordour or Abuſe that juſtlie can be allegeit maiſt cheiſlie to hef ſprung. Quhy admitt ze to be zour Precheouris and Miniſteris in ſindry Places zoung Childring, of na Eruditioun, except the reiding of *Inglis* and ſmall Entreſſis in Grammar, of na Experience, nor zit haifand Preeminence by utheris of godly leving; except ze call that *godly*, to covet a fair Wyfe and ane fatt Penſioun, by the Lawis of the monaſtik Lyfe, quhilk ſindry of thame hes profeſſit? Sen S. *Paull* techis, that Men in this Vocatioun, by mony uthir godly Propirteis, ſuld nocht be zoung of Leirning and godly Exerciſe always, bot potent to exhort and teche in helthful Doctrine, and potent to repreve and convict the Gainſayaris of the ſamin.

A dum Paſtour or a vicious is a ſair Scurge on the Peple, as is the ſals Prechour.

1 *Tim.* 3.

Tit. 1.

38. *Of a new Ordour of Eldaris.*

SIklyke ſen be the Name of *Eldaris* in the new Teſtament expreſlie is meanit *Biſchoipis* and *Preiſtis*, quhilkis laſt Names (*a*) the Apoſtolis uſeit nocht (apperantlie to the Intent that thai ſuld nocht be eſtemit of thai ſort of Preiſtis and Biſchoipis of the auld Law) quhois Office is expres to preche and miniſtrat the Sacramentis; quhy invent ze in zour Kirk a new Ordour of Eldaris, quhome ze diſcharge to uſe ony of the Offices forſaidis? Siklyke, quhy committ ze to the ſaidis Eldaris that Office, of the quhilk ze haif na Power; to wit, the Office of a civill Magiſtrat, quhilk pertenis only to an Emperour or King, or lyke public Perſones, or to quhome thai cheis, conforme to our Salviouris Sayngis, *Geve to* Ceſar *that pertenis to* Ceſar; and ſiklyke, ſaying to *Pylat*, *Zow wald haif na Power over me, except it war gevin the frome abuif*; quho hald his

1 *Pet.* 5.

1 *Tim.* 5.

Note.

A Confuſioun of Ordour and Auctoritie.

(*a*) The Author appoints the following Correction to be read here, *viz.* "Reid, *quhilk laſt Name*, that it may referre to the "Terme *Preiſt* only; and gif *Johne Knox* gat *quhilkis Names* in his Copie, let him underſtand it of the Termes *Sacerdos* and "*Pontifex*; and the Wordis *uſeit nocht*, that thai callit nocht thameſelfis be thai Names."

Power of the Emperour. Quhy ſua tak ze fra the Eldaris, quhilk is thair Dewtie and Office, and gevis thame, quhilk pertenis nocht to thame, nor zit ze haif Power to geve thame?

39. *Of the Pape, and gif a Superiour ſuld be amangis the Biſchopes.*

SEn naturalie be Godis Providence amangis Fowlis, Fiſcheis and Beiſtis, in every Cumpanie is ane Principal, as it war ſuperiour; and ſiklyke amangis Men in every Realme is nocht only ane King or Quene, to quhome all obeys, bot alſo in every Province, Schyre, Citie and Hous is ane Principal or Superiour, as thair is in eviry Craft almaiſt ane Decane: Quhy ſuld it nocht be ſua in the Eccleſiaſtical State, amangis the Biſchopes, utheris Paſtouris and Miniſteris; ſen in the Law of *Moyſes* God providit ane hie Biſchope, quhois Sentence in Controverſie of Religioun the Peple ſuld follow, under the Pane of Dethe? We can nocht be aſſuirit of na Scriptuir that ze allege, bot S. *Petir* had the ſamin Power gevin ſingularlie and ſeveralie to him by the reſt and above the reſt of the Apoſtolis, as we ar at this preſent peſuadit be thir Wordis of our Salviour. *Simon Iona diligis me plus his? &c. Paſce oves meas, &c.* And that all the reſt of the Apoſtolis wes numerat amang the ſamin *oves*, it apperis till us in thir Wordis, *Omnes vos ſcandalum patiemini in me in nocte iſta: quia ſcriptum eſt, Percutiam paſtorem, & diſpergentur oves gregis.* And in an uthir place *Petiris* Auctorite above thame, *Ego rogavi pro te, Petre, ut non deficiat fides tua: Tu verò converſus confirma fratres tuos.* Quhilk Power he apperis planelie to hef exerceit amang the Apoſtolis takand the Speche on him ſpecialie in all Conventionis, albeit he ſufferit S. *James* Biſchope of *Hieruſalem* to pronunce a Sentence at his awin Kirk in his Preſence. And gif ony be ſuperiour, quhy ſuld nocht the Succeſſour of *Petir*? Knaw ze nocht that all the auncient Fatheris attributis mekle to the Kirk of *Rome* by utheris Kirkis, and alſo the General Counſelis quhilk ze appreve? As for Exemple, ze knaw that S. *Auguſtine* confirmis his Doctrine ſpecialie contrare the *Donatiſtis*, that nevir ane of the Biſchopes of *Rome* till his Days (citand thair Names to the Numbre above xxxvi.) trowit uthirways nor he did, contrare the ſaidis Heretikis. Gif ze affirm the Pape to be the *Antichriſte*, will ze nocht ſchaw of quhat Pape ze mein, gif ze ſpeik of the *Romane* Pape? Or quhidder underſtand ze be the *Pape* all *Biſchopes*? for be that Name we reid ony Biſchope to hef bene decorit; as S. *Hierome* writtis to S. *Auguſtine* Biſchope, *Hieronymus Preſbyter beatiſſimo Papæ Auguſtino S.* Gif ze had the Biſchopes of *Rome* Antichriſtis, be reſſoun of ony Vice (quhilk we intend nocht to defend) quhilk of zow is but Vice, caſt the firſt Stane at thame. Gif it be for ony Doctrine contrare *Chriſte*, ſchaw it in ſpecial (we pray zow) that we may fle frome it.

Deut. 17.
Jo. ult.
Matt. 26.
Act. 1. 2. 3.
Act. 15.
Epiſt. 165.
Of the Name *Pape.*

40. *Of the Sacrament of Pennance.*

QUhy deny ze the Sacrament of Pennance? And quhy neclect ze to uſe at the leiſt the Abſolutioun of the Miniſter afoir zour Communioun always; ſen the Apoſtolis wes inſtitut be our Salviour with ſik Solennitie in that part of thair Office, that eftir his Reſurrectioun he blew in thame, ſayand, *Reſave the Haly Gaiſt. Quhois Sinnis ze forgeve, thai ar forgevin; and quhois Sinnis ze retene, thai ar retenit?* And quhy diſſent ze frome the maiſt part of *Alemannie* in that part?

Jo. 20.

41. *Of Contritioun, Confeſſioun and Satisfactioun.*

QUhy affirm ze that Contritioun, Confeſſioun and Satisfactioun ar papiſtical Inventionis, and callis us *Papiſtis* for the uſeing thairof; and callis nocht *Cypriane* and the Kirk ſen his Days *Papiſtis*, quhois Doctrine in that Caſe we follow, as collectit and evidentlie deducit of *Scriptuiris?*

42. *Of Confeſſioun.*

GIf ze condemne Confeſſioun to be maid to the Preiſt of ſpecial Faltis, quhow can he abſolve, conforme to the Word of God, ſum of thair Sinnis, and retene uthir nocht abſolvit, gif he ſall misknaw the Sin? Or quhy call ze it *Papiſtrie*, ſen the ſaid Martyr *Cypriane* witneſſis it to haif bene in the Kirk of God in his Days, and utheris ſiklyke aunciant Fatheris eftir him?

Jo. 20.
Cypr. ſerm. de lap.

43. *Of Contritioun.*

OR quhy call ze Contritioun *Papiſtrie*, ſen na Man can haif Forgeveance of his Sinnis, except he repent with Intentioun of Amendiment of Lyfe, as our Salviour techis, *Except ze do Repentance, ze ſall all periſs?*

Luc. 13.

44. *Of Satisfactioun to God.*

QUhy hald ze Satisfactioun *Papiſtrie*, ſen *Cypriane*, with mony aunciant Doctouris, oft inculcatis this Terme in thair Writtingis, to the Sentence uſeit and reſavit at this preſent in the Kirk? Misknew thai, trew ze, the Satiſfactioun and Redemptioun conqueſt till us be *Jeſus Chriſte*, as the full Ranſoun to the Father for the Sinnis of all the Warld? Bot this we think ze will nocht ſay; for misknawand that Thing only, quhow culd thai be Martyris of *Chriſte*, that is Witneſſis of the Veritie? And zit thai ſpeik, and that be evident Scriptuiris, of a Satisfactioun requirit of our Obedience, as to turn to God in Murning, Faſting, Prayar and Almus deid, with ſiklyke worthy Fruitis of Pennance, ſa oft inculcat be our Salviour and the Apoſtolis to the *Jowis*, with ſik Dolour and Havines quharof S. *Paull* ſpeikis, 2 *Cor.* 7. Gif ze admit nocht Satisfactioun on this maner to be maid to God, and nocht to Man only; quhow underſtand ze thir Scriptuiris, *Cheritie coveris the Multitude of Sinnis: Turn to me in all zour Hert in faſting, ſobing and greting: Geve Almis, and all ſalbe clene to zow:* And that *Daniel* ſays to *Nabuchodonoſor*, *Redeme thi Sinnis with Almus deid?* With mony ſiklyke Places.

Serm. de lapſ. & paſſim.
Note.
1 *Pet.* 4.
Joel 2.
Luc. 11.
Dan. 4.

45. *Of Satisfactioun to Men.*

WE desyre zow to ſchaw, gif ze think it neceſſar to a penitent, to the end he get Remiſſioun of his Sinnis fra God, that he mak Satisfactioun to his Brother at the leiſt, insafer as he hes offendit, and rubbit him of his Geris or Honouris, gif it be in his Power? Gif ze diſſent fra us, ſayand, Na; the Scriptuiris ar full of Teſtimoneis in zour contrare, as thir, *Quha luvis nocht, remanis in Dethe. Quha is nocht juſt, is nocht of God. Departe fra me all ze Wirkaris of Iniquitie. Quhen thow offeris thi Gift at the Altar, and remembris that thi Brother hes ocht aganis the, leif thi Gift afoir the Altar, and pas and be reconcilit with thi Brother, and ſyne cum and offir thi Gift. Quha luvis nocht his Brother quhome he ſeis, quhow ſall he luve God quhome he ſeis nocht?* Can a Man luve his Brother, ſa layng as he nocht only nocht helpis him in his Miſtar, bot contrarie oppreſſis him be Violence and Fraud; quhilkis all to our Purpoſe S. *Auguſtine* concluidis in thir Wordis, *Sin is nocht forgevin* (ſays he) *except it quhilk is tane away be inſtorit?* Gif ze grant with us that it is neceſſare, quhy miniſtrat ze zour Communioun to ſik Perſones quhome ze knew perfytlie to hef intromittit violentlie with utheris Mennis Poſſeſſionis, and als Rubberie of the Kirk Guidis; nocht only of Monaſteriis, quhilkis ze imaginat to hef bene idolatrical, bot alſo of Biſchopis Saitis and Paroche Kirkis, but ony Repentance, Satisfactioun, or Intentioun of Amendiment? Quhilk Thing ze man othir grant to be Intromiſſioun with idolatrical Geris, and ſua thame and it to be burnt togiddir, be the Law of God, as eftir ſall follow; or ellis to be Sacrilege, war than commoun Thift. Of the quhilkis it followis conſequentlie, that thai hef failzeit havelie cumand to the Communioun but Reſtitutioun of wrangous Geris, or Intentioun to that ilk; and ze fer haviar quha

1 *Joan.* 3.
Matt. 7. & 5.
Joſ. 7.

miniſtrat the Sacrament (gif we may ſua call it with zow) to the unworthy, knawand thame in that Eſtate.

46. *Of twa Partis of Pennance newlie ſet furth.*

Joel. 2. *Luc.* 11. 6. 2 *Cor.* 7. *Luc.* 3. *Matt.* 5.

Na Word to geve the Kow agane; nor trew Dolour for the Sin committit, &c.

THair being ſa mony Thingis requirit to trew Pennance or Repentance, as Sobing, Mourning and Teris, Walking, Faſting, Prayair and Almus deid; with Abſtinence for a tyme fra mony Thingis uthirways leſum, havy Dolour for the foremer Offenſſis, with firm Intent of renewing of Lyfe thaireftir, with utheris worthy Fruitis of Pennance, and ſpecialie Satisfactioun to all Men quhome we hef offendit: Quhy hef ze ſet furth the ſaid Pennance ſa obſcuirlie, appunting thairto twa Partis only, quhilkis ar *Fayth* and *renewing of Lyfe*, callit be zow *reſipiſcentia*; ſen Fayth is na mair a part of Pennance than it is of ony uthir Vertew, it being the Grund of all Vertew; and be the uthir Name the foreſaidis Propirteis of Pennance ar ovir obſcuirlie declarit? Perſuade ze nocht heirby to mony ungodly proud Preſumptioun, and unſuir Securitie of Conſcience?

47. *Gif Preſumptioun upſpringis of the Premiſſis, or nocht.*

Note and eſchew.

WE deſyre zow to maturelie conſider, and anſſuer till us, quhiddir it cumis of zour licentious Doctrine in neclecting and contemning thir thre Partis of Pennance abone ſpecifiit (as it apperis planelie till us to cum) or uthirways, that ſindry at this preſent ar deſcendit to ſik beiſtlie Ruidnes, and preſumptuous Securitie of Conſcience, and ſchamelis Preſumptioun, that thai ar nocht eſchameit nocht to ſatiſfie thair Inferiouris or Brethir in thair Dewitie, of Dettis or ſiklyke, bot to mak mony maiſt large Promiſſis and Obliſſingis, knit with Word, Writt, Walx and Seil, als weill to ſuperiour Poweris (quhare thai dar) as to Equall and Inferiouris, and nothir keipis nor intendis to keip the ſamin; by the noble and faythfull Conſtancie of our noble Progenitouris, to the Blaſphemie of Godis Law, and to maiſt vile Schame of our Countre. Think ze nocht that this maiſt barber Ruidnes, and maiſt beiſtlie Impietie of Unfaythfulnes to Man, wald be ſpittit at be a *Jow* or an *Ethnik*, zea be the ſtarkaſt Theif in *Riddiſdale*? Or think ze ſik Perſones to be of Godis Elect, quha aucht to perſuade thameſelfis be Certitude of Fayth (as ze teche neceſſar to beleve) to be of the predeſtinat Sones of God?

48. *Gif Concupiſcence in the regenerat be damnable Sin.*

1 *Jo.* 3. 5. 1 *Cor.* 6. *Epheſ.* 5.

SEn it is writtin, that quha ar borne of God or regenerat, ſinnis nocht; and that we ar weſchin fra our Sinnis, ſanctifiit and juſtifiit; and alſo that *Chriſte* clengeis his Kirk (of the quhilk we ar Membris) be the Lawar of Regeneratioun in the Word of Lyfe: Quhy teche ze, that the Concupiſcence left in us eftir Regeneratioun, for our Humiliatioun and Exerciſe, is damnable Sin?

49. *Of Confirmatioun.*

Act. 8. 19.

SEn ze ſee the Sacrament of Confirmatioun ſa expreſlie uſeit be the Apoſtolis, and affirmit be *Hierome* and utheris Doctouris, that it ſuld be miniſtrat be the Biſchoipis only; Quhy eſteme ze it a Thing of na Importance, and bot a *Papiſtical Superſtitioun*?

50. *Of extreme Unctioun.*

Jac. 5.

SEn that the Preiſtis of the Kirk ſuld cum to the Seik, unct thame with Oill, and pray for thame, as our Salviour techis to be his godly Will be the Mouth of S. *James*; Quhy put ze it out of the Uſe of Chriſtianis, and nocht only deprivis it of the Name of a Sacrament?

51. *Of Matrimonie.*

Epheſ. 5.

QUhy put ze Matrimonie furth of the Numbre of Sacramentis, ſen it is callit in the Scriptuir a *Sacrament*? Will ze hald the commoun Tranſlatioun fals,

fals, becaus the *Greik* Text hes μυστήριον? Will ze nocht grant that thai twa Sacramentis quhilkis ze ſua call, ar μυστήρια? Mairover, is nocht *Sacramentum* in the *Latin* Text of als large Significatioun as the uthir is in the *Greik?* And alſua, quhiddir gif Matrimonie hes tha thre Propirteis requirit be zow to a Sacrament, or nocht? *Dan.* 2. *Epheſ.* 1. 3. *Col.* 1. 1 *Tim.* 3.

52. *Gif the Perſones ſeparat for Fornicatioun may mary utheris Perſones agane, the athir being on Lyve.*

QUhat haif ze for zow, that a mariit Man or Woman levand the uthir for Caus of Fornicatioun, conforme to the Scriptuiris, may mary an uthir Perſoun, the firſt Party being on Lyve; ſen S. *Paull* techis, that a Woman is ſubdewit to the Law ſa lang as hir Husband levis; *Rom.* 7. and alſo he gevis an expres Command to the innocent Woman dimittand hir * Husband, to remane unmariit, or to be reconcilit to hir Husband?

* Zea, being an Adulterar. 1 *Cor.* 7.

53. *Gif the Harlotis, for quhais Caus Matrimonie is violatit or adnullit, may mary utheris.*

ZE knawand haly Matrimonie being ſa erneſtlie commandit indiſſolublie to be keipit, except for Caus † of Fornicatioun; quhat apperand Reſſoun haif ze for zow (we appele to zour Conſcience) to admitt it a godly Law to ſuffir an Harlot in his Wyfes tyme lyand with an uthir Harlot, or a * Preiſt, or unmariit Man, lyand with an uthir Manis Wyfe; for that Caus the Matrimonie to be diſſolvit, and the twa Harlotis to be zokit up in a pretendit Band of Matrimonie maiſt honorable, as it is practiſit be zow of ſum of our rennigatt Preiſtis and utheris as ze knaw?

Mat. 19. 7. *Marc.* 10.

† And that fra Bed and Buird only.

* In *Glaſgow*: O abominable Practiſe!

54. *Of twa contrare Lawis tweching Mariage.*

MAirover, quhow deliver ze zour ſelfis of the Perplexitie of thir twa contrarious Lawis; to wit, That an Adulterar ſeparat fra his Wyfe for Fornicatioun, hes na Power be Godis Law to mary agane, his former Wyfe being on Lyfe? And on the uther Syde, ze permitt a Man or Woman that may ‡ nocht leif chaſt, to mary? Alſo, quhiddir gif a Man or Woman being lang abſent fra thair Party, or haifand thair Party impotent throw Seiknes, or throw obſtinat Mynd nocht ſocial, and zit may nocht, as ze teche, leif chaſt, may mary an uthir in the mein tyme? Gif ze ſay na, be reſſoun of thair former Promiſe and Luve to thair Party; quhy will nocht ze Chanounis, Munkis, Freris, Preiſtis, Nunnis, keip the ſamin Reull, for the Luve of *Chriſte* zour Spous, and Promis maid to Him?

‡ Na uther Excuis hes Munkis, &c. to violate thair Vow and Promis to God. Nane is ſa ignorant quha ſeis nocht thame heir fetterit.

55. *Gif Preiſtis may mary eftir thair Promotioun.*

WE nocht ignorant in that Part of the Scriptuiris and Hiſtoris, that in the primitive Kirk, of honorable Men haifand ane Wyfe, wes oftymes promotit to be Biſchopes, Preiſtis and Diaconis; *1 Tim.* 3. of the quhilkis mony thaireftir turnit thair Wyfes in thair Siſteris: And heirfor think we the ſamin leſum as zit, with an uniforme Conſent. Bot quhare reid ze evir in the primitive Kirk, that Men wantand Wyfes the tyme of thair Promotioun to thai Offices, and eftir mariit but Repreif and Puniſment of the Kirk? Schaw an Exemple, gif ze can. Note.

56. *Gif the Preiſtis in the new Law ſuld be als beutiful as thai in the auld.*

ANd ſiklyke S. *Paull* counſelit the layt Man and Woman to abſtene fra that Uſe of thair Bodyis till utheris requirit in Matrimonie, for a tyme, that thai mot waik on Prayar: *1 Cor.* 7. Quhat tyme is it, we pray zow, that a guid Biſchope, or uthir Paſtour, ſuld nocht waik on Prayar, Studie, or Preching, and that he ſuld nocht be rady to miniſtrat the Sacramentis? And gif the Preiſtis in the

Law of *Moyſes* (quha in that tyme behuifit to haif Wyfes, for Continuatioun of thair Tribe of *Levi*, quha only of thair Natioun wes appointit to be Preiſtis) abſtenit fra thair Wyfes all the tyme of thair Obſervance in the Temple, and certane Days afoir; Will ze than that the Preiſtis, and Miniſteris of *Chriſtis* Evangel and Sacramentis thairof, quharein is miniſtrat realie thai Graces prefigurat in the auld Law, quha continualie and dayly ſuld waik upone thair Miniſtratioun, to be les beutiful, and of les Cleinnes of Lyfe, than wes the utheris? And knaw ze nocht that *Ambroſe*, *Origene*, and utheris, pronunces planelie upone this Similitude and Conferrence, that the Preiſtis in the Law of Grace ſuld leve in continual Chaſtitie, ſen thai ſuld waik continualie upone thair Prayar, Miniſtratioun of the Sacramentis, and ſiklyke? Ze knaw that *Achimelech* wald nocht geve the Schew-breid to *David* and his Servandis, quhill he knew that thai war clene fra all Women thre Days afoir. Gif ſik Honour wes hald to the Figuir, quhat ſuld be hald to the Veritie, quhilk is *Chriſtis* Body and Bluid, daylie to be reſavit, or miniſtrat in the Sacrament be godly Paſtouris?

Quhy the Preiſtis under the Law had Wyfes.

Ambroſ. in 1 Timoth. 3. Orig. in Num. homil. 23. Hierom. contra Jovin. lib. 1. cap. 19.

57. *Of the Vow of Chaſtitie.*

QUhider gif it be leſum or nocht, that Men of perfite Aige haifand na lauchful Impediment to vow Chaſtitie; and that Vow being complete, gif it be leſum thaireftir to mary, conforme to the Law of God, or nocht? Gif ze think that thai may, quhow underſtand ze that Place of S. *Paull*, ſpeikand of the zoung Wedowis quha had vowit Continence, that thai had thair Damnatioun for only willing to mary, becaus thai brak thair former Promis? And this being trew of Women, quhow can ze religious Men abone ſpecifiit mary, and eſchew alſo the ſamin Sentence? Gif ze allege that ze vowit nocht, of quhat Mynd enterit ze in zour Religioun? Or quhow ſall ze defend zour ſelfis nocht to be Hypocritis, gif ze aſtrictit nocht zour ſelfis afoir God to that Thing quhilk mony ways ze profeſſit afoir Man?

Note.

1 Tim. 5.

58. *Of the Saulis departit afoir* Chriſtis *Aſcenſioun, and ſenſyne.*

SEn ſum of zour Religioun affirmis the Saulis of the Fatheris quha deceiſſit in Fayth afoir *Chriſtis* Aſcenſioun, to hef entirit than to the Gloir eternal, as the Martyris and utheris juſt hes done ſenſyne; and utheris of zow techeis, that nothir afoir nor ſenſyne, quhill the Day of the generall Reſurrectioun of thair Bodyis, ſall aſcend thair: Quhy cry ze nocht out the ane Syde contrare the uthir, or convenis amangis zour ſelfis on the ane Syde, and ſchawis zour Determinatioun in the Mater corroborat be evident Scriptuiris? For of manly Conjecturis, or Scriptuiris thrawin by the reſavit underſtanding thairof, to nothir of zour Partis may we decline.

A grete Schiſme in the new Bande.

59. *Of Princis and Nobilis Sepulturis.*

SEn the Prophetis and Patriarkis in the auld Teſtament had ſik Cuir for thair honorable Sepulturis, and commandit that eftir thair Deth thair Banis to be cariit furth of the Cuntre of Strangearis; and in the new Teſtament ſiklyke we reid nocht only of our Salviouris maiſt honorable and magnifik Buriing, bot alſo of S. *Johne* the *Baptiſt*, and S. *Stevin*, with utheris; and all this wes done, we ar aſſurit, for the Honour of the Bodyis, in hoip of the Reſurrectioun: We will nocht ſpeir in adventuir ze be crabit, gif ze beleve firmlie the Reſurrectioun with us? Bot ſen ze aggre with us in that Beleif, quhy hef ze diſhonorit ſua the Bodyis and Sepulturis of the Princis of *Scotland*, and utheris our noble Progenitouris, and wappit thair Banis ſchamefullie furth of thair Sepulturis, and maid alſo a filthy Stable of Beiſtis to Strangearis upone our maiſt excellent Kingis Body quha laſt deceſſit? Gif ze allege ony occaſioun of Idolatrie at the ſaidis Sepulturis; that Trifle is na Excuis to zow, except ze grant zour ſelfis mair ruid and barber than evir wes Natioun under Hevin, to tak occaſioun of Idolatrie quhare nane is.

Gen. 24. 35. 49. 50. Exod. 13. Joſ. 14. Matt. 27. Mar. 6. Act. 8.

Na *Jow* nor *Turke* wald hef playt this Padzeane to thair Eldaris.

60. *Gif the Kirk Geris wes Idolatrical, and of the Intromiſſioun thairwith.*

WE effectuouſlie demand zow, gif the Veſtimentis, Chaliſſis, and utheris Ornamentis in the Kirkis of *Scotland* wes Idolatrical, or nocht? Gif thai war nocht, quhy techit ze thame ſua to be, and burnt ſum of thame in teſtimonie of zour Doctrine? Gif thai war pollutit in Idolarie, quhy reſervit ze the beſt part thairof unburnt? Quhow can ze excuſe zow nocht to be puniſſit with *Saull*, quha ſparit *Agag*, with certane of his beſt Guidis, contrare Godis Command? Quhow will ze defend certane of the Nobilis and Gentlemen in *Scotland*, quha intromittit with the ſaidis idolatrical Guidis, nocht to be tane with the ſamin Geris, togiddir with thair Sones, Dochtiris, Horſs, Cattell, and all thair Inſprayth, and to be burnt in Puldre, be Exemple of *Achan*, quha committit only the ſamin Cryme (gif the ſaidis Geris wes idolatrical, and ſuld hef bene burnt, as ze hef techit) and that mair lychtlie than thai, ſen he committit his Cryme quietlie? Bot God forbid, gif it be His Pleſour that ze be the Caus of ſa ſeveir Jugement aganis our Nobilis. Quhow deliver ze zow heirfor of this Perplexitie, bot othir ze man confes zour Ignorance and Errour, or ſik Severitie to be exerceit, as ſaid is?

1 *Reg.* 13.

Joſ. 7.

O Schiris recant, and ſaif; ze ar bot Men: It is na Schame for ſa grete a Cauſe.

61. *Of the beſt Geris tane away and ſauld, and the werſt reſervit.*

THE ſaid *Achan* being ſa puniſſit for the beſt Geris intromittit be him, quhy juge ze the Goldin and Silvir Chaliſſis, and utheris Thingis of Gold and Silvir; Velvot, Silkis, and utheris fyne Clathis; Bellis, Sepulturis, of Brace, Leid, and ſiklyke that gevis Money, to hef bene pollutit with Idolatrie, and thairfor to be deſtroyt; and nocht the auld and revin Ornamentis, Sklate, Thak and grof Stanis, rottin Tymmir and ſiklyke? Gif ze allege the Intromiſſioun and Diſpoſitioun of the ſaidis Guidis to hef bene contrare zour Will, quhy techit ze nocht unſentzetlie contrare ſik manifeſt Sacrilege and Impietie? Or quhy admittit ze ſic oppin Sinnaris, without Repentance and Satiſfactioun, to zour Communioun?

Zea the Caill-wyfe ſeis zow heir bund Fute and Hand.

62. *Gif Thingis dedicat to God ſuld be prophanit in utheris Vſeis.*

GIf Thingis anis dedicat and ſanctifiit to God, ſuld nocht be tranſlatit and appropriat in utheris prophane Uſeis, as the forſaid Hiſtorie of *Balthazar* previs; bot gif thai be dedicat ungodly to God, aucht to be ſanctifiit in a mair godly Uſe, be Exemple of the Incenſuris of *Dathan* and *Abiron*: Quhidder cumis it be zour * Exhortatioun or nocht, that mony deſyris the Kirk-landis anis dedicat to God, for Suſtentatioun of godly Miniſteris, puir Studentis, and feble and waik Indigentis, to be appropriat to the Crown, or to the firſt Fundatouris Poſteritie? Gif ze exhort thame nocht thairto, ‡ quhy cry ze nocht out upone thair wickit Conſait, and als manifeſt Sacrilege of utheris; and advertiſſis that the Prophet incallis the Wrayth of God on thame, quha ſays, *Lat us poſſeid be Heretage the Sanctuarie of God?*

Levit. ult.

Dan. 5.

Numb. 16.

* Ouer trew.

‡ Becauſe zour awin Belliis forbiddis zou, and Invy aganis ſum.

Pſal. 82.

63. *Of Traditionis unwrittin, and firſt Exemple of certane ſolennit Days.*

SEn the Apoſtill S. *Paull* commandit in ſindry Places his Traditionis to be keipit, als weill the writtin as the unwrittin; and S. *Auguſtine* ſiklyke affirmis, that to diſpute of thai Thingis univerſalie obſervit, gif thai ſuld be keipit, or nocht, to be maiſt inſolent Madnes: Exemple he gevis of the zerlie Celebratioun of the *Paſche-day*, of our Salviouris Aſcenſioun, and down cuming of the Haly Gaiſt, on lyke maner zerlie to be celebratit. Quhy aboliſe ze the Solenniteis of the ſaidis Days with ſiklyke, and all uthir Ordour of that ſort univerſalie obſervit, as *Zuil-day*, *Circumciſioun*, *Epiphanie*, *Lentren*.

2 *Theſ.* 2.

1 *Cor.* 11.

Aug. ad Janua. & ad Caſula. Epiſt. 86.

He is blind that ſeis thame nocht heir Rebellis to Godis Kirk.

64. *Of the mixing of the Lordis Coup with Wattir and Wyne afoir the Sanctificatioun.*

ZE knawand that our Salviour ſched Wattir and Bluid in the Myſterie of our Redemptioun, and that the Lordis Coup with Wattir and Wyne to be ſanctifiit in the Sacrament is preſigurat in the auld Teſtament in mony Places, as *Cypriane* previs maiſt largelie and erneſtlie, quho affirmis alſo that the Lord commandit us to mix the ſamin: Quhy detrect ze, and rebukis us Catholikis for the Obſervatioun thairof; and will nocht blaw out zour Indignatioun upone the Martyris, *Cypriane*, *Irenæus*, *Fabiane*, *Euariſtus*, *Alexander*, *Auguſtine*, and mony utheris Doctouris, quhome as Witneſſis of the Veritie we follow in this Parte? Bot ſen ze do nocht ſa, appere ze nocht to ſchuit out zour Malice contrare us, and nocht contrare that quhilk ze had an Errour? And ar ze nocht contrare the Scriptuir, Acceptouris of Perſones?

Epiſt. 3. lib. 2.
Quhow ſchamefullie puttis Maiſter *George Hay* this Sentence of *Cyprian* eftir the Titill of his Buik.

65. *Of the Sounday.*

GIf ze admit na Traditioun unwrittin, quhy ar ze ſa bauld contrare zour Doctrine, and manifeſt Scriptuiris apperinglie alſo, to celebrat zour Sabbaoth-day with us Catholikis on the *Sounday*, and nocht with the *Jowis* on the *Saterday*?

Be thir fyve Queſtionis following, all the Ground of thair Doctrine is doung in the Dirt, and thameſelfis convict of Errour aganis thair awin Doctrine. For all thir Thingis nocht expreſlie writtin, thai appreve for a Tyme always with us: Bot take tent to thair Taill.

66. *Of the Names, Perſones, and Trinitie.*

MAirover gif ze will appreve na thing bot expreſlie writtin, quhow will ze anſſuer contrare an Heretik, denyand wickitlie the Father, the Sone and the Haly Gaiſt, to be callit godly and dewly thre Perſones and the Haly Trinitie? Alſua, quhidder admitt ze and apprevis the ſamin Names, or nocht? And gif ze appreve thame, quhow eſtabliſe ze zour Doctrine, ſen thai Names ar nocht writtin expreſlie in Scriptuiris?

67. *Of the Forme*, Gloir to the Father, *&c. in the End of every Pſalme.*

QUhy uſe ze to ſing with us Catholikis at the End of every Pſalme, *Gloir to the Father, to the Sone, and to the Haly Gaiſt. As it wes in*, &c. ſen that godly Forme wes only commandit to be ſoung, in that Place, be the Pape *Damaſus*, in the Rebuke of Heretikis?

68. *That Infantis ſuld be baptizit, contrare the Anabaptiſtis.*

SIklyke, quhat hef ze for zow expreſlie writtin, to convict the Anabaptiſtis Errour, denying that Bairnis in thair Infancie ſuld be baptizit? For *Origene*, *Auguſtine*, and alſo the *Lutheranis*, lenis in this Mater rycht wechty to the Apoſtolik Traditioun and univerſal Obſervatioun of the haly Catholik Kirk.

Orig. in cap. 6. ad Rom.
Aug. lib. 1. de origine animæ, cap. 23.

69. *Of ſa mony Evangelis, Epiſtolis, &c. in the new Teſtament.*

ALſua, quhat Scriptuir hef ze for zow, to reſave ſa mony Evangelis and Epiſtolis in the new Teſtament as ze do, and nane ma? Gif ze allege the univerſall Conſent of all Aiges ſen *Chriſte*, and the Auctorite of Godis Kirk, to appreve the Veritie thairof, as S. *Auguſtine* dois planelie in the ſamin Mater: Quhy reſave ze nocht the univerſal Interpretatioun of the ſaid Kirk ſen *Chriſtis* Aſcenſioun, in all Materis of Controverſie, and Ordour to be obſervit in Unitie and Peace?

Contra Epiſt. Fund. cap. 5.

70. *My Copie heir wantis ane Queſtioun in this Place anentis the Signe of the Croce* (*a*), *quhilk the Reidar may haif in the writtin Copiis at hem.*

71. *Of*

(*a*) There is a Correction appointed by the Author to be taken in ſomewhere following the Note pertaining to the Margin of Queſtion 65; but becauſe the particular Place is not diſtinctly marked, it was thought proper to inſert it here, *viz.* "For fra the "confortable Signe of the Croce contenit in the vj. Queſtioun following, thai abhorre na les than dois the auld Serpent, and his "poyſonit Kenling *Juliane* the Apoſtate did."

71. *Of quhat Traditionis we ſpeik.*

WE ſpeikand of Traditionis, meanis nocht to compell ony Man to reſave ony Thing contrare the Scriptuiris, nor zit thai Ritis uſeit in diveris Kirkis, albeit aggreing with the Scriptuir; fer les heirfor Superſtitioun, or ony Abuiſſis onyways croppin in Religioun: Bot meanis be Traditioun, the trew underſtanding of the Word of God, and thai Thingis univerſalie taucht and obſervit be all Catholikis ſen the Days of the Apoſtolis. Bot give ze appreve nocht the ſamin with us, bot inventis a new Senſe thairof contrare the former Mynd of our Fatheris, and ſtudiis ſiklyke to abrogat and aboliſe the uniforme Ordour in Religioun, als weill of the Sacramentis as of uthir godly Ritis, albeit maiſt cleirly aggreing with the haly Scriptuiris, and ſpecialie thais univerſalie obſervit be all Catholikis, to this our Aige: Quhow can ze excuis zour ſelfis of the Impietie of Schiſme and Diviſioun, and fra manifeſt Defectioun fra the Kirk of God, and nocht to be the verray Sones of the *Antichriſte*, ſawand Schiſme and Diviſioun in Godis Kirk, and contrare the manifeſt Scriptuir and Promis of our Salviour, denyand evir to hef bene an haly Kirk afoir zow? And gif ze prefer zour awin Witt and Jugement to all utheris (quhilk God forbid) ſeikand thairby a glorious Titill, by the Gloir of God, quha promittit to ſend his Prophetis, Doctouris and Evangeliſtis, to the Conſummatioun of his Sanctis: Quhow ſall ze nocht juſtlie be reputit (quhilk gratious God in zow mot ſtay) the Childering of Arrogance, and the verray Sones of *Belial*?

Note diligentlie chriſtiane Reidar.

1 *Tim.* 6.

It is writtin, *Depoſitum cuſtodi.*

72. *Of the inviſible Kirk.*

GIf ze appreve na Kirk, to the quhilk ze may aſſent, except an imaginat inviſibil Kirk (quhilk ze hef begit fra *Luther*) quhilk wantis Eris to heir; quhow ſall ze ſchaw zour Complaint to the Kirk, conforme to our Salviouris Command? And gif it wantis Toungis to ſpeik and Handis to writt (as it man want of Neceſſitie, gif it be inviſible) quhow can it be, as S. *Paull* techis it to be, *the Pillar and Firmament of Veritie*? Albeit the Elect of God ar knawin to Him only, zit how can thai be inviſible to Men, ſen it behuiſis thame to be techit be Men, reſave the Sacramentis be Men? or uthirways, quhow can thai be of Godis Kirk? Quhy invent ze ſik a Terme as *Inviſible*, nothir expreſſit in Scriptuir, nor reſavit be aunciant Fatheris, and ſettis the ſamin furth as an Article of zour Beleif? Will ze nocht confes, that in the Kirk of God ar bayth guid and evill, expreſſit in the Evangell be the Similitude of *Quheit* and *Fitcheis*, guid Fiſchis and evill in ane Nett; ſua that the guid in the Battell throw Tentatioun may fall, and the evill throw trew Pennance may ryſe agane to Grace? Or quhiddir imaginat ze zour Kirk to be inviſible, to mair eſalie perſuade thairthrow an Unitie in all Godlines? Or (as mony ſupponis) to the end that ze and zour privat Opinioun be nocht jugeit be Men of ſuperiour Poweris? Gif ze perſuade ony Godlines or Unitie thairby, be quhat Meanis or Maner we pray zow? And quhow can ze thairthrow onyways eſchew nocht to be jugeit of Superiouris of the Kirk, ſen ze neid obey thame in all Godlines, albeit thai in thameſelfis be wickit, ſen *na Power is bot of God*? Ferther, gif God providit amangis the *Jowis* an undoutit Ordinance, that all Dout and Controverſie in Religioun amangis thame mot be decidit; hes He les Cuir of us quhome He hes bocht alrady with the precious Bluid of His only Sone, ſa ferventlie commendand us Peace and Concord, than of thame; that it may be leſum to every ane of us to adhere to his awin Imaginatioun and Phantaſie, but ony Jugement or Puniſment of our Superioris?

Note for the Luve of *Chriſte* the Auctour of Peace.

Matt. 18.

1 *Tim.* 3.

Matt. 13.
1 *Cor.* 10.
Eph. 5.

1 *Pet.* 3.
Rom. 13.
Deut. 17.
Note.

73. *Gif a Woman may beir Superioritie of a Realme, Province, &c.*

ZE nocht misknawand, that we all ar maiſt ſtrytlie commandit in the Scriptuiris to be ſubmittit and obedient to the hie Poweris, of the quhilkis we

Rom. 13.
1 *Pet.* 2.

beleve our lauchful King or Quene to be Principal in the Civill Eſtate, as the cheif Biſchope in the Eccleſiaſticall Government: Quhy aſſent ze to the furthſetting of certane ſeditious Buikis, quharein is denyit that a Woman may beir Auctorite of ony Realme, Province or Citie; ſen we reid maiſt godly Women to hef had ſik Auctorite, as the Prophetiſe *Debora*? We reid the Quene of the South, be our Salviour, gretumlie commendit, for the viſiing of *Salomon*. We reid ſiklyke of the Quene of *Candace*, quhois Eunuch wes baptizit be *Philip*. Quharefor ſlew the wickit Quene *Athalia* the Kingis Poſteritie, and it had nocht bene the Law that a Woman micht beir Auctorite, as ſcho regnit ſevin Zeris? Gif ze affirm that a Woman may nocht ſucceid to hir Fatheris heretable Landis, *Moyſes* pronunceis planelie in zour contrare, admittand and commandand alſua the Dochtiris of *Salphaad* to enjoſe but Impediment thair Fatheris Heretage in *Judea*. And quhat is ony Realme or Province in Chriſtianitie bot as a Part of *Judea*, be the quhilk is ſignifiit the haill Kirk of God, profeſſing trewlie *Chriſte Jeſus*, ſubdewit to ane God, ane King, ane Lord, and ane Law? Quhare Mentioun is maid in the Scriptuir, that a Woman may nocht haif Dominioun above Man; is nocht that meanit only of a mariit Woman and hir Husband, except ze will eviry Lady in the Land to be ſubdewit to hir awin Cuik or Horsboy? Gif ze deny zow to aſſent to the ſaidis prophane Buikis, quhy cry ze nocht out in zour Prechingis aganis ſa manifeſt Impietie, treſſonable Seditioun, quhilk alrady intendis extreme Deſtructioun of this Realme?

Jud. 4.
Luc. 11.
Act. 8.
4 *Reg.* 11.
Numb. 27.
Note.
1 *Cor.* 14.
1 *Tim.* 2.

74. *Quhat cumis of the misknawing of the Soverane and the Biſchopis.*

GIf ze can nothir aſſuir us of zour lauchful Biſchopis and utheris Miniſteris, nor zit knawis zour lauchful Soverane, quhome ze aucht nixt God maiſt humelie obey; quhow can ze affirm zow to haif a Kirk, or defend zour Conventiculis fra a *Babilonical* Confuſioun and *Diabolical* Miſordour, foreſpokin be the Prophetis to the wickit Peple, reprobat of God, on this manieir, *Sedebunt multos dies ſine Rege, ſine Lege, ſine Principe, ſine Sacerdote & Doctore, ſine Sacrificio & Altari, &c.*

Note this, *O gens ſine capite.*
Oſe 3.
2 *Paral.* 15.

75. *Gif the Bodyis ſalbe all alyke glorifiit.*

IT being ſa expreſlie ſchawin to us in Scriptuiris, that eviry Man ſall reſave Rewarde of God conforme to his wirking in his Body heir; quhy teche ze that eviry Body of the Juſt in the Reſurrectioun ſalbe alyke beutifull and glorifiit, ſen the Guidnes of God ſall rewarde the haill Man in Body and Saull, and nocht in Saull only? The Difference of the Rewarde is mair expreſſit than we neid to preve the ſamin; as, *Quha ſawis ſcairſlie, ſall ſcheir ſcairſlie:* And *as a Sterne differis fra an uthir Sterne in brychtnes, ſua ſalbe,* ſays S. *Paull*, *the Reſurrectioun of the deid.*

Ha, ha, hald thair: Wald ze confound alſo the Ordour in Hevin?
2 *Cor.* 5.
2 *Cor.* 9.
1 *Cor.* 15.

76. *Gif all kynd of Images and Similitudes be forbiddin be the ſecund Command.*

GIf ze underſtand be the ſecund Precept, as ze diſtinct thame, na Image nor Similitude of ony Thing to be maid abſolutlie; quhy permitt ze but Repreif the Nobilis and Gentlemen of zour Congregatioun to haif Images or Figuris of Beiſtis, and ſiklyke, in thair Armis? And quhy beir ze zour ſelfis Gold and Silvir in zour Purſſis quhareupon ar Images and Figuris? And gif ze allege ſiklyke to be leſum, bot nocht to be put up in the Temple of God; quhow underſtand ze that Part of the Scriptuir quhare *Salomon* is gretumlie commendit for the bigging of the Temple of *Jeruſalem*, quharein he gart mak ſindry Images and Similitudis, as of the Angelis, Cherubin, of Lyonis, Oxin, and utheris Thingis? Will ze haif the haill Kirk of God of les Auctorite than wes *Salomon* him allane, quha bayth ſet up Images in the Temple of God without the expres writtin Word of God? Gif ze anſſuer heirin tweching the Abuiſſis, quhilkis we wald

3 *Reg.* 8. 6. & 7.
Reid that Place, and be nocht ſclanderit; nor zit wickitlie impute a Falt to the Kirk of God.

wald glaidlie war put away, be Exemple of the Braſin Serpent caſſin down be *Ezechias*; quhow can zour Anſſuer be of Strenthe, or to Purpoſe? Or quhow can ze, be Reſſoun, condemne of Idolatrie all our Elderis, for the upſetting of Images of *Chriſte* crucifiit, of his Martyris, and of the reſt, mair than *Salomon*; ſen nothir of bayth intendit ony Abus eſtir to cum thairof? And gif ze aboliſe all thing that is abuſit, quhat thing ſall ze leve nocht aboliſſit? Nocht the haly Scriptuiris ſelf, quhilk Heretikis hes evir abuſit, thrawing the ſamin in Defence of thair fals Opinionis, as did the Devil and the *Jowis* contrare *Chriſte*.

4 *Reg.* 18.
Matt. 4.
Jo. 19.

77. *Gif we may incal the Sanctis to pray for us but Idolatrie.*

ZE confeſſing with us, as we ar informit, that all the Membris of *Chriſtis* myſtical Body, quhilk is His haly Kirk, ar deſyrous and glaid alſo of the Helthe and Proſperitie of utheris; and prayis to our hevinly Father for the ſamin to the indigent thairof, als weill the Angelis and Sanctis in Hevin for us on Erd in this Battell, as the godly on Lyfe for utheris; bot ze deny that we may incal the Angelis and Sanctis in Hevin to that Effect but the Cryme of Idolatrie, and pronunceis us manifeſt Idolatouris gif we ſua do: Quhy condemne ze nocht of Idolatrie ſiklyke, *Origene*, *Chryſoſtome*, *Hierome*, *Auguſtine*, *Baſil*, with mony utheris, quhome ze knaw to hef incallit the Sanctis afoir thame departit, as we do at this preſent? And gif ze allege that the Sanctis heiris us nocht, be quhat Scriptuir preve ze zour Allegeance? Knaw ze nocht that the Angelis ar blythe for the Weilfair of Man in Erthe? And knaw ze nocht that our Salviour pronunces planelie, that the Sanctis departit heirfra ſalbe * alyke and equal to the Angelis? Or quhow may ze affirm the Angelis and Sanctis tobe of les Knawlege than the Devilis, quhome ze grant to knaw our Doingis?

Orig. in Job. lib. 2.
Chryſoſt. ad populum Antioch. Homil. 66. *&* *in* 1 *Theſ.* 1.
Hieron. in Epitap. Paul.
Auguſt. de cognitione veræ vitæ, cap. 39.
Baſilius in 40 *Mart.*
* *Mar.* 12.
Luc. 20.

78. *Gif ony temporall Pane remanis to a Penitent reſavit to Mercy, and of Prayar for thame departit.*

MAirover, quhat Scriptuir haif ze for zow to affirm ſa bauldlie, that quhow ſoone as a Sinnar is reſavit in the Favour of God to Mercy, that all temporall Pane is alſo dimittit to him; for the quhilk Caus the Saulis of the Chriſtianis, ſay ze, that ar departit in Grace, neidis nane of our Prayaris, or uthir Support: For othir thai depart in Grace, and ſua immediatlie to the Hevin, or ellis in the Wrayth of God, and ſua (as we grant with zow in that Caſe) paſſis to the Hell? But quhow underſtand ze it that is writtin, *Num.* 14. *I haif forgevin thame according to thi Word*, ſays God to *Moyſes* prayand for the Peple; nochttheles it followis of the grete Puniſment temporall, that nane of the Peple that paſſit furth of *Egipt* abone xx. Zeris auld, ſuld entir in the Land of Promiſſioun, except *Joſue* and *Caleb*? Quhow underſtand ze the grete Tribulatioun and Scurge that cum to *David* and his Hous, for his Sinnis eſtir he wes reſſavit to Mercy? Quhat meanis the ſorrowfull Puniſment of the Hous of *Manaſſes* to the fourt Generatioun for his Offences, eſtir he wes reſſavit to Mercy, nocht only in tyme of his wickit Offspring, bot alſo in the Days of the maiſt godly King *Joſias* his Oy, it is writtin that the Lord wes nocht turnit fra his Wrayth and Indignatioun contrare *Juda*, for the Sinnis of *Manaſſes*? Ze grantand alſo, that in Baptim all Sinnis ar forgevin, confes ze nocht that the Miſerie and the Dethe ſiklyke that followis eſtir to the Infant afoir ony actuall Sin, is the temporall Puniſment for Sin; ſen S. *Paull* techis, that *the Reward of Sin is Dethe*? Gif we heirfor aſſuirit be Godis Word, that He *chaſtiſſis all Sone quhome he reſſavis*, limitatis nor determinatis nocht the Wiſdum of God be our Phantaſie, quhen, quhare, or quhowmekle, heir or eſtir this, as it pleſſis His godly Fatherheid juſtlie to puneis us temporalie, bot with *Hierome*, *Ambroſe* and *Auguſtine*, with the reſt of Godis Kirk, prays, and delis Almus deid for the Saulis of the Faythfull departit: Quhy call ze us heirfor *Papiſtis*, ſpecialie ſen it is writtin, that it is a haly and helthfull thing to pray for thame departit, that thai be ſaifit fra thair Sinnis.

Awa with the Communioun of Sanctis, meane thai; nother us frome Hevin be Angel nor Sainct, nor in Erd be Wit of our Forefatheris, nor the departit be us, will thai hef helpit.

Num. 14.
2 *Reg.* 12. 13. 15.
4 *Reg.* 21. 23.
2 *Paral.* 33.
Hier. 15.
Note.
Rom. 6.
Heb. 12.
Hierom. in 11 *Prover.*
Aug. in libro confeſſ. in Enchirid. in lib. de civ. Dei & de verb. Apoſt.
Amb. de obit. Valent. fratris, & Theodoſ.
2 *Mac.* 12.

79. *Of faſting at certane Tymes.*

Exod. 24. FAſting in all Aiges ſa gretumlie commendit be God, as it is patent of *Moy-*
3 *Reg.* 19. *ſes*, *Helias*, the *Ninivitis*, and alſo be S. *Johne Baptiſt* and his Diſciplis,
Jon. 3. practiſit alſo be our Salviour ſelf (quhois Doingis till us ſuld be a Reull of
Matt. 3. 4. Leving, ſa fer as we may follow) be quhome it wes foreſpokin that his Diſciplis
Matt. 9. ſuld faſt in thai Days, quhen thair Spous, quhilk wes Himſelf, ſuld be tane
fra thame: Quhiddir gif the Kirk of God heirfor obſerving zerlie Abſtinence
fourty Days in the *Lentrene*, and oukly on the *Fryday* quhen he ſufferit, and
on *Wodinſday* generalie in the *Orient* Kirk quhen he wes ſauld, as maiſt com-
monly on the *Saterday* in the *Occident*, wes gilty of Idolatrie or Superſtitioun
thairthrow? Quhiddir gif the primitive Kirk obſervit the ſamin voluntarie, ſen
tha war maiſt ferventlie gevin at that Tyme to all godly Exerciſe, or be Com-
Conſider the mand of thair Biſchopis? Trewth it is that thai faſtit the ſamin maiſt ſtrictlie,
Hiſtorie of *Spi-* nocht only, as it apperis, fra Fleſche, bot fra Wynis, and all weill nuriſſing
ridion, objectit Meitis and Drinkis; of the quhilk faſting remanis now only the Memorial thair-
to us Catho- of, to abſtene fra Fleſche. Heirfor gif the Peple now being bent and prone to
likis.
Trip. hiſt. all licentious leving, contemnis bayth the les and the mair; quhy exhort ze
lib. 1. *cap.* 10. thame to brek that ſmall Memorie of Abſtinence fra Fleſche the Tymes forſaid,
and nocht erar ſpurris thame to the ſtrict Abſtinence maiſt godly of the primitive
O warldly Kirk; nocht only for Cauſe of the commoun Weill, as ze call it, bot for god-
witut! ly Exerciſe, as the Kirk uſeit the ſamin befoir? Siklyke, ſen the Peple ſuld o-
bey thair Superiour in all leſum Thingis, quhy cauſe ze Diſobedience to thame
Jon. 3. in this Mater; ſen *Joſaphat*, King *Saull*, the King of the *Ninivitis*, with mo-
ny utheris, commandit ſiklyke faſting, and nane durſt diſobey; inſamekle that
1 *Reg.* 14. *Saull* wald hef ſlane his maiſt deirbelovit Sone *Jonathas* for breking the ſamin
Command, nocht willinglie nor wittinglie, bot in Ignorance? Quhy obeyt ze
Note. nocht zour ſelfis the laſt *Lentrene* Tyme zour Magiſtratis commandand, at
zour Deviſe and Counſel, Abſtinence fra Fleſche certane Days? Gif ze allege in
Tit. 1. this Mater, contrare the faſting of the Kirk, the Sayngis of S. *Paull*, *All*
1 *Tim.* 4. *Thingis ar clene to the clene*; and quhare he propheciis of the Heretikis that
ſuld forbid Mariage and eiting of certane Meteis: We think that Abſurditie
Nicholaite neidis na Confutatioun bot the Exemplis abone ſpecifiit, ſen thai Heretikis ar
Manichai.
Tatiani. alrady cummin in the primitive Kirk.

80. *Of the Monaſtik Lyſe.*

NA Man of mein reiding doutand the Monaſtik Lyſe in the primitive Kirk to
hef bene in grete Exiſtimatioun, as ſindry Werkis of *Hierome*, *Auguſtine*,
Chryſoſtome, *Baſil*, and utheris, in Commendatioun thairof, may be ſufficient
witneſſing: Quhy reject ze, and diſpyſſis the ſamin indifferentlie as ſuperſti-
tious or idolatrical, ſen it hes the Grund and deip Ruitis in the Scriptuir, be Ex-
3 *Reg.* & 4. emple of *Helias*, *Heliſeus*, S. *Johne* the *Baptiſt*, and thair Diſciplis; be Ex-
Matth. 3. emple alſo of mony Diſciplis of *Chriſte*, quha ſauld thair Geris and Landis at
his Counſel, that thai mot be perfyte and follow him, and kaiſt the Prices thair-
Act. 4. 5. of at the Diſciplis Feit; for the defrauding of the quhilkis, *Ananias* and *Sa-*
Note the *phira* wes ſtrukin be ane Word of *Petir* to the Dethe. Feir ze nocht ſiklyke
Apoſtatis. Puniſment heir or hyne tocum on tha religious Perſones quha now gredelie em-
braiſſis the Warld agane, be Libertie of zour Doctrine, quhilk afoir be *Chriſtis*
Matt. 19. Counſel thai had refuſit? And that Damnatioun alſo tocum on thame (quhilk
1 *Tim.* 5. God avert throw his Spirit to Repentance) quhilk S. *Paull* pronunceit upone
Note. the zoung Wedowis, quha eſtir thair Vow wald only hef mariit; ſen the ſpe-
ciall Pray that mony of thame huntis for is an Huir (as we zit underſtand)
cloikit be the Name of a *Wyfe*? Ze miſknaw nocht the Monaſtik Lyfe to hef
ſtand ſpecialie in the renunceing of the Warld and Pleſouris of the Body, nocht
only fra unleſum Huirdum, bot fra Mariage ſumtyme to thame leſum; to the
Entent that thai mycht thairby mair eſalie waik on Prayar and godly Study;
nocht

nocht refuſing honeſt corporal Exerciſe, be Exemple of S. *Paull*, to Suſtentatioun of thair Bodyis: Zit nochtwithſtanding in our Days the ſamin wes abuſit amang mony in Idilnes and welthy Lyfe, and cloikit with gliſtering Ceremoneis of Germountis and ſiklyke, mair than in trew Religioun. Quhy hef ze ſchorne away in this Mater the Quheit togidder with the Fitcheis? Quhy hef ze wappit down the Monaſteriis and principal Policie of this Realme, and counſelis the Rentis thairof injuſtlie to be appropriat to utheris? Of the quhilkis Monaſteriis eviry ane, be a godly Reformatioun, beſydes a Cumpanie to waik on Prayar, micht haif bene a College of godly Leirning, to the Support of puir Studentis, and that to the grete and neceſſar Commoditie of this Realme; quhare now apperis ſchortlie to cum extreme Ignorance, and thairby be reiding of erroneous *Inglis* Buikis but ferther Knawlege, Confuſioun of all Errouris. Gif ze allege the ſaidis Monaſteriis to hef bene pollutit with Idolatrie, and thairfor ſuld haif bene deſtroyit; quhy hef ze nocht deſtroyit alſo to the Ground (as ze hef done in a part) all Paroche Kirkis and Biſchopes Saitis, in the quhilkis the ſamin Thingis wes uſeit, haldin be zow Idolatrie? And quhat Power haif ze to diſpence mair in the ane nor in the uthir?

81. *Of Prayar at preſcrivit Tymes in the Kirk.*

EFtir that we ar be our Salviour and his Apoſtolis maiſt erneſtlie commandit to walk continualie but Intermiſſioun in Prayar and Thankiſgeving, and be Exemple of our grete Lord forſaid, techit nocht only afoir and efter Mete to Thankiſgeving, bot to the Fervencie of Prayar, knawing Him to hef prayt thryſe the ſamin Prayar the Nycht he wes betraſit; and be *Daniel* alſo Captive in *Babilone*, turnand him to *Jeruſalem*, and adurnand the levcand God thre tymes eviry Day; and techit ſiklyke be the haly Prophet *David* nocht only eviry Day, bot at Midnycht to ryſe, and eviry Day ſevin tymes to luve the ſamin Lord our God. Siklyke, in the Apoſtolis Days, we reid that certane Houris wes appointit, as quhen *Petir* and *Johne* aſcendit to the Temple at the nynte Hour of Prayar: We reid ſiklyke of the magnifik Ordour and Multitude of ſindry Miniſteris in the Temple of God appointit be *David*. Heirfor, albeit eviry Man ſuld pray willinglie, think ze nocht that the Kirk of God inſtitutit godly, that Prayaris and Loving ſuld be ſoung or red dayly ſevin tymes be able Miniſteris elect thairto? quhilk Thing, as we underſtand, ze can nocht be Reſſoun deny. Quharefor hef ze, pretending bettir Ordour in the Kirk than wes afoir, diſtroyt the formair Ordour, and prays only be ane Perſoun, in zour beſt reformit Kirkis, anis only eviry Day? and in mony Places thryſe in the Oulk? and in fer ma nocht anis in the Moneth? we mein of the Kirkis pertening to the Reformaris. Gif ze allege in the formair Ordour, Abuſe or Superſtitioun throw Ignorance to hef aboundit (quhilk Thing we excuis nocht) quhy trampit ze nocht thai Abuſeis under Fuit, and ſet up that godly Ordour to the awin ſyncere Puritie, bot hes brocht that Mater, as Faſting and Monaſtik Lyfe, to the mair licentious Libertie than afoir?

Luc. 18.
Matt. 26.
1 *Theſ.* 5.
1 *Pet.* 4.

Dan. 6.

Pſal. 144.
& 118.

Act. 3.

1 *Par.* 24.

82. *Of fre Will.*

QUhy hald ze the Catholik Doctrine of fre Will of Man, a papiſticall Inventioun, ſen all the auld auunciant Writtaris, bayth *Greik* and *Latin*, affirmis the ſamin to be collectit maiſt evidentlie of the Scriptuir; and nocht only thai, bot alſo zour awin Writtaris, as *Bullinger* and *Melanthon* apprevis the ſamin? Will ze heirfor a Man to be as a Stane, Horſs or Mule? Or mak ze God the Wirkar of all Iniquitie, and to hef gevin His haly Commandis to the Intent that Man ſuld be damnit thairby, gif ze allege all Thingis tocum of Neceſſitie? Gif Man preventit be the Grace of God, hes nocht that Fredome of Will to aſſent or diſſent thairfra; quhow underſtand ze thir Scriptuiris, and ſiklyke, *Quhow oft wald I hef gadderit the* (ſays our Salviour to *Jeruſalem*) *and thow wald nocht?* And ſiklyke that S. *Stevin* ſays to the *Jowis*, *Ze haif ay gainſtand the haly Spirit?*

Aug. de ſpirit. & lit. cap. 33. *Nemo habet in poteſtate quid ei veniat in mentem: ſed conſentire, vel diſſentire, propria voluntatis eſt.*

Et cap. 4. *Sine libero arbitrio, nec benè, nec male vivitur.*

Matt. 23.
Act. 7.

Spirit? Gif Man hes na Fredome, as ſaid is, to quhat Effect gaif God his Commandis to Man, gevand him Terrouris of Panis, gif he tranſgreſſit the ſamin, and ſa mony large Promiſſis for the obſerving of the ſamin? Was thair evir ony of us, quhome ze call *Papiſtis*, that affirmit with the *Pelagianis*, that Man eftir the Fall of *Adam* mycht of the Power of his fre Will do ony Guid pleſand to God without His ſpecial Grace and Help? Nochtheles man we nocht grant with S. *Paull*, that Will is adjacent till us?

Rom. 7.

83. *Of the Name* Papiſtis.

Note for godly Unitie.

QUhidder call ze us of the haly Catholik Kirk *Papiſtis*, be reſſoun of the Biſchopes of *Rome* in the primitive Kirk, of the quhilkis thai war twentie and ma, maiſt conſtant Martyris of the Veritie, quhilk is *Chriſte?* Or be reſſoun of the Biſchopes of *Rome* quha hes bene laitlie? Gif ze call us *Papiſtis*, for Caus of ony new Doctrine unknawin to the primitive Kirk, bot ſet up laitlie be the Biſchopes of *Rome*, or utheris: We, to the Intent that we may cum to an Unitie in all Godlines, will, with Godis Help, condeſcend unto zow, ſa fer as we may but manifeſt Errour, and in na Point adhere to ony Doctrine in Religioun, or Ordour in the Kirk, ſet furth be Papes, Biſchopes, or Kingis, thir thouſand Zeris laſt bipaſt; except it evidentlie aggre with the expres Word of God, the trew underſtanding thairof univerſalie ſet furth afoir thai Days, declarit till us be the uniforme Conſent of the maiſt aunciant Doctouris, diſcuſſit and determinat be Generall Counſelis, or univerſalie obſervit and practiſit in Godis Kirk. Nor zit allege Doctour, *Greik* nor *Latin*, quha hes writtin within thir thouſand Zeris for the Defence of ony thing now in Controverſie, except in ſa fer as thai manifeſtlie conſent with the Doctrine of the former Aige. ☞ Gif ze diſſent fra the Doctrine approvin univerſalie, and Ordour ſet furth in the ſaid former Kirk, ſen the Kirk of God moſt be perpetuall, and in na Aige evir mair ſyncere in Religioun, fulfillit and exornatit in godly Leirning and Integritie of Lyfe than in thai Days: Haif we nocht juſt Cauſe to imploir the Grace of God, and Help of all Chriſtiane Princis, to be deliverit fra zour furious Tyrannie, maiſt *Ethnik* and arrogant Impietie?

An Exhortatioun to mature and godly Deliberatioun in the Premiſſis.

Note and obſerve, gif thow wald be a Sone of the haly Kirk univerſal.

Matt. 7.
Tit. 3.
1 Cor. 1.
Epheſ. 4.
2 Theſſ. 2.

WE being diligentlie, and alſo ſtryitlie commandit be our Salviour and his haly Apoſtolis, to be war of fals Prophetis, to eſchew the Cumpanie of Heretikis, to fle fra all Schiſme and Diviſioun, to walk in Unitie of Spirit, in the Band of Peace: And to the end that we mot mair eſalie ſua do, to keip that Uniformitie of Doctrine, of Preceptis and Traditionis gevin till us, als weil be Word and Preching as be Writt; maiſt faithfullie promittis to zow to conſent, and aſſiſt alſua, nocht only to the tramping down of Idolatrie, Superſtitioun and Abuiſſis in Religioun, inſafer thai be till us cleirly notifiit, bot alſo to the cutting away of the apperand Occaſioun thairof, croipin in the Kirk onyways, be warldly wickit Men, be the Spirit of Avarice, Ambitioun, or carnal Affectioun. Gif ze ſchuit only at this ſamin Mark, as ze allege zow to do (quhilk to intend unfenzetlie we pray the Almychty maiſt merciful to illuminat zour Myndis) we exhort zow, in the Bowelis of *Jeſus Chriſte*, to deſcend into zour ſelſis, and to hef Conſideratioun, that as ze allege zow to be Men of Leirning and Witt, that ſua zour Fatheris afoir zow hes bein Men haifand indoutitlie the ſamin Giftis; and as ze juge the ſamin our Fatheris (we mein ſpecialie of the Martyris and maiſt aunciant Doctouris about four hundreth Zeris to *Chriſtes* Aſcenſioun) to hef bene Men, and ſa mycht hef errit, ſua zour ſelfis nocht to be as zit in that Angelicall Perfectioun that ze may nocht erre. * And zit as we grant it poſſible that ony ane of thame, adherand to his awin Jugement, mycht hef ſliddin in ſum Pointis; ſua we affirm it to be impoſſible, and a Thing blaſphemous to *Chriſte*, to think that thai all writtand of ane Mater, and in ane Mynd, evir to

Note.

hef

hef errit.* We exhort zow alſua, as ze knaw Science to be the Gift of God, ſua ze wald remembir it to be indifferent to Guid or Evil; ſua that naturalie, without the Heit of Cheritie, it makis Men bowldin and heicht. Bot ſen ze miſknaw nocht that godly Wiſdum may nocht dwell in the Bodyis of thame quha ar ſubdewit to Sin (quhilk we lay nocht to accuis zow preſentlie) we beſeik zow to haif Inſpectioun inteirly of zour awin Lyves, and thaireftir juge and confer the ſamin with the Lyves of the haly Martyris, and utheris aunciant Fatheris. Quhilk Thing being done, we appele to zour Conſcience to declare, gif ze think we faill to lein erar to the Jugement and uniforme Conſent of thai Eldaris (quhois Lyfe and Leirning ar notifiit to the haill Warld) to the grete Gloir and Prayſe of the maiſt mercifull Lord thair undoutit Gydear; or to zour privat Opinioun in thir our Days: Zea, albeit ze hald the haill Warld at this preſent alyve (except a few Numbre of us) on zour Syde, diſſenting fra all Aiges of Men profeſſing *Chriſte* in all the Warld ſen his Aſcenſioun, afoir this our maiſt wrechit Aige. Mairover, forſamekle as ze ar offendit and gretumlie diſpleſit, that we embraſe nocht generalie zour new Interpretationis on ſindry Places of the Scriptuir, zour Determinationis and Ordour in the hie Myſteriis and Sacramentis of our Chriſtiane and Catholik Religioun; and thairfor callis us *indurat Papiſtis*, affirming zow to reduce all to the Puritie and ſyncere Doctrine of Godis Word as it wes trewlie underſtandit in the primitive Kirk, with the uniforme Ordour keipit than. We heirfor effectuouſlie deſyris zow and all Chriſtianis quho heiris of our Controverſie, to pance, wey and conſider gif ze haif juſt Occaſioun thairto; and to that Effect, to knaw and remembir the Conſtancie of the primitive Kirk in the leiſt Ceremonie in Religioun reſavit fra thair Eldaris: And for Exemple, to haif in vigilant Memorie the Tumult and Controverſie that hapnit in the tyme of the aunciant Martyr *Irenæus*, neirby fourtein hundreth Zeris paſſit, betwix the Kirk of *Aſia* (quhilk as principal Biſchope in thai Partis than reulit *Polycrates*) and the Kirk of *Rome*, with the utheris Kirkis, about the Celebratioun of the *Paſche-day*: Nocht that other of the Sydis denyit the zerlie Celebratioun thairof, nor intendit, as ze do at this preſent (of quhat Spirit we refer to Godis Kirk to juge) to aboliſe the zerlie Celebratioun thairof, bot only that the Kirk of *Aſia* celebratit the ſamin Solennitie zerlie nocht on the ſamin *Sonday* as the *Romane* Kirk and all utheris did than, and now dois, keipand in the mene tyme the Faſting of the *Lentren* precedand thair Day of the Moneth; quha being exhortit maiſt ferventlie be *Victor* than Biſchope of *Rome* to change that Ceremonie, and aggre thairin with the reſt of *Chriſtis* Kirkis, diſſentit alutterlie fra his Deſyre, and thairfor wes be him excommunicatit as Schiſmatikis, nocht keipand ane Uniformitie with the reſt. Zit nochtwithſtanding the ſaid Excommunicatioun, thai perſeverit ſtiflie in thair Purpoſe, affirming it naways leſum to thame to change ſa litle a Thing in thair Religioun fra the Ordour eftir the Traditioun quhilk thai had reſavit (as thai allegeit fra thair Eldaris the Apoſtolis and utheris Biſchoipis in *Aſia*) and that with ſa grete Perſeverance on bayth the Sydis, that nocht without grete Labouris the ſaid haly Martyr *Irenæus* cumand furth of it, now callit *France*, to *Rome*, and cauſand the fornemmit *Polycrates* to cum thare at his Requeiſt furth of *Aſia*, for the reconciling and aggreing all Kirkis in the Premiſſis, aggreit with grete Difficultie the Mater ſua, That the Kirk of *Aſia* ſuld be abſolvit fra the former Cenſuris, and permittit to uſe that Ceremonie of thair accuſtomit Day as thai uſeit it afoir, ſen it wes nocht diſaggreing in effect fra the Ordour of utheris Kirkis. Haif we nocht, judge ze, be this Hiſtorie and Exemple controvertit in the Tyme abone ſpecifiit, juſt Cauſe and grete Occaſioun to pance diligentlie, obſerve and conſider with Aviſement (gif ze wald we war ſaiſit be our awin Fayth erar than be zouris) gif zour Doctrine in ſa many Novationis be ſuirlie foundit and bigit on Godis Word trewlie underſtand or nocht; ſen ze nocht only differris fra us, as the *Aſianis* did fra utheris Kirkis, tweching the ſaid Day of the Moneth, bot alutterlie with mekle mair, aboliſſis as *Idolatrical* or *Papiſtical*, as ze call it, the ſaid Solennitie of *Paſch*, and alſo of the *Aſcenſioun*, *Pentecoſte*, the *Nativitie*

Note.

1 *Cor.* 8.
Sap. 1.

Note.

In the mein tyme quhen *Scotland* firſt reſavit the Fayth.

Eccleſiaſt hiſt. lib. 5. *cap.* 24. & *hiſt. Tripert. lib.* 9. *cap.* 38.

Nevir wes hard amang's the Catholikis ſa grete a Controverſie; and zit for a Ceremonie. *Aſia*, *Aphrica* and *Europa* wes commoveit: Quhat gif thai Chriſtianis war now alyve?

Irenæus the Peace-makear.

Note.

of our Salviour, and *Circumciſioun*, the *Epiphanie*, the Faſting of the *Lentrene*, zerlie celebratit and obſervit be all Kirkis ſen *Chriſtis* Aſcenſioun. Heirfor twecching the trew underſtanding of the Articulis preceding, quharein maiſt ſpecialie ze hef ſegregat zour ſelfis fra us (inſafer as we zit underſtand of zour Doctrine) we erneſtlie deſyris zow to ſchaw till us in Writ, conforme to zour Promis, as we twechit in the Beginning, zour Doctrine and Confirmatioun thairof, provin be the Word of God. As to our Parte, to the Intent that ze may be preſervit fra all Damnage and apperand Confuſioun, and leve with us in a godlie Unitie, we promitt to zou maiſt ſaythfullie to play the trew Parte of the haly Peace-maker *Irenæus* abone ſpecifiit; that is, to beir ſafer with zow in all Thingis as we may, but manifeſt Errour and Defectioun fra Godis Kirk. This we promitt maiſt frelie, nocht doutand bot the godly Mynde, the fervent Zele, and trew Luve of our Soverane Lady towart zow hir Graces Subjectis, is maiſt bent to the ſamin end; and ſiklyke, nocht doutand bot our Biſchoipis and utheris Paſtouris quha ar of Leirning, able to thair Offices, ſall reforme thair Lyfes to the Pleſour of all godly Men, and trewlie leve heireftir conforme to thair Vocatioun, and glaidly ſall aſſent to this our Mynd; hoipand alſo that utheris unable ſalbe moveit be Godis Spirit to dimit willinglie thair Places to the mair qualifeit; or uthirways, be a godly Counſeill, that Ordour ſalbe put thairto. Bot gif ze intend to eſtabilis amangis us a new Forme of Religioun, twecching the Interpretatioun of Scriptuiris, the furthſetting of Sacramentis, and Ordour in the Kirk, unknawin to all Aiges of Men quhill this preſent, and will adhere to the Jugement of na Aige of Chriſtianis, in the Materis controvertit betwix us, ſen the Days of the Apoſtolis, bot interpret the Scriptuir, and ſett a pretendit Ordour, conforme to zour Phantaſie, Imaginatioun and privat Opinioun; We will ze perſuadit and certifiit, that be the Help of the Omnipotent maiſt merciful, quha conforme to his Promitt, hes bein, is and ſalbe with his Faythfull to the End of the Warld, geveand thame at all Aiges the diveris Giftis of his haly Spirit: For na feir of zour Multitude, albeit ze war ten thouſand contrare ten of us, that we will nocht only nocht join with zow generalie in Religioun, as ze maiſt ſeverlie hes intendit to thrall us, nor beir with zow in mutuall finzeit Societie, in Diſſimulatioun, contrar the Law of our God, bot aluterlie fle zour Cumpanie, as of Ethnikis and Rennigatis, nocht heirand Godis Kirk nother preſent nor bypaſt, keipand Uniformitie ſa mony Zeris. Zit hoipand in the ineffable Mercy of God till zow and us, we ſall nocht deſiſt Day nor Nycht to pray with maiſt humil Myndis our hevinly Father (quha makis all his Servandis of ane godly Concord in his Hous) that for the Meritis of *Jeſús Chriſte* our only Salviour, he wald ſua illuminat zour Hertis with the Spirit of Humilitie, Sobirnes and Trewth: that ze nothir think afoir God, nor anſſuer till us in the Premiſſis arrogantlie, in Stryfe and Diſſentioun, bot only as afoir God, and of God, and in *Chriſte*, according to his Gloir and immutable Will, to the godly Peace and Unitie of all thame quha unfenzetlie luvis *JESVS*, to quhome with the Father and Haly Gaiſt be all Glore, Power, Vertew and Impire for evir. *Amen.*

Fy on the Apoſtate that refuiſeis this Conditioun.

A guid Hoip, quhilk God of his grete Mercy perſyte.

Quhaſoevir is a trew Chriſtiane will cry this Sentence on heicht, without reſpect of Perel.

Matt. ult.

Pſal. 67.

2 Cor. 2.

Ad quod pervenimus, idem ſentiamus, in eadem permaneamus regula. Philip. 3.

¶ *To* Johne Knox, *writtin* 27. October 1563.

IT apperis to me, Brother, that ze haif ſum grete Impediment quhareby ze ar ſtoppit to keip Promiſe twecheing zour anſſuering to this our Tractate, eftir ſa lang Adviſement. Gif ze perſave zour Fall, *Quid tardas converti ad Dominum?* Bot gif my Hand-writt peradventuir hes nocht bene ſa legible as ze wald, pleis reſave fra this Beirar the ſamin Mater now mair legible. Gif ze throw Curioſitie of Novationis hes forzet our auld plane *Scottis* quhilk zour Mother lerit zow, in tymes cuming I ſall wryte to zow my Mynd in *Latin*, for I am nocht acquyntit with zour *Southeroun*. The Cauſe that moveis me at this Tyme to eik this mekle to zow in all Haiſt, is this Beirar *N*, quha wald fane be haldin a piſſant Patroun of zour Cauſe, obliſſing him to bring me zour Anſ-

ſuer in ony Thing I wald propone to zow. Bot ſen I ſe that ze can find na Outgait in the Materis ellis to zow proponit, I will burding zow with na new Thingis (hoiping in God to heir ſchortlie of zour Converſioun) except only with a new Errour, quhilk this Beirar zour Diſciple affirmis bauldly, *That ſen* Chriſte *ſufferit for Man*, ſays he, *nevir Man paſſit to Hell:* Quhome quhen I culd nocht diſſuade to think the contrare, and haveand Commiſeratioun of the Man, I ſaid this, and now to move zow to Repentance, repetis the ſamin; Gif all *Johne Knoxis* Doctrine, ſay I, be trew, to wit, that all thing quhilk he condemnis be the Name of *Papiſtrie* be damnable, all thing *Idolatrie* and *Superſtitioun* quhilk he ſa callis; that all the Martyris of *Chriſte*, with the maiſt auncient Doctouris quha wrait afore a thouſand Zeris paſſit, togidder with all our Eldaris in *Scotland*, ar alrady in Hell: My Propoſitioun I preve be this Sylogiſme; All Man defendand a damnable Opinioun agains the trew Catholik Fayth, and deand without Repentance, togidder with all Idolatouris deing on lyke maner, but Stop gois to Hell: The Martyris and principall Doctouris of the primitive Kirk, quhais Doctrine defendit evir our Forefatheris in *Scotland* without Repentance, wes (gif ze teche trewlie) the ſamin Men; *ergo*, &c. I refer the Conſequence be the blaſphemous Mouthis to be pronunceit. The *Major* (as thai terme it) I think that be zow, nor zouris ſall nocht be denyit *(a)*. The *Minor*, as I underſtand, is in this Tractate be mony Heidis ſufficientlie provin. Quharefor to zour Schame is my Propoſitioun neceſſarilie inferrit. And becauſe ze hef biggit up zour Tour of *Babel* ſa, that nane underſtandis utheris, zour Toungis being alrady confoundit, I thocht I wald zit anis agane bid zow hald zour Hand. Obſerve my Cauſe; firſt, ze zour ſelf, Brother, of zour Magnificence and liberal Hand, hes oppinit the Zettis of Hevin to the faythful Fatheris, afore our Salviour, be his Dethe, Reſurrectioun and glorious Aſcenſioun, had preparit thairto this Way to Man; and utheris zour Scoleris, ze knaw, mair cruelie hes in thare Imaginatioun cloiſit up, ſlotit and neidnalit the ſamin Zettis of our Heretage (albeit now alrady oppinit to the juſt) quhill the latter Day of all: And now this zour Diſciple hes maiſt mercifullie faſt ſteikit the Zettis of Hell, that the Juſtice of God, do quhat ze liſt, ſall haif na place. Quhat ſall we collect of this zour confuſit Bauldnes, bot that a Parte of zow nixt ſall lay a ſcharpear Seige to Hevin, and an uthir Parte to Hell, and deny that othir thair is a God in the ane, or a Devil in the uthir. For the Apoſtolis Sentence is maiſt trew, *Mali homines & ſeductores proficient in pejus*, &c. and this apperis to be neir the nixt Step. Quharefor, my Freind, hald zit zour Hand, and luke a litle upon zour Werkmanſchip: To the quhilk the Almichty mot illuminate zour Eis. *Amen.* At *Antwerp* the 27. of *October* 1563.

Fy Man, othir conforme thy Doctrine to thiris, or deny the haill wair.

And ſalbe ſoin mair cleirlie.

Othir recant, or cauſe thir zour Diſciplis recant.

2 *Tim.* 3.

Och for mair Paper or Pennyis!

Ninianus Winzetus Presbyter.

To theſe *three* foregoing Pieces I ſhould willingly have added Mr. *Knox*'s Diſputation againſt the Abbot of *Croſraguel*, if I could have obtained any where a Copy of it; but after all the Enquiry, I have not been able to hear but of one imperfect Copy. As for the ſame Perſon's Diſputation (if it may be ſo term'd) againſt Mr. *James Tyrie* the Jeſuite, I have the ſame lying by me; but the Book is too prolix to be inſerted, conſidering what is already printed here of this kind: It was publiſhed at *Paris* by Mr. *Tyrie* in the Year 1573 in *Octavo* with a ſmall Type, and conſiſts of 63 Leaves, and contains that Jeſuite's Letter to his own Brother, labouring to reduce him to the ancient Form; next, Mr. *Knox*'s Obſervations on that Letter; and laſt of all, Mr. *Tyrie*'s Remarks on theſe Obſervations. Mr. *Knox* makes ſome good and ſolid Obſervations, from which, in my Opinion, the Jeſuite has not handſomely extricated himſelf.

(*a*) The Author appoints to be read here, " For we ſchaw thare ane of his at the leiſt to deny the Mater quhareof we thare " ſpeik." *Nota*, The few Corrections which are printed in this Treatiſe are marked by the Author among the *Errata*.

☞ Mr. *Knox* having told that the Papiſts at the *Paſch* 1563 had in divers Parts of the Realm erected the Idol of the Maſs, adds, “Beſydes the firſt Proclamatioun, thare had Letters paſt in the contrare, with Certificatioun of Death to the Contraveiner.” This Author is here in the right; for beſides the Proclamation emitted on the laſt Day of *May* 1562, and inſerted by us *p.* 510, there is another almoſt in the ſame Words, given out by the Queen at St. *Andrew*'s the 17th of *March* 1562-3, and which it is probable Mr. *Knox* had here in View. The only material Difference of this laſt Proclamation from the other in the Month of *May* preceeding, runs thus, **Nochtheles ſum forȝetand thair Dewitie, it is murmurit that thay have contravenit, and intendis purpoſlie to contravene the ſamyn, be innovating,** *&c.* Which Expreſſion ſeems indeed ſtrongly to point at and ſupport the Truth of Mr. *Knox*'s Affirmation above related. But I ſuppoſe the Work was too haſty which the ſame Writer immediately informs us of, in theſe following Words, “The Brethren univerſally offendit, and eſpying that the Quene, by hir Proclamatioun, did bot mock thame, determined to put to thair awn Hands, and to puniſche for Example of uthers: And ſo ſome Prieſtes in the *Weſt-land* wer apprehendit. Intimatioun maid unto uthers, as unto the Abbot of *Croceraguell*, the Parſone of *Sanquhair*, and ſick, that they ſould neyther complene to Quein nor Counſaill, bot ſould execute the Puniſchment that God hes appoynted to Idolaters in his Law, by ſick Meanes as they mycht, quhairever they ſould be apprehendit.” This laſt Proclamation carries alſo the Words *privatlie or opinlie*, in place of *privatlie or quietlie*, which is in the former one, by the Fault I reckon of the Clerk.

Apud Halirudhous penultimo Junij, Anno 1563.

THe Quenis Majeſtie ordanis the Kepar of hir Hieneſſes Signet, to paſs Letteris of the Dait heirof, according to the Ordinance maid be hir Grace at *Sanctandrois* the xvij Day of *Marche*, the Zeir of God 1562 Zeirs, tuiching the Materis of Religioun and the keping of civill Societie amangs hir Subjectis in all Poynts and Clauſis thairof; nawayis eikand nor diminiſhand the ſamyn in ony Conditioun, kepand this preſent Act for his Warrand, as he will anſwer to hir Majeſtie thairupoun.

N. B. In the End of the Regiſter of Privy-Council, where the above Proclamation at St. *Andrew*'s is inſerted, and the Order at *Holy-rood-houſe*; there is likewiſe to be ſeen the Queen's Proclamation of 25th *Auguſt* 1561, a Copy whereof we had taken from Mr. *Knox* (*Vide p.* 504.) as not finding the ſame in the true Place of the Regiſter. Allowance being made for ſome few Words, which Mr. *Knox* has put into a better ſhape, the Draught of the Proclamation is preciſely alike, the Word *ſame* in *l.* 18. *p.* 505 excepted, which ought to be *Form.*

✠ In *p.* 555 'tis to be ſuſpected that Mr. *Petrie* has only put a wrong Date to his Act of Council, ſince it is viſibly the ſame with the Act in *p.* 561.

Item, in *p.* 181 *Append.* The Abbay of *Tungland* was annexed by the Popes to the Biſhoprick of *Galloway. Epiſt. Reg. Scot. Vol.* 2 *p.* 115, 117. And from the ſame Book it appears that the Biſhops of *Galloway* were by the ſame Authority perpetual Deans of the Chapel Royal in *Stirline*. It would ſeem the low Revenue of this Biſhoprick has wanted theſe Annexations.

Item, p. 182, *&c.* It appears that the Abbays of *Kelſo* and *Kilwinning* were both of the *Benedictine* Order. *Vide Epiſt. Reg. Scot. Vol.* 2. *p.* 116 *&* 133. And that *Saulſeat* was of the *Premonſtratenſian* Order. *Ibid. p.* 252.

Item, p. 185. *Note*, The Miniſter of *Failford* was Provincial of the Trinity Order in *Scotland*; *Regiſt. Privy Seal ad Ann.* 1543. And *Robert* the Miniſter

niſter thereof, whom we find in the Parliament 1560, was a natural Son of the Earl of *Glencarne*. *Ibid.* & *Epiſt. Reg. Scot. Vol.* 2. *p.* 86. The Dignity of a Seat in Parliament has flowed from being Head of the Order.

¶ Beſides the *Parſonages* on *p.* 192, theſe following are likewiſe in the Collectors Books, *viz. In* Orkney; *Lady-Kirk*, *Stronzay*. Fiſe; *Dyſert*. Merſe; *Fowlden*. Peebles; *Eddilſtane*, *Stobo*. Stirling; *Monyabrock*. And by running over the Books of Privy-Seal from the Year 1530 to 1567, I have met with theſe more, *viz. In the Dioceſe of* Argile; *Kilblane* in *Kintyre*, *Kilmuden*, *Kilſynnit*, *Kilcomkil*, *Ilanmun*, *Knodeort*. *Dioc.* Iſles; *Benewal* in *Viſt*, *Kilquhomen* in *Yla*, *Kildaltan* ibid. *St. Colm* in *Beandmoyl*, *Kilconan*, *Kilmaro*, *Kilmaluog* in *Sky*, *Nahayis* in *Lewes*, *Kilencomen*, *Harage* and *Durinchas*. *Dioc.* Orkney; *Hoy*. *Dioc.* Roſs; *Quittan*. *Dioc.* Glaſgow; *Kirkben*, *Penpont*, *Ranauch*. *Dioc.* Galloway; *Peningham*. Fiſe; *St. Michael*, near *Coupar*. Lothian; *Pincarton*, *Belton*. Merſe; *Polworth*. And it is to be obſerved in the ſame Books, that after the Queen was deprived of the Government, a great many more Parſonages come to be mentioned, by reaſon I ſuppoſe that ſome of the Churches which had been formerly annexed to the Biſhopricks or their Chapters, (which laſt went under the Name of *Common Kirks*) to Abbays, Priories, or Provoſtries and their Prebendaries, were now no longer conſidered as pertaining to theſe Biſhopricks, &c. and ſo were brought under the Denomination of *Parſonages*. I am enabled to adduce one ſure Example of this, in the Church of *Fothergil*, which in the Regiſter is called a *Parſonage*, and is expreſly ſaid to have been one of the common Kirks of *Dunkeld*: So that by this Liſt it will come to be known which are ancient Parſonages, and which are not.

§ For a further Satisfaction in theſe Eccleſiaſtical Matters, I give here likewiſe a *Liſt of the Provoſtries in Scotland*, together with their Rents, as they ſtand in the Collectors Books.

Orkney, 100 *l.* *Tayne*, 20 *l.* *Cullen*, 20 *l.* *Guthry*, 46 *l.* 13 *s.* 4 *d.* *Kirkhill*, beſide St. *Andrew*'s, 333 *l.* 6 *s.* 8 *d.* *Crail*, 100 *l.* *Methven*, 117 *l.* 6 *s.* 8 *d.* Bear, 10 c. Meal, 20 c. *Abernethy*, 13 *l.* 13 *s.* 4 *d.* Bear, 2 c. 9 b. 1 f. 1 p. Meal, 5 c. 2 b. 3 f. *Inverpaffry*, 40 *l.* *Bothwell*, 222 *l.* *Dumbarton*, 233 *l.* 6 *s.* 8 *d.* Meal, 5 c. *Mayboil*, 20 *l.* *Lincludden*, with its Prebendaries, 483 *l.* 7 *s.* 3 *d.* Meal, 3 c. *Dunglas*, 82 *l.* *Corſtorphin*, 122 *l.* 13 *s.* 4 *d.* *Kirkofield*, beſide *Edinburgh*, 16 *l.* *Dalkeith*, 26 *l.* 13 *s.* 4 *d.* *Trinity College*, beſide *Edinburgh*, 160 *l.* *Seton*, 40 *l.* *Creichton*, 133 *l.* 6 *s.* 6 *d.* *Bothans*, 100 *l.* *Dirleton*, 20 *l.* To theſe may be added the Deanry of *Reſtalrig*, 93 *l.* 6 *s.* 8 *d.* Wheat, 3 c. 5 b. 2 f. 1 p. and a half. Bear, 6 c. 12 b. Oats, 23 c. 5 b. 3 f. 3 p. Rye, 12 b. 3 f. 1 p. and a half. Arch-prieſtry of *Dunbar*, 80 *l.*

There are likewiſe in the Books of Privy-Seal the Provoſtries of *Houſton*, *Virgin Mary* in St. *Andrew*'s, and *Kilmun*; an Arch-prieſtry alſo of *Argile*. And the Appendix to Abp. *Spotiſwood*'s Hiſtory contains likewiſe theſe following, *Carnwath*, *Fowlis*, *Roſline* (*a*), *Stirline*, *Sempil*, *Kilmawres*, *Hamilton*, *Tillibardin*. And I have heard of a College near *Kelſo*.

(*a*) This College was founded in the Year 1440 by *William Sinclair* Earl of *Orkney*, and it has the good Fortune to ſtand almoſt entire as yet, and is certainly one of the moſt curious Pieces in *Europe* of the *Gothic* kind. The moſt curious Part of the Building is the Vault of the Quire, and that which is called the *Prince's Pillar*. Here ly interr'd *Alexander* Earl of *Sutherland*, Great Grandchild to King *Robert Bruce*, *George* Earl of *Cathneſs*, at the Time of the Reformation, and three Earls of *Orkney*; beſides the Lairds of *Roſline*. It is four Miles South from *Edinburgh*; and it were a great Pity if it ſhould be ſuffered to periſh through the Injuries of Weather.

A Liſt of Papers in the Appendix, *in which are marked the Pages of the* Hiſtory *to which they refer, as well as the Pages of the* Appendix *where they are to be found.*

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C.

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Caſſils (*Gilbert* Earl of) refuſes to meet with the Governor, 33. Seeks Aſſiſt-

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Crofts (Sir *James*) one of the Commanders of the *Engliſh* Army under L. *Gray*, 122. 126. is ſuſpected of Treachery, *&c.* 126.

D.

D*Alhouſie* (Laird of) joins in a Bond for Defence of Q. *Mary*'s Perſon and Right, 476. engaged for her at the Battle of *Lang ſide*, 480.

Danville (*Monſ.*) a Mariſchal and Son to the grand Conſtable *Montmorency*, accompanies Q. *Mary* to *Scotland*, 180. takes Journey through *England* in his Return to *France*, 189.

Darnly (*Henry* L.) eldeſt Son of the E. *Lenox*, nam'd for a Husband to Q. *Mary*, 261. has the Earldom of *Angus* confirmed to him, 268. preſents himſelf before the Queen, 269. ſundry Accounts of him, 270, 272, 273. diſobliges the E. *Murray*, and is adviſed by the Queen to excuſe himſelf to that Lord, 274. a Determination of the Privy Council of *England* againſt his Marriage, 275. further Accounts of him, 276, 277, 278, 279, 280. is diſliked for his Pride, and his Death is ſecretly hatched, 283, 285, 286, 287, 288, 289, 291, 302, 303, 304, 306. is married to the Queen, and proclaimed King, 307. 308, 309, 310, 311, 312, 313, 314, 315, 316, 317, 318. 325. is influenced by E. *Morton*, 327. ſeveral Reports in relation to the Queen and him cleared and diſcuſſed, *ibid.* 328. affords the Queen Diſpleaſure by his Viciouſneſs, *&c.* 329. aſſiſts in the Murder of *Riccio*, 330. writes for *Murray* and the other Rebels, 332. takes a Reſolution of going beyond Sea, 334. 346. 347. his unwiſe Conduct and Behaviour, and Diſreſpect to the Queen and Nobility, 348,---352. falls ſick at *Glaſgow*, and brought to *Edinburgh*, 364. is murdered, *ibid.* his Character, 365.

Deſſe (*Monſ. de*) arrives in *Scotland* with a conſiderable Force from *France*, 54. performs many brave Actions during his Stay here, 55.

Douglas (*Archibald*) Earl of *Angus*, keeps K. *James* V. guarded by his Friends, 16. was married to the King's Mother, *ibid.* is baniſhed benorth the River *Spey*, 17. returns from *England*, 28. is named one of the Governor's Council, 32. refuſes to witneſs the young Queen's Coronation, 33. enters into a Combination againſt the Government, and craves Aid of *Henry* VIII. of *England*, *ibid.* is inſtrumental in defeating the *Engliſh* at *Ancrum-moor*, 47. approves of the Diſſolution of the Treaties with *England*, 51.

Douglas (Sir *George*) returns from *England*, 26. his Forfeiture revers'd, 28. is delivered an Hoſtage, 35. approves, *&c.* Vide Earl of *Angus*.

Douglas (*George*) natural Son of the E. of *Angus*, 327.

Douglas (*George*) uterine Brother to the E. of *Murray*, 471.

Douglas (*James* of *Drumlanrig*) joins the E. of *Angus*, 33. 58.

Douglas (*John*) a *Carmelite* Friar, ſpeaks againſt the Times, 65.

Douglas (Lady *Margaret*) Daughter to the E. of *Angus*, and Niece to *Henry* VIII. 33. given in Marriage to the E. of *Lenox*, 35. put into the Tower of *London* by Q. *Elizabeth*, 290. 303. releaſed, 290.

Douglas (*William*) of *Drumlanrig*, againſt the Queen at *Lang ſide*, 480.

Douglas (*William*) of *Lochlevin*, afterwards E. *Morton*, charged to give up the Caſtle of *Lochlevin*, 318. Surety received for him, *ibid.* has the Charge of the Queen when Priſoner in *Lochlevin*, 403.

Drummond (Lord) ſigns a Bond for the Queen's Defence, 476.

Drury (Sir *William*) Mariſchal of the Garriſon of *Berwick*, 469, 470.

Dudley (L. *Liſle*) Admiral of *England*, lands an Army near *Leith*, 46. and carries off ſeveral Veſſels, *ibid.* 245.

Dudley (*Robert* L.) recommended by Q. *Elizabeth* to Q. *Mary* for a Husband, 241. charged with diſpatching his Wife to gain Q. *Elizabeth*, *ibid.* is in great Eſteem with her, 245. 253. is not preſſing in the Overture of his Marriage with Q. *Mary*, 267. is her avowed Friend, 340.

Dunbar (*Gavin*) Abp. of *Glaſgow*, againſt condemning Hereticks to Death, 9. proteſts in Parliament againſt the Bill for reading the Scriptures in the vulgar Tongue, 37. and againſt granting Remiſſion to the Murderers of Cardinal *Beton*, 50.

E.

E*Dward* VI. K. of *England* ſucceeds his Father, 52. concludes Peace with *France*, 55. and with *Scotland*, 58. 60. his Death, 63.

Eglinton (Earl of) goes to *France* to pay his Duty to the Queen, 161. 240. 360. repairs to the Queen after her Eſcape, 472. ſigns a Bond for her Defence, 476. and is engaged for her at *Lang ſide*, 480.

Elbeuf (Marquis d') Uncle to the Queen, accompanies her to *Scotland*, 180. 189.

Elizabeth Q. of *England*, ſucceeds her Siſter Q. *Mary*, 77. is offended at the Q. of *Scots* aſſuming the Arms of *England*, *ibid.* ſends Aſſiſtance to the Congr. 115. and deceives the Q. Regent, 116. gives the D. of *Norfolk* Power to treat with the Congr. 117. reinforces her Army in *Scotland*, 127. and by her Commiſſioners concludes a Treaty in favours of the Congr. 130. 156. ſends a Meſſage of Condolence to our Queen, and deſires her to ratify the Treaty of *Edinburgh*, 157. 161. compliments the Queen on the Recovery of her Health, *&c.* 165. ſends an expoſtulatory Letter to the States of *Scotland*, 167. refuſes a free Paſſage to the Q. of *Scots*, 169. ſends out Ships to intercept her, 178. yet congratulates her Arrival in *Scotland*, 181, 182. is angry at the Propoſal to declare Q. *Mary* Heir to the Crown of *England*, 186. but condeſcends to an Alteration in the Treaty of *Edinburgh*, 187. is not pleaſed with the Q. of *Scots* Anſwer, *&c.* 213. agrees to an Interview with her, yet all of a ſudden declines it, 219. recommends L. *Robert Dudley* for a Husband to Q. *Mary*, 241. Q. *Elizabeth*'s Inſtructions to *Randolph*, 242. 244. creates *Dudley* Earl of *Liceſter*, 245. her great Eſteem and Affection for him, *ibid.* 246, 247, 248. renews the Propoſal of an Interview, 252. 253. writes to our Queen to ſtay the E. *Lenox* coming to *Scotland*, *ibid.* yet recommends him, 255. ſends a Meſſage of Reconcilement with the Q. of *Scots*, 256. allows L. *Darnly* to go into *Scotland*, *ibid.* 277. writes to Q. *Mary* about her Marriage with *Darnly*, 285. animates and ſupports the Enemies of our Queen, 294. her Meſſage to Q. *Mary* and the Rebel-Lords, 296. ſends to *Scotland* for a Safe-conduct, 317. her Behaviour with E. *Murray*, &c. 319, 320. promiſes not to afford the Murderers of *Riccio* Shelter in *England*, 336. congratulates Q. *Mary*, and complains of *Ruxbie*'s being harboured in *Scotland*, 337. turns out of Humour at the News of the Birth of the Prince, 339. but promiſes to witneſs the Baptiſm by Proxie, 340. liſtens to the Propoſal of her declaring Q. *Mary* her Succeſſor, 341. ſends Inſtructions, 411. 414. and Propoſals of Agreement, 416. writes to her Ambaſſador in *Scotland* about Q. *Mary*'s Liberation, 428. and upbraids the factious Lords, 429. ſignifies her Mind concerning Affairs in *Scotland*, 451. 452. forms a new Project for that Queen's Relief, 462. and deſigns to ſend a Miniſter to compoſe Differences, 473,

Errol (Earl of) one of the Queen's Privy Council, 187, 226. ſigns a Bond in favours of *Bothwell*, 380. 383. and another for the Queen, 476.

Erskine (*John* Lord) Ambaſſador from K. *James* V. to K. *Henry* VIII. 20. has the Charge of the young Queen, 28. 54. accompanies her to *France*, 55. ſent by her with a Commiſſion into *England*, 56. conſtituted Governor of the Caſtle of *Edinburgh*, 59. is one of the Q. Regent's Deputies at the Conference of *Preſton*, 97. favours her Entry to *Edinburgh*, 98. and receives her into that Caſtle, 122.

Erskine (*John* Lord) is of the Queen's Privy Council, 187. 226. writes to the E. *Murray* of Suſpicions entertained againſt him, 292. made Earl of *Mar*, 309. reſigns the Caſtle of *Edinburgh*, 379. gets the Cuſtody of the young Prince, *ibid.* is one of the Chiefs of the Faction againſt the Queen, 394. raiſes an Army againſt her, 397, 398. the ſeveral Steps of his Behaviour to that Princeſs, 401, 402, 403, 404, 405, 406, 407, 408, 410, 417, 427. nam'd one of the eventual Regents to the Prince, 430. concurs in the ſevere Treatment of the Queen, 434, 435, 436, 437, 438, 439, 440, 441, 442, 445, 452, 453, 456, 457, 458, 459, 460, 462, 465, 468, 471, 474, 480.

Erskine (*John*) Laird of *Dun*, ſigns a Call to *John Knox*, 65. and the Covenant and Articles of Reformation, 66. is one of the Commiſſioners ſent by the Parliament to witneſs the Queen's Marriage, 73 his Fidelity to his Truſt, 75. approved in Parliament at his Retur fr from *France*, 76. is concerned in ſeveral Negotiations for the Congr. 80, 83, 84, 97. joins in their Deprivation and other Meaſures againſt the Q. Regent, 104, 105. is appointed Superintendant of *Angus* and *Mearns*, 145. 297. the Queen is willing to hear him preach, *ibid.* is Moderator of the 7th Gen. Aſſ. of the Kirk, 548. continued, 557, 563.

Evers (Lord) attacks *Edinburgh*, but is beat back at the *Nether-bow*, 46.

F.

Ferguſon (*David*) appointed Preacher by the Congr. 145.

Finlayſon (*James*) condemned and executed, 41.

Fleming (*Malcolm* Lord) ſeparates from the factious Lords, 33. nam'd by Parliament one of the Governor's Counſellors, 34. killed at the Battle of *Pinkie*, 54.

Fleming (*James* Lord) accompanies the Q. Dowager into *France*, 56. is one of the Commiſſioners appointed by the Parliament to witneſs the Queen's Marriage, 71. he ſickens at *Diep*, and returns to *Paris*, where he dies, 75.

Fleming (*John* Lord) adheres to Q. *Mary*, 283. made Lord Chamberlain of the Kingdom, and Maſter-Uſher of the King and Queen's Chamber-doors, 309. is in waiting when *Riccio* was murdered, 332. ſigns a Bond in favours of *Bothwell*, 380, 383. is one of the Privy Council, 386. refuſes to join the aſſociated Lords, 408. joins the Lords at *Hamilton*, *ibid.* from thence withdraws to *Dumbarton-Caſtle*, 436. and there with others enters into a Bond for the Queen's Liberty, correſponds with the *Engliſh* Ambaſſador for her Behoof, 450. repairs to her after her Eſcape, 471. ſigns a Bond for her Reſtoration and Defence, 476. is engaged for her at the Battle of *Langſide*, 480.

Foreſt (*Henry*) condemned and burnt, 8.

Foreſt (*Thomas*) burnt, 9.

Foreſter (*Robert*) condemned and burnt, 9.

Francis Dauphin of *France*, maried to *Mary* Q. of *Scots*, 74. ſucceeds to the Crown of *France*, 99. upbraids the Prior of St. *Andrew*'s, by Letter, for Diſloyalty, 101. ſends Forces and Money into *Scotland*, *ibid.* concludes a Peace with *England*, 107. ſends a Recruit of Forces into *Scotland*, 120. and names Commiſſioners to compoſe Differences there, 130, *&c.* his Death, 157.

G.

Glamis (Lord) ſigns a Bond in favours of *Bothwell*, 380, 383. is engaged for the Queen at the Battle of *Langſide*, 478.

Glencairn (Earl of) one of the Governor's Council, 27. is tampered with to convey the young Queen into *England*, 28. refuſes to witneſs her Coronation, 33. joins with the E. *Angus*, 34, 36. accompanies the Q. Dowager into *France*, 56. is one of the Chiefs of the Congr. 64, 65, 66, 82, 88, 89, 97, 100, 105, 110, 122, 127, 128, 154, 161. is of the Queen's Privy Council, 187. joins the Rebel-Lords, 315. retreats to *Dumfries*, 316. is denounced Rebel, and retires into *England*, *ibid.* gets a Summons of Treaſon, 320. obtains a Remiſſion, 333. is one of *Arran*'s Cautioners, 335. received into the Council, 336. yet enters again into Rebellion, 394, 397, 398, 399. his haughty and diſloyal Anſwer, 401. ſeveral Steps of his Procedure againſt the Queen, 402, 403, 404, 405, 406, 407. 408, 410, 417, 427. is named one of the eventual Regents to the Prince, 430 concurs in all the Meaſures taken againſt her, 434, 435, 436, 437, 438, 439, 440, 441, 442, 445, 452, 453, 456, 457, 458, 459, 460, 462, 465, 468, 471, 474, 480.

Gordon (*Adam*) a younger Son of the E. *Huntly*, receives a Pardon from the Queen, 228. appeared eminently for her in her Misfortunes, *ibid.*

Gordon (*Alexander*) Son to the L. *Gordon*, had the Title of Biſhop of *Athens*, and made Biſhop of *Galloway*, 106. joins the Congr. *ibid.* yet is diſregarded by them. 113.

Gordon (Sir *John*) of *Deskford* wounds L. *Ogilvy*, and impriſoned, 223. brings heavy Misfortunes on his Father and himſelf, 224. is taken Priſoner at *Corrichie*, and beheaded, 228.

Gordon (*John* of *Lochinvar*, Kt. Predeceſſor to the Viſcount of *Kenmure*) is one of *Huntly*'s Cautioners, 310. ſigns a Bond in favours of the Queen, 476. is engaged for her at the Battle of *Langſide*, 480.

Gordon (Lord) committed Priſoner to the Caſtle of *Edinburgh*, 229. is tried and condemned as a Traitor, *ibid.* narrowly eſcapes Death, *ibid.* married to a Daughter of *Chaſtelherault*'s, 230. admitted to Bail, 310. is with the Queen when *Riccio* was murdered, 332. attends her to *Dunbar*, 333. ſits in Council as Earl of *Huntly*, and is made Chancellor, 335. is Cautioner for *Arran*, *ibid.* his Forfeiture reverſed in Parliament, 379. ſigns a Bond in favours of *Bothwell*, 380, 383. is in the Queen's Company when ſhe was ſeized by that Earl, *ibid.* offers to aſſiſt the Citizens of *Edinburgh*, 398. on their Refuſal he retires to the Caſtle, and makes his Eſcape, *ibid.* adheres firmly to the Queen's Intereſt, and continues loyal to her, 436, 437, 441, 472, 475, 476, 477, 480.

Gourlay (*Norman*) condemned and burnt, 9.

Grand Prior of *France*, Uncle to the Queen, accompanies her to *Scotland*, 180. returns through *England*, 189. is killed at the Battle of *Dreux*, 238.

Gray of *Scotland* (Lord) contracts with K. *Edward* to deliver up the Caſtle of *Broughty*, 60. is allowed to come from *England* on his Parole, 295.

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Hamilton (L. *Claud*) Commendator of *Paiſley*, and a Son of *Chaſtelherault*'s, ſigns a Bond in favours of the Queen, 476. leads the Vant-guard of her Army at the Battle of *Langſide*, 480.

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Hamilton (Sir *James*) of *Fennard*, 10. accuſed of Treaſon and executed, 11.

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Hamilton (Sir *James*) of *Evandale* joins in the Queen's Defence, 476. 480.

Hamilton (L. *John*) Commendator of *Aberbrothock*, ſecond Son of *Chaſtelherault*, became Earl of *Arran*, afterwards created Marquis of *Hamilton*, ratifies the Contract of *Berwick*, 127. leaves *Scotland* to avoid *Murray*'s Severity and to ſolicite Aid from *France* for Q. *Mary*'s Relief, 468. Order of Council againſt him, *ibid.* refuſes the Call of the Aſſembly, 578.

Hamilton (*John*) Abbot of *Paiſley*, natural Brother to *Arran* Governor of *Scotland*, has the entire Sway of his Brother, 29. is made Lord Privy Seal and Treaſurer, 33, 34. brings over the Governor to be reconciled to the Church, 39. adviſes him to ſuppreſs the Offers of the D. of *Somerſet*, 53. is made Abp. of St. *Andrew*'s, 60. calls a Synod at *Edinburgh*, 63. writes to *Argile* to draw him off from the new Doctrine, 67. condemns *Walter Mill* to be burnt, *ibid.* takes Shelter in the Caſtle of *Edinburgh*, 122. is threatned by his Brother with Death, 150. makes Offer by Mr. *John Leſlie* of his Duty to the Queen on the Death of her Husband, 157. is one of *Arran*'s Sureties, 335. adminiſtrates the Sacrament of Baptiſm to the Prince, 360. ſigns a Bond in favours of *Bothwell*, 380. 383. is ſworn of the Privy Council to the Queen, 387. continues ſtedfaſt to her, 436, 476. his *Memorandum* to *Monluc*, 485. writes to the Abp. of *Glaſgow* at *Paris*, 486. is impannelled for ſaying Maſs, and confined by the Queen's Order, 521. his good and ſeaſonable Advice to Mr. *Knox* about reforming of the Church, 495. but had no Effect, *ibid.*

Hamilton (Mr. *Patrick*) Son to *Kinkavil*, and Abbot of *Fern* in *Roſsſhire*, is burnt to Death, 8.

Hamilton (Sir *William*) of *Sanquhair* appointed to treat of Peace and Marriage with *England*, 27. repairs to the Queen on her Eſcape, 472. ſigns a Bond for her Defence, *&c.* 476. engages for her at the Battle of *Langſide*, 480.

Harlaw (*William*) a Taylor, afterwards one of the new Preachers, 64.

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Hay (L. *William*) of *Teſter* repairs to the Queen on her Eſcape, 472. ſigns a Bond for her Defence, *&c.* 476. and is engaged for her at the Battle of *Langſide*, 480.

Henry II. King of *France*, ſends Aid to the Governor of *Scotland*, 54. ſends for the young Queen, 55. concludes a Peace with *England*, *ibid.* makes large Offers to *Arran* to demit the Government in favours of the Q. Dowager, 56. preſſes the Q. Regent to declare War againſt *England*, 71. writes to the States of *Scotland* for ſome Perſons to witneſs the Marriage of their Queen with his Son, 72. his perfidious Dealing with the young Queen, 73. grants an Act of Naturalization to all *Scotſmen*, 75. his Death, 99.

Henry VIII. King of *England*, aſſumes K. *James* V. of *Scotland* into the Order of his Knighthood, and propoſes an Interview with him, 17. renews the Propoſal, and makes ſeveral advantageous Offers, 18. ſends *Ralph Sadler* his Ambaſſador into *Scotland*, 19. is highly diſpleaſed at K. *James*'s diſappointing him, and orders his Army towards *Scotland*, 20. and the Chief of the *Scots* Priſoners taken at *Solway-moſs* to be led in Triumph through *London*, 25. prevails with them to endeavour to obtain the young Queen for his Son Prince *Edward*, 26. diſmiſſes them on theſe Conditions, *ibid.* ſends *Sadler* a ſecond Time into *Scotland*, 28. his Commiſſioners conclude Treaty of Commerce and Marriage with *Scotland*, *ibid.* orders the *Scots* Ships to be ſeized in the Ports of *England*, 32. foſters a Rebellion in *Scotland*, 35, ſends ſome Clergymen thither, 39. orders his Army and Fleet to invade that Kingdom, 46. gives his Niece in Marriage to the E. *Lenox*, whom he ſends into *Scotland* in a warlike Manner, 47. agrees to a Truce, but ſoon breaks it, *ibid.* his Forces worſted by the *Scots* at *Ancrum-moor*, *ibid.* concludes a Peace with *France*, 49. aſſiſts the Murderers of Cardinal *Beton*, 51. his Death, 52.

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Huntly (*George* Earl of) averſe to the Queen's Marriage with Prince *Edward*, 30. joins Card. *Beton* in carrying her to *Stirling*, *ibid.* aſſiſts at her Coronation, 32. is aſſiſting to the Governor, 35, 46. made Chancellor, 50. taken Priſoner at the Battle of *Pinkie*, 54. adviſes *Arran* to demit his Government in favours of Q. Dowager, 59. falls into Diſgrace with the Q. Regent, but is received again into Favour, 70. makes ſome proſperous Inroads into *England*, 71. is employed by the Q. Regent in ſundry Negotiations with the Congr. 92, 97. prevents the Deſtruction of the Cathedral of *Aberdeen*, 121. ſundry Opinions of him by Hiſtorians, 124, 127, 128. makes Offer of his Duty to Q. *Mary* on the Death of the *French* King her Husband, 157. is one of her Privy Council, 187. brought to great Miſfortunes by his Son Sir *John Gordon*, 224. is declared Traitor, 226, 227. is killed at *Corrichie*, 228. his dead Body attainted in Parliament, *ibid.* his Miſfortune and Ruin proceeded from the Intereſt and Malice of his great Enemy the Earl of *Murray*, 229.

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Interim propoſed by the Cardinal of *Lorrain* to be received by the People of *Scotland*, 250. Riſe and Nature of it, *ibid.*

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Kennedy, a young Gentleman, burnt at *Glaſgow*, 9.

Ker (*Mark*) Commendator of *Newbotle*, Son to Sir *Walter Ker* of *Ceſsford*, and Predeceſſor to the now Marquis of *Lothian*, one of the Queen's Privy Council, 305.

Kirkaldy (*William*) of *Grange* cited with a Summons of Treaſon for the Murder of Card. *Beton*, 50. lays an Ambuſh for ſome *French* Soldiers in *Fife*, 115. is declared Rebel, 312. joins the factious Lords againſt the Queen, and is a main Inſtrument of bringing her to ſurrender herſelf at *Carberry-hill*, 401. is much diſpleaſed with the harſh and cruel Treatment given her afterward, 40[illegible]. ſecretly favours her, 435. is made Governor of the Caſtle of *Edinburgh* by *Murray*, 455. is ſent in Purſuit of *Bothwell*, and contributes much to defeat the Queen's Army at *Langſide*, 478.

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Lenox (*Matthew* Earl of) ſent home by the Influence of Card. *Beton*, 30. carries the Sceptre at the young Queen's Coronation, 32. makes Suit to K. *Henry* VIII. for his Niece, 33. he and his Partners raiſe Forces, 34. and march againſt the Governor, 35. marries the Lady *Margaret Douglas*, 36. brings Ships from *England* to the Weſt of *Scotland*, 47. preſents himſelf before Q. *Mary*, 254. is recommended to her by Q. *Elizabeth*, 255. 259, 267, 272, 274, 285, 286, 288, 289, 302, 303, 304. writes to Q. *Mary* of his Son K. *Henry*'s Deſign of going abroad, 346. 348. Letters 'twixt the Queen and him about the Diſcovery of the King's Murderers, 367, 368, 369. cited to be preſent at *Bothwell*'s Trial, 373. craves a Delay of the Trial, 374. 376. retires into *England*, 378.

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Lindſay (Sir *David*) writes a Poem called the *Tragedy of Card. Beton*, 42.

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Mariſchal (*William* Earl) appointed one of the Keepers of the young Queen, 28. and of the Governor's Council, 32. is ſent with a Commiſſion to the Q. Dowager, 48. accompanies her into *France*, 56. and into the Caſtle of *Edinburgh*, 122, 128. 149. 187, 226.

Mary Queen of *Scotland*, Wife to K. *James* V. 25. labours for Cardinal *Beton*'s Liberation, 29. ſends for *Lenox*, 30. ſets up a Faction againſt the Governor, and calls a Parliament at *Stirling*, 48. obtains the Releaſe of *Knox*, and other Priſoners from the *French* Galleys, 53. agrees to ſend her Daughter into *France*, 55. embarks herſelf for that Kingdom, 56,--58. is proclaimed Regent, 59. forms her Court of too many *Frenchmen*, 69, 70. is deſirous to declare War againſt *England*, 71. orders a Fort to be built at *Aymouth*, *ibid.* preſents the *French* King's Letters to the Parliament concerning the Queen's Marriage, 72. her Anſwer to the Petition of the Congr. 80. calls a Convocation of the Clergy, 81, 82, 83, 84. has ſeveral Meſſages and Conferences with the Congregation, 88, 89. an Agreement with them, 90. the Severities of her Officers at *Perth* occaſions the retaking of that Place, 93. 94. 96, 97, 98. receives Succours from *France*, and fortifies *Leith*, 101. 102. ſends the Lyon King at Arms to the Congr. 103. is depoſed by them, 104. takes Poſſeſſion of *Edinburgh*, 113. receives a new Supply from *France*, 121. takes Shelter in the Caſtle of *Edinburgh*, 122. has a Letter from the Chiefs of the Congr. and ſome Propoſals, 124. her Sickneſs and Death, 127. is much lamented, 129. her Character, *ibid.* is maliciouſly aſperſed by *Knox*, *ibid.* her Body carried into *France*, 130.

Mary Queen of *Scots* ſucceeds her Father K. *James* V. 25. is crowned at *Stirling*, 32. is ſent to *Dumbarton*, and from thence to *France*, 55. grants a Commiſſion to ſeveral Perſons to be her Procurators at the Treaty of her Marriage, 72, 73, 74. adviſed by her Friends to aſſume the Arms of *England*, 77. reproaches her Brother the Prior of St. *Andrew*'s, 101. appoints Commiſſioners to meet with thoſe of *England*, 130. 137. but refuſes to ratify, *&c.* 154. both Parties in *Scotland* make Addreſſes to her on the Death of her Huſband, 157. and is attended by their Agents, 160. her Anſwer to the *Engliſh* Ambaſſador's Letter, 163. excuſes her not ratifying the Treaty of *Edinburgh*, 165, 166. ſends to *England* for a Safe-conduct, 169. and is denied, 170---180. is congratulated by Q. *Elizabeth* on her ſafe Arrival, 181. ſhe writes to the Queen of *England*, and ſends *Maitland* with Inſtructions to that Court, 184, 185. conſtitutes a regular Privy Council, 187. begins a Progreſs through the Country, 190, 191. 192. appoints a Court of Juſtice at *Jedburgh*, &c. and conſtitutes her Brother the Lord Juſtice, 197. ſome Accounts of her Court, *&c.* from *Randolph*'s Letters, 201,---211. her Letters to Q. *Elizabeth*, 212, 213. reconciles the Noblemen of her Kingdom, 215. propoſes to her Council an Interview with Q. *Elizabeth*, 216, 217, 218. 221, 222. 223. 224. 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N.

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O.

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Oyſel (*Monſ. de*) Ambaſſador from *France*, delivers the *Regalia* of *Scotland* in Name of Q. *Mary* to her Mother the Q. Dowager, 59. builds a Fort at *Aymouth*, 71. is in ſeveral Negotiations and Engagements for the Q. Regent, her Daughter *Mary* Q. of *Scots*, and her Husband the *French* King, 72, 88, 89, 100, 115, 116, 130, 145, 170.

P.

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R.

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Roſs (Lord) repairs to the Queen on her Eſcape, 472. ſigns a Bond for her Defence, 476. and is engaged for her at *Langſide*, 478.
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Ruxbie (*Chriſtopher*) 337. 342. 343.

S.

S*Adler* (Sir *Ralph*) Ambaſſador from *Henry* VIII. of *England* to K. *James* V. to perſwade him to break with the Church of *Rome*, and to give him Hopes of being K. *Henry*'s Succeſſor in the Event of his Son's Death, 19. is ſent a ſecond Time into *Scotland*, 28. his Commiſſion and Negotiations there, 31, 32, 38.
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Seymour (*Edward*) E. of *Hartford*, afterwards D. of *Somerſet*, is General of the North-parts of *England*, lands his Army above *Leith*, which he burns, 46. he ravages the Country, and retires to *England*, *ibid.* he reenters *Scotland*, and does great Damage in *Merſe* and *Teviotdale*, 48. enters *Scotland* a third Time with a formidable Army, 53. gives the *Scots* Army a total Rout at *Pinkie*, and burns *Leith*, 54.
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Stewart (*John*) Earl of *Lenox*, 16.
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T.

T*Anworth* (*John*) comes from Q. *Elizabeth* with a Meſſage to Q. *Mary*, 310. Account of his Reception, Behaviour, Return, *&c.* 311.
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FINIS.

MVSEVM
BRITA
NICVM